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# HISTORY

OF

# LATIN CHRISTIANITY.

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# HISTORY

OF

# LATIN CHRISTIANITY;

INCLUDING THAT OF

# THE POPES

TO

## THE PONTIFICATE OF NICOLAS V.

By HENRY HART MILMAN, D.D.,
DEAN OF ST. PAUL'S

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OF

# THE FIFTH VOLUME.

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# HISTORY

OF

# LATIN CHRISTIANITY.

## BOOK IX. — (CONTINUED.)

### CHAPTER V.

#### INNOCENT AND ENGLAND.

INNOCENT had humbled the ablest and most arbitrary King who had ruled in France since the days of Charlemagne; Philip Augustus had been reduced to elude and baffle by sullen and artful obstinacy the adversary whom he could not openly confront.[1] But beyond the general impression thus made of the awfulness of the Papal power, the contest with Philip led to no great results either in the history of France or of the Church. In England, the strife of Innocent, first with King John, afterwards with the barons and churchmen of England, had almost immediate bearings on the establishment of the free institutions of England. During the reign of John, disastrous, humiliating to the King and to the nation, were laid the deep foundations of the English character, the English liberties, and the English greatness; and to

[1] Innocent consented to the legitimation of Philip's sons by Agnes of Meran, Nov. 2.

this reign, from the attempt to degrade the kingdom to a fief of the Roman See, may be traced the first signs of that independence, that jealousy of the Papal usurpations, which led eventually to the Reformation.

Richard I. On the accession of Innocent, so long as Richard lived, England was in close alliance with the Apostolic See. Richard was the great supporter of the Papal claimant of the Empire. At his desire Innocent demanded of Philip, whom he still called Duke of Swabia, as having succeeded to his brother's, the Emperor Henry's, patrimonial domains and treasures, the restitution of the large ransom extorted from Richard. Philip was bound to this act of honor and justice.[1] The Duke of Austria was also threatened with excommunication, if he did not in like manner, for the welfare of his father's soul, who had taken an oath to make restitution, refund his share of the ransom money. The language of Innocent, when he assumes the mediation between France and England, though impartially lofty and dictatorial to both, betrays a manifest inclination towards England. The long account of insults, injuries, mutual aggressions, which had accumulated during the Crusade, on the way to the Holy Land, in the Holy Land, seems to perplex his judgment. But in France Philip Augustus is condemned as the aggressor; and peremptorily ordered to restore certain castles claimed by Richard.[2] But Richard fell before the castle of a contumacious vassal.[3] His brother John, by the last testament of Richard, by the free acclamation of the realms of England and of

[1] Epist. i. 242. [2] Epist. i. 230. [3] Richard died April 6, 1199.

Normandy, succeeded to the throne. The Pope could not be expected, unsummoned, to espouse the claims of Arthur of Bretagne, the son of John's elder brother; for neither did Arthur nor his mother Constance appeal to the Papal See as the fountain of justice, as the protector of wronged and despoiled princes; and in most of the Teutonic nations so much of the elective spirit and form remained, that the line of direct hereditary succession was not recognized either by strict law or invariable usage. That the cause of Arthur was taken up by Philip of France, then under interdict, or at least threatened with interdict, was of itself fatal to his pretensions at Rome. But neither towards the King John, in whom he hoped to find a faithful ally and a steady partisan of his Emperor Otho, does Innocent arm himself with that moral dignity which will not brook the violation of the holy Sacrament of Marriage: the dissolution of an inconvenient tie, which is denied to Philip Augustus, is easily accorded, or at least not imperiously, or inexorably denied, to John. There was a singular resemblance in the treatment of their wives by these sovereigns; except that in one respect, the moral delinquency of John was far more flagrant; on the other hand, his wife acquiesced in the loss of her royal husband with much greater facility than the Danish princess repudiated by Philip of France. John had been married for twelve years to the daughter of the Earl of Gloucester; an advantageous match for a younger prince of England. On the throne, John aspired to a higher, a royal connection. He sought a dissolution of his marriage on the plea of almost as remote affinity. The Archbishop of Bordeaux was as obsequious to

John's divorce and marriage.

John as the Archbishop of Rheims had been to Philip Augustus. Negotiations had been concluded for an alliance with a daughter of the King of Portugal, when John suddenly became enamored of Isabella, the betrothed wife of the Count de la Mark. Isabella was dazzled by the throne; fled with John, and was married to him. Such an outrage on a great vassal was a violation of the first principle of feudalism; from that day the Barons of Touraine, Maine, and Anjou held themselves absolved from their fealty to John. But although this flagrant wrong, and even the sin of adultery, is added to the repudiation of his lawful wife, no interdict, no censure is uttered from Rome either against the King or the Archbishop of Bordeaux. The Pope, whose horror of such unlawful connections is now singularly quiescent, confirms the dissolution of the marriage, against which, it is true, the easy Havoise enters no protest, makes no appeal;[1] for John, till bought over with the abandonment of Arthur's claim to the throne by the treacherous Philip Augustus, is still the supporter of Otho: he is the ally of the Pope, for he is the ally of the Papal Emperor.

Contest with Philip Augustus.

Philip, embarrassed by his quarrel with the Pope, and the wavering loyalty of his own great vassals, who had quailed under the interdict, though he never lost sight of the great object of his ambition, the weakening the power of England in her Continental dominions and her eventual expulsion, at first asserted but feebly the rights of Arthur to the

[1] Epist. v. 19, contains a sort of reproof to John for his propensity to the sins of the flesh, and gently urges repentance; but to the divorce I see no allusion, as Dr. Paulli seems, after Hurter, to do. — Geschichte Englands, p. 304.

throne; he deserted him on the earliest prospect of advantage. In the treaty confirmed by the marriage of Louis, the son of Philip, with John's kinswoman, Blanche of Castile, Philip abandoned the A.D. 1200. claims of Arthur to all but the province of Bretagne; John covenanted to give no further aid in troops or money to Otho of Brunswick in his strife for the Empire.[1]

But the terrors of the interdict had passed away. Philip Augustus felt his strength: the Barons of Anjou, Touraine, Poitou, Maine, were eager to avenge the indignity offered to Hugh de la Mark. De la Mark appealed to his sovereign liege lord the King of France for redress. Philip summoned John to do homage for Aquitaine; to answer in his courts of Paris for the wrong done to De la Mark. Nor did John (so complete was the theory of feudal subordination) decline the summons. He promised to appear; two of his castles were pledged as surety that he would give full satisfaction in the plenary court of his sovereign. But John appeared not; his castles refused to surrender; Philip renewed his alliance with Arthur of Bretagne, asserted his claim to all the continental possessions of the King of England, contracted Arthur in marriage with his own daughter, as yet but of tender age. The capture, the imprisonment, the death of Arthur, raised a feeling of deep horror against John, whom few doubted to have been the murderer of his nephew.[2] Philip of

John summoned to do homage.

Death of Arthur.

[1] See instructions to the Legate, the Bishop of Ostia, to break the dangerous alliance growing up between the kings of France and England. — Epist. i. 607, and letter to John, urging the support of Otho by money, ibid. and i. 714–720. Innocent declared John's oath null and void.

[2] Wendover at first merely says, "non multo post subito evanuit."

France now appeared in arms under the specious title, not only of a sovereign proceeding against a wrong-doing War. and contumacious vassal, but as the avenger of a murder perpetrated on his nephew, it was said by some by the hand of John himself.[1] John had been summoned, at the accusation of the Bishop of Rennes, to answer for this crime before the Peers of France at Paris. Again John appeared not; the Court delivered its sentence, finding John Duke of Normandy guilty of felony and treason for the murder of the son of his elder brother, a vassal of France, within the realm of France. John had thereby violated his oath of fealty to the King of France, and all the fiefs which he held by that homage were declared forfeited to the Crown. Philip broke into Normandy, and laid siege to Château Gaillard, the key of the province. John, at Rouen, as though to drown his fears or his remorse, indulged, in the society of his young bride, in the most careless and prodigal gayety, amusement, and debauchery; affected to despise the force of Philip, and boasted that he would win back in a day all that Philip would conquer in a year. But Dec. 6. at the approach of Philip, even before the fall of Château Gaillard, he fled to England. He appealed to the Pope; he demanded that ecclesiastical censures should be visited on the perjured Philip Augustus, who had broken his oaths to maintain peace. At the commencement of the war Innocent had in-

"Utinam," adds Matt. Paris, "non ut fama refert invida." Radulph de Coggeshal is bolder (he wrote in France). From his relation, through Holinshed, Shakspeare drew his exquisitely pathetic scene.

[1] "Adeo quidem ut rex Johannes suspectus habebatur ab omnibus, quasi illum manu propriâ peremisset, unde multi animos avertentes a rege semper deinceps, ut ausi sunt, nigerrimo ipsum odio perstrinxerunt." — Wendover (ed. Coxe), p. 171.

structed the Abbot of Casamaggiore to command the adverse monarchs to make peace. "It was his duty to preach peace. How would the Saracens rejoice at the war of two such kings! He would not have the blood which might be shed laid to his account." Philip Augustus, at a full assembly of Barons at Nantes, coldly and haughtily replied, that the Pope had no business to interfere between him and his vassal. But he avoided, either from prudence or respect, the reproach that the head of Christendom was standing forward as the protector of a murderer. The reply of Innocent from Anagni was the boldest and fullest declaration of unlimited power which had yet been made by Pope. He was astonished at the language of the King of France, who presumed to limit the power in spiritual things conferred by the Son of God on the Apostolic See, which was so great that it could admit no enlargement.[1] "Every son of the Church A.D. 1203. is bound, in case his brother trespasses against him, to hear the Church. Thy brother the King of England has accused thee of trespass against him; he has admonished thee; he has called many of his great Barons to witness of his wrongs: he has in the last resort appealed to the Church. We have endeavored to treat you with fatherly love, not with judicial severity; urged you, if not to peace, to a truce. If you will not hear the Church, must you not be held by the Church as a heathen and a publican? Can I be silent? No. I command you now to hear my legates, the Archbishop of Bourges and the Abbot of Casamaggiore, who are empowered to investigate, to decide the cause. We enter not into the question of the feudal rights of the King

High language of Innocent.

[1] Epist. vi. 163.

of France over his vassal, but we condemn thy trespass — thy sin — which is unquestionably within our jurisdiction. The Decretals, the law of the Empire, declare that if throughout Christendom one of two litigant parties appeals to the Pope, the other is bound to abide by the award. The King of France is accused of perjury in violating the existing treaty, to which both have sworn, and perjury is a crime so clearly amenable to the ecclesiastical courts, that we cannot refuse to take cognizance of it before our tribunal." But Philip was too far advanced in his career of conquest to be arrested by such remonstrances; nor did the Pope venture on more vigorous interference; there was no further menace of interdict or excommunication. John, indeed, as the sagacious Innocent may have perceived, was lost without recovery — lost by his own weakness, insolence, and unpopularity. His whole Continental possessions were in revolt or conquered by Philip; a great force raised in England refused to embark. He tried one campaign in Aquitaine: some successes, some devastations, were followed by a disgraceful peace, in which Philip Augustus, having nearly accomplished his vast object, the consolidation of the realm in one great monarchy, condescended to accept the Papal mediation. From that time the King of England ceased to be the King of half France.

Loss of Normandy. A.D. 1203.

July 9, 1206.

Normandy was not yet lost, peace not yet reëstablished with Philip Augustus, when John was involved in a fierce contention with his ally, Pope Innocent. It arose out of the death of Hubert, Archbishop of Canterbury. Who should fill the throne of Thomas à Becket — who hold the primacy of England? The question of investi-

A.D. 1205. Quarrel with the Pope about Archbishopric of Canterbury.

tures had hardly reached England, or had died away since the days of Anselm. The right of nominating to the bishopries remained nominally in the chapters; but as the royal license was necessary before they could proceed to the election, and the royal approval before the consecration and the possession of the temporalities, the Kings had exercised controlling power, at least over all the greater sees. The Norman kings and the Plantagenets had still filled all the great benefices with Norman prelates, or prelates approved by the Court. Becket himself was, in fact, advanced by Henry II. Some of the English sees had grown out of or were connected with monasteries, which asserted and exercised the rights of chapters. The monks of Christchurch in Canterbury claimed the election to the Metropolitan See. The monks were at the same time most obstinately tenacious of their rights, and least capable of exercising them for the welfare of the Church and of the kingdom. At this present time there were on one side deep and sullen murmurs that the Church of England had sunk into a slave of the King. Becket had laid down his martyr life in vain.[1] On the other hand, the King rejoiced in the death of Hubert, whom he suspected of secret favor towards his enemy the King of France. The second prelate of the kingdom, Geoffrey Archbishop of York, the brother of the King, had refused to permit a thirteenth, exacted by the King for the recovery of his French dominions, to be levied in his province; he had fled the realm, leaving behind

1 "Licet beatus Thomas archepiscopus animam suam pro ecclesiasticâ posuerit libertate, nulla tamen utilitas quoad hoc in sanguine ejus erat, quoniam Anglicana ecclesia per principum insolentiam in profundâ servitute ancillata jacebat." — Gesta, ch. cxxxi. Matt. Par.

him an anathema against all who should comply with the King's demands.[1] The privilege of the monks of Christchurch in Canterbury to elect the Primate had been constantly contested by the suffragan prelates, who claimed at least a concurrent right of election.[2] At all the recent elections this strife had continued: the monks, though overborne by royal authority, or by the power of the prelates, never renounced or abandoned their sole and exclusive pretensions.

Immediately on the death of Hubert, the younger A.D. 1205. monks, without waiting for the royal license, in the narrow corporate spirit of monkhood, hastily elected their Sub-prior Reginald to the See. In order to surprise the Papal sanction, under which they might defy the resentment of the King, without whose license they had acted, and baffle the bishops who claimed the concurrent right, they had the precaution to take an oath from Reginald to maintain inviolable secrecy till he should arrive at Rome. The vanity of Reginald induced him, directly he reached Flanders, to assume the title, and to travel with the pomp of an Archbishop Elect. On his arrival at Rome, Innocent neither rejected nor admitted his pretensions. Among the monks of Christchurch, in the mean time, the older and more prudent had resumed their ascendency; they declared the election of Reginald void, obtained the royal permission, and proceeded under the royal influence to elect in all due form John de Gray, Bishop of Norwich, a martial prelate and the great leader in the councils of the King.[3] The suffragan bishops acqui-

[1] Wendover, pp. 154–209.
[2] Compare Lingard, Hist. of England, *in loco.*
[3] Wendover, p. 194. R. de Coggeshal.

essed in this election. The Bishop of Norwich was enthroned in the presence of the King, and invested in all the temporalities of the see by the King himself.

On the appeal to Rome, upon this question of strict ecclesiastical jurisdiction, all agreed. Reginald, the Sub-prior and his partisans were already there; twelve monks of Christchurch appeared on the part A.D. 1206. of the King and the Bishop of Norwich; the suffragan bishops had their delegates to maintain their right to concurrent election. The Pope, in the first place, took into consideration the right of election. He decided in favor of the monks. Against their prescriptive, immemorial usage, appeared only pretensions established in irregular and violent times, under the protection of arbitrary monarchs.[1] Many decisions of the Papal See had been in favor of elections made by the monks alone; none recognized the necessary concurrence of the bishops. Policy no doubt commingled in this decree with reverence for ancient custom; the monks were more likely to choose a prelate of high churchman-like views — views acceptable to Rome; the bishops to comply with the commands, or at least not to be insensible to the favor of the King.

The Court of Rome proceeded to examine the validity of the late election. It determined at once to annul both that of Reginald the Sub-prior and that of John de Gray: of Reginald, because it was irregularly made, and by a small number of the electors; of De Gray, because the former election had not been declared invalid by competent authority. The twelve monks were ordered to proceed to a new election at Rome. John had anticipated this event, and taken an oath of

[1] Wendover, p. 188.

the monks to elect no one but John de Gray. They were menaced with excommunication if they persisted in the maintenance of their oath; they were commanded to elect Stephen Langton, Cardinal of St. Chrysogonus. Innocent could not have found a Churchman more unexceptionable, or of more commanding qualifications for the primacy of England. Stephen Langton was an Englishman by birth, of irreproachable morals, profound theologic learning, of a lofty, firm, yet prudent character, which unfolded itself at a later period in a manner not anticipated by Pope Innocent. Langton had studied at Paris, and attained surpassing fame and honorable distinctions. Of all the high-minded, wise, and generous prelates who have filled the see of Canterbury, none have been superior to Stephen Langton; and him the Church of England owes to Innocent III. And if in himself Langton was so signally fit for the station, he was more so in contrast with his rivals — Reginald, who emerged from his obscurity to fall back immediately into the same obscurity; the Bishop of Norwich, a man of warlike rather than of priestly fame, immersed in temporal affairs, the justiciary of the realm, in whom John could little fear or Innocent hope to find a second Becket. The monks murmured, but proceeded to the election of Langton. Elias of Brantfield alone stood aloof unconsenting; he tried the effect of English gold, with which he had been lavishly supplied. Innocent, it is said, disdainfully rejected a bribe amounting to three thousand marks.[1]

Stephen Langton.

A.D. 1207.

Innocent, aware that this assumption of the nomination to the archbishopric by the Pope, this intrusion of

[1] Wendover p. 212.

a prelate almost a stranger, would be offensive to the pride of the English King, had endeavored to propitiate John by a suitable present. Among the weaknesses of this vain man was a passion for precious stones. He sent him a ring of great splendor, with many gems, accompanied with a letter explaining their symbolic religious signification.[1] The letter was followed by another, recommending strongly Stephen Langton, Archbishop elect of Canterbury, as a man incomparable for theologic learning as for his character and manners; a person who would be of the greatest use to the King in temporal or in spiritual affairs. But the messengers of the Pope were stopped at Dover. At Viterbo,[2] the Pope proceeded to the consecration of the Primate of England. The fury of John knew no bounds: he accused the monks of Canterbury of having taken his money in order to travel to Rome, and of having there betrayed him. He threatened to burn their cloister over their heads; they fled in the utmost precipitation to Flanders; the church of Canterbury was committed to the monks of St. Augustine; the lands of the monks of Christchurch lay an uncultivated wilderness. To the Pope he wrote in indignation that he was not only insulted by the rejection of the Bishop of Norwich, but by the election of Langton, a man utterly unknown to him, and bred in France among his deadly enemies. The Pope should remember how necessary to him was the alliance of England; from England he drew more wealth than from any kingdom beyond the Alps. He declared that

Rage of King John.

1 Matt. Par.

2 Innocent passed the summer and autumn of 1207 at Viterbo. — Hurter, ii. p. 39.

LINCOLN HULLEY,
PGH, PA.

he would cut off at once all communication between his realm and Rome.[1] Innocent's tone rose with that of John, but he maintained calmer dignity. He enlarged on the writings of Langton: so far from Langton being unknown to the King, he had three times written to him since his promotion to the cardinalate. He warned the King of the danger of revolting against the Church: "Remember this is a cause for which the glorious martyr St. Thomas shed his blood."

John had all the pride, in the outset of this conflict he showed some of the firm resolution, of a Norman sovereign. The Bishop of Norwich, in his disappointed ambition, inflamed the resentment and encouraged the obstinacy of the King. "Stephen Langton at his peril should set his foot on the soil of England." Innocent proceeded with slow but determinate measures. All expostulation having proved vain, he armed himself with that terrible curse which had already brought the King of France under his feet. England in her turn must suffer all the terrors of interdict. William Bishop of London, Eustace Bishop of Ely, Mainger Bishop of Worcester, had instructions to demand for the last time the royal acknowledgment of Langton; if refused, to publish the interdict throughout their dioceses.[2] The King broke out into a paroxysm of fury; he uttered the most fearful oaths — blasphemies they were called — against the Pope and the Cardinals; he swore "by the teeth of God," that if they dared to place his realm

[1] The letter in Wendover, 216. — Matt. Paris.

[2] See in Rymer a letter of remonstrance by Pope Innocent. John answers the bishop that he will obey the Pope, salvâ dignitate regiâ et libertatibus regiis. — i. p. 99.

under an interdict he would drive the whole of the bishops and clergy out of the kingdom, put out the eyes and cut off the noses of all Romans in the realm, in order to mark them for hatred. He threatened the prelates themselves with violence. The prelates withdrew, in the ensuing Lent published the interdict, and then fled the kingdom, and with them the Bishops of Bath and Hereford. "There they lived, says the historian, in abundance and luxury, instead of standing up as a defence for the Lord's house, abandoning their flocks to the ravening wolf." [1] Salisbury and Rochester took refuge in Scotland.[2] Thus throughout England, as throughout France, without exception, without any privilege to church or monastery, ceased the divine offices of the Church. From Berwick to the British Channel, from the Land's-End to Dover, the churches were closed, the bells silent; the only clergy who were seen stealing silently about were those who were to baptize newborn infants with a hasty ceremony; those who were to hear the confession of the dying, and to administer to them, and to them alone, the holy Eucharist. The dead (no doubt the most cruel affliction) were cast out of the towns, buried like dogs in some unconsecrated place — in a ditch or a dung-heap — without prayer, without the tolling bell, without funeral rite. Those only can judge the effect of this fearful malediction who consider how completely the whole life of all orders was affected by the ritual and daily ordinances of the Church. Every important act was done under the counsel of the priest or the monk. Even to the less serious, the festivals of the Church were the only

Interdict. March 24, 1208.

[1] Wendover, p. 224. [2] Bower. Continuat. Fordun. viii.

holidays, the processions of the Church the only spectacles, the ceremonies of the Church the only amusements. To those of deeper religion, to those, the far greater number, of abject superstition, what was it to have the child thus almost furtively baptized, marriage unblessed, or hardly blessed;[1] the obsequies denied; to hear neither prayer nor chant; to suppose that the world was surrendered to the unrestrained power of the devil and his evil spirits, with no saint to intercede, no sacrifice to avert the wrath of God; when no single image was exposed to view, not a cross unveiled: the intercourse between man and God utterly broken off; souls left to perish, or but reluctantly permitted absolution in the instant of death?

John might seem to encounter the public misery, not with resolute bravery, but with an insolence of disdain; to revel in his vengeance against the bishops and priests who obeyed the Pope. The Sheriffs had orders to compel all such priests and bishops to quit the realm, scornfully adding that they might seek justice with the Pope. He seized the bishoprics and abbeys, and escheated their estates into the hands of laymen. Some of the monks refused to leave their monasteries; their lands and property were not the less confiscated to the King's Exchequer. All the barns of the clergy were closed and marked as belonging to the royal revenue. The clergy of England were open to persecution of a more cruel nature. The marriage of the clergy still prevailed to a wide extent, under the opprobrious name of concubinage. The King seized these females

[1] Dr. Lingard, from Dunstable, c. 51, says that sermons were preached in the church-yards, marriages and churchings performed in the church-porch. - - vol. iii.

throughout the realm, and extorted large sums for their ransom.[1] The ecclesiastics, as they would not submit to the King's law, were out of the protection of the King's law; if assaulted on the high road, plundered, maltreated, they sought redress in vain. It was said that when a robber was brought bound before the King who had robbed and slain a priest, John ordered his release: "He has rid me of one enemy." Yet throughout all these oppressions of the Church, three prelates — his minister Peter of Winchester, Gray of Norwich (Deputy of Ireland), and Philip of Durham — were the firm partisans, the unscrupulous executors of all the King's measures.[2]

[1] "Presbyterorum et clericorum focariæ *per totam Angliam* a ministris regiis captæ sunt et graviter ad se redimendum compulsæ." — Wendover, p. 223.

[2] See, on the bishops, the very curious Latin song published by Mr. Wright, 'Political Songs.' Stephen is expected to be a second Becket. "Thomam habes (Cantia) sed alterum. Sed cum habebis Stephanum — Assumes tibi tympanum — Chelyn tangens sub modulo." Bath is accused of inordinate rapacity as a collector for the king's exchequer. "Tu Norwicensis bestia! — Audi quid dicat veritas — Qui non intrat per ostia — Fur est, an de hoc dubitas — Heu! cecidisti gravius — Quam Cato quondam tertius; Cum præsumpta electio — Justo ruat judicio. Empta per dolum Simonis — Wintoniensis armiger — Præsidet ad Scaccarium — Ad computandum impiger — Piger ad evangelium — Regis revolvens rotulum — Sic lucrum Lucam superat — Marco, Marcam præponderat — Et libræ librum subjicit." John (William?) of London, Ely, and Worcester (the successor of St. Wulstan), are named as the three who are to beat down the three impious ones, "Ely, parcens paucis vel nemini." Salisbury and Rochester are named with more meagre praise. — P. 10, *et seq.* There is a spirited anti-papal song on the other side. It is chiefly on the avarice of Rome —

"Romanorum curia non est nisi forum."

It does not abstain from the Pope —

"Cum ad Papam veneris, habe pro constanti,
Non est locus pauperi, soli favet danti."

Mr. Wright suggests that the lion in the fourth verse means King John — a strange similitude! — the bishops the asses

These exactions from the clergy enabled John to conduct his campaigns in Scotland, Wales, and Ireland with success. After above a year Innocent determined to strike at the person of the King, to excommunicate him by name in the most solemn manner. Stephen Langton had obtained a relaxation of the interdict so far that Divine service might be performed once a week in the conventual churches. The Pope issued his commission to the fugitive Bishops of London, Ely, and Worcester, to pronounce the sentence of excommunication, and to transmit it for publication to the few prelates who remained in the land. Every Sunday and every feast day it was to be repeated in all the conventual churches of England. Not a prelate dared to undertake the office; the whole clergy were dumb. Yet the awful fact transpired; men whispered to each other that the King was an excommunicated person; it was silently promulgated in market-places, and in the streets of the cities. One clergyman, Geoffrey, Archdeacon of Norwich, who was employed in the royal exchequer, was seized with conscientious scruples as to serving an excommunicatd King. He retired to Norwich. The King sent after him, ordered him to be loaded with chains, and afterwards cased in a surcoat of lead: he died in prison.

Resistance of John.

It is remarkable that while the interdict of one year reduced the more haughty and able Philip Augustus to submission, the weak, tyrannical, and contemptible John defied for four years the whole awful effects of interdict, and even for some time of personal excommunication. Had John been a popular sovereign, had he won to his own side by wise conciliation, by respect to their rights, by a dignified

appeal to their patriotism, the barons and the people of England; had he even tempted their worse passions, and offered them a share in the confiscated property of the Church, even the greatest of the Popes might have wasted his ineffectual thunders on the land. Above two years after the interdict, and when the sentence of excommunication was well known, King John A.D. 1210 held his Christmas at Windsor; not one of the great barons refused to communicate with him: even later, when Innocent proceeded to release his subjects from their oaths of allegiance, he counted among A.D. 1211. his steadfast adherents three bishops, Henry of Winchester, Philip of Durham, and John of Norwich; the Chancellor and a great number of the most powerful barons were firm in their loyalty. But while he defied the Pope and the hierarchy, he at the same time seemed to labor to alienate the affections of all orders in the country. He respected no rights; nothing was sacred against his rapacity and his lust. His profligate habits outraged the honor of the nobles; his passion for his Queen Isabella had burned out; not one of the wives or daughters of the highest barons was safe from his seductions or violence; against the lower orders he had reënacted and enforced with the utmost severity the forest-laws. An obscure person ("a false theologian"), Alexander the Mason, had now found his way into the councils of the King. Alexander is charged with encouraging at once the tyrannous and irreligious disposition of the King. He declared that kings were designed by God as scourges of their subjects; that he should govern them with a rod of iron. He averred at the same time that the Pope had no right to interfere in temporal matters; that God had given only ecclesi-

astical powers to St. Peter. John heaped benefices, which he wrested from their right owners, on this congenial adviser; he was afterwards reduced by the Pope's interposition to the lowest beggary; the clergy triumphed in his misery.[1] The exactions and barbarities of the King against the Jews would move but A.D. 1210. slight sympathy, even if not viewed with approbation; they were seized, imprisoned, tortured, without any avowed charge, with the sole, almost ostentatious design, of wringing money from their obstinate grasp. The well-known story of the Jew who lost his teeth, one every day for seven days, before he would yield, and on the eighth redeemed what were left by ten thousand marks, even if wholly or partly a fiction, is a fiction significant of terrible truth.[2] But the whole people was oppressed by heavy and unprecedented taxation. At length, when time had been given for the estrangement of the nobles and people to grow into disaffection, almost into revolt, Innocent proceeded to that last act of authority which the Papal See reserved against contumacious sovereigns. The Interdict had smitten the land; the Excommunication desecrated the person of the King; the subjects had been absolved from their fealty; there remained the act of deposition from the throne of his fathers. The sentence was publicly, solemnly promulgated against A.D. 1213. the King of England; his domains were declared the lawful spoil of whoever could wrest them from his unhallowed hands.

There was but one sovereign in Europe whom his own daring ambition, and his hatred of John, might tempt to this perilous enterprise. Philip Augustus, who

[1] Wendover, p. 229. [2] Wendover 231.

had himself so bitterly complained of the insolence of the Pope in interdicting his realm, excommunicating his person, absolving his subjects from their fealty, was now religiously moved to execute the Papal sentence of deposition against his rival. He had won the continental dominions, he would possess himself of the insular territories of John. The policy of Pope Innocent with regard to the King of France had undergone a total revolution. Otho, the Emperor, the kinsman of John, who owed to the wealth of John his success in his struggle for, if not his conquest of the Empire, was now the armed enemy of the Pope; France was the ally of Frederick the Sicilian, whose claims to the Empire were befriended by Innocent. The interests of the Pope and the King of France were as intimately allied as they had been implacably opposed. At a great assembly in Soissons appeared Stephen Langton, the Bishops of London and Ely, newly arrived from Rome, the King of France, the bishops, clergy and people of that realm. The English bishops proclaimed the sentence of deposition; enjoined the King of France and all others, under the promise of the remission of their sins, to take up arms; to dethrone the impious King of England; to replace him by a more worthy sovereign. Philip Augustus accepted the command of this new crusade. Great forces were levied for the invasion of England; secret negotiations carried on with the discontented nobles. The measures of John were not wanting in vigor or subtlety. He raised an immense force, which encamped on Barham Downs. The sheriffs had been ordered to summon every man capable of bearing arms; every vessel which would hold six horses

Philip Augustus undertakes to dethrone King John.

April 8, 1213.

was to assemble in Portsmouth harbor. He assumed the aggressive, captured some ships at the mouth of the Seine, and burned Fecamp and Dieppe. The army was so vast as to be unwieldy, and could not be supplied with provisions: but, even reduced, it amounted to 60,000 men.[1] Yet in all that army there were few whom John could trust, except, perhaps, the Irish, 1500 foot and a strong force of cavalry, brought over by his fast friend the Bishop of Norwich, the Deputy of Ireland; and the Flemish mercenaries, so long as they received their pay. It was universally believed,

Desperation of King John.

it became matter of grave history, that John took a step of still more awful desperation; the outcast of Christendóm would take refuge in Mohammedanism. He meditated a bold revolt to Islam. He despatched a secret embassy to Mohammed el Nasser, the Emir al Mouenim, the Caliph, as he was called, of the Mohammedans of Spain and Africa, offering to embrace the faith of the Korân, to own himself the vassal of the representative of the false prophet. It was still more unaccountably believed that the haughty Mohammedan treated his advances with disdain, and refused to honor the renegade Christian with his alliance. It is true that the abhorrence, the contempt of the Christian world had become allayed rather than inflamed by the Crusades; noble Christian knights and Christian kings had learned to honor chivalry and generosity in their unbelieving foes. The strife of Richard and Saladin had been that of kings who admired the lofty qualities each of his rival; Philip Augustus was said in his wrath to have expressed his envy of the Mohammedan Noureddin, who had no Pope to control

[1] See in Wendover the orders to the sheriffs, p. 244.

him. Frederick II. is about to appear even in more suspicious friendly approximation to the misbeliever. It is more probable that John may, in his impotent passion, have threatened, than had the courage to purpose such act of apostasy. The strong argument against it is his cowardice rather than his Christian faith. Even John must have had the sagacity to see that such alliance could give him no strength: would arm embattled Christendom against him. His anger might madden him to bold words, it would not support him in deliberate acts. But that the story was widely spread, eagerly believed, is of itself a significant historical fact.[1] But the better and wiser hope of John was in detaching the Pope himself, by feigned or by temporary submission, from the head of his own league; in making a separate peace with the Pontiff. He had sent the Abbot of Beaulieu, with five other ecclesiastics, to Rome; they had not been allowed, on account of certain informalities, to proceed in their negotiations; but the Subdeacon Pandulph, an ecclesiastic high in the confidence of Innocent, was commanded to proceed to England as Legate. Without any communication with the King of France, Pandulph presented himself at Dover before King John.[2]

John by this time had passed from the height of insolence to the lowest prostration of fear. Not only did everything tend to deepen his mistrust of his own subjects and his suspicions of the wavering fidelity of his army, but, like most irreligious men, he was the slave of superstition. One Peter, a hermit, had obtained

[1] Matth. Paris, p. 169. Compare Lingard, who is disposed to think the story not incredible.

[2] Pandulph was not cardinal.

great fame among the people as a prophet: of all his prophecies none had made greater noise, or been received with more greediness, than a saying relating to the King; that before Ascension Day John would cease to be King of England. Peter had been seized and imprisoned in Corfe Castle, and now, just at this perilous crisis, the fatal Ascension Day was drawing on; there wanted but three days. Pandulph was an Italian of consummate ability. He was ushered into the presence of the King by two Knights Templars. His skilful address overawed the shattered mind of John to a panic of humiliation. He described in the most vivid terms the vast forces of the King of France, darkened the disloyalty of the English barons; King Philip had declared that he had the signatures of almost all of them inviting him over.[1] From the hostility of France, of the exiled bishops, of his own barons, he had everything to fear; everything to hope from the clemency of Rome. John, once humbled, knew no bounds to his abject submission; he was as recklessly lavish in his concessions as recklessly obsti-
May 15, 1213. nate in his resistance. He was not even satisfied with subscribing the hard terms of the treaty dictated by Pandulph; he seemed to have a desperate determination by abasing himself even below all precedent to merit the strongest protection from that irresistible power which he had rashly provoked, and before which he was now bowed down; he could not purchase at too high a price his reconciliation to

[1] "Jactat in præterea idem rex chartas habere omnium fere Angliæ magnatum de fidelitate et subjectione." — Wendover, p. 47. Yet John had great names on his side, — William, Earl of Salisbury, his bastard brother; Reginald, Count of Boulogne; Warennes, de Veres.

the See of Rome; perhaps he contemplated, not without satisfaction, the bitter disappointment of his enemy Philip Augustus, in thus being deprived of his prey.

The treaty with the Pope acknowledged the full right of Langton to the Archiepiscopal See; it repealed the sentence of banishment against the clergy, and reinstated them in their functions and their estates; it promised full restitution of all moneys confiscated to the royal use, and compensation for other wrongs; a specific sum was to be paid to the Archbishop, and to each of the exiled bishops; it released from imprisonment all who had been apprehended during the contest; it reversed every sentence of outlawry; and guaranteed the clergy for the future from such violent abuse of the power of the Crown. Four barons swore to the execution of these stipulations on the part of the King; the Legate, on that of the Pope, that on their due fulfilment the interdict and the excommunication should be removed; and that the bishops should take a new oath of allegiance. But Ascension Day was not yet passed; it wanted still two days: and during those two days John had unconsciously fulfilled the prediction of the Hermit. On the vigil of that day appeared the Legate in his full pomp in the church of the Templars. On the other side entered the King of England, and placed an instrument in the Legate's hands, signed, sealed, and subscribed with his own name, with that of the attesting witnesses. — "Be it known to all men," so ran the Charter, "that having in many points offended God and our Holy Mother the Church, as satisfaction for our sins, and duly to humble ourselves

Submission of John.

after the example of Him who for our sake humbled himself to death, by the grace of the Holy Ghost, with our own free-will and the common consent of our barons, we bestow and yield up to God, to his holy apostles Peter and Paul, to our Lord the Pope Innocent, and his successors, all our kingdom of England and all our kingdom of Ireland, to be held as a fief of the Holy See with the payment of 1000 marks, and the customary Peter's pence. We reserve to ourselves, and to our heirs, the royal rights in the administration of justice. And we declare this deed irrevocable; and if any of our successors shall attempt to annul our act, we declare him thereby to have forfeited his crown." The attesting witnesses were one archbishop (of Dublin), one bishop (De Gray of Norwich), nine earls, among them Pembroke and Salisbury, and four barons. The next day he took the usual oath of fealty to the Pope; he swore on the Gospels. It was the oath of a vassal. "I, John, by the Grace of God, King of England and Lord of Ireland, from this day forth and forever, will be faithful to God and to the ever blessed Peter, and to the Church of Rome, and to my Lord the Pope Innocent, and to his Catholic successors. I will not be accessory, in act or word, by consent or counsel, to their loss of life, of limb, or of freedom. I will save them harmless from any wrong of which I may know; I will avert all in my power; I will warn them by myself or by trusty messengers, of any evil intended against them. I will keep profoundly secret all communications with which they may intrust me by letter or by message. I will aid in the maintenance and defence of the patrimony of St. Peter, specially this kingdom

of England and Ireland, to the utmost of my power, against all enemies. So help me God and his holy Gospels."[1] Every year, besides Peter's pence, the realm was to pay to the Holy See, as sign of vassalage, 1000 marks — 700 for England, 300 for Ireland.

By this extraordinary proceeding it is difficult to decide to what extent, according to the estimation of the time, John degraded himself and the realm of England. His first act showed that he was himself insensible to all its humiliating significance. That first act was to revenge himself on Peter the Hermit. Ascension Day passed over; he instantly ordered Peter and his son to be dragged at the tails of horses, and hung on gibbets, as false prophets. But the popular feeling vindicated the truth of the prediction: John had *ceased to reign* by the surrender of his kingdom to the Pope. It was afterwards among the heaviest charges made by Louis of France, when he claimed the crown of England; it followed the accusation of the murder of his nephew Arthur, that John had unlawfully surrendered the realm to the Pope.[2] The attesting witnesses were some of the greatest nobles in the land; they were chiefly the attached partisans of John, the Bishop of Norwich, and the King's bastard brother, Salisbury; Pembroke and Warenne were afterwards among the barons who extorted the great Charter.

[1] Compare the copies of the submission and the oath in Wendover with those in Rymer. In Wendover secundarius has been substituted (by the copyist) for feudatorius.

[2] The passage cited by Dr. Lingard, that he did this under compulsion from the barons, coactus, will bear another interpretation. He was compelled not by the counsel or control of those around him, but by the perfidious league of the others with France.

Innocent had added, by this act of John, another and a more powerful kingdom to that great feudal monarchy, half spiritual, half temporal, which the later Popes had aspired to found in Rome;[1] that vague and undefined sovereignty which gave the right of interfering in all the affairs of the realm, as Suzerain, as well as Spiritual Father. He had succeeded, by accident in truth, and to his loss and discomfiture, in imposing an Emperor on Germany; but still he had fixed a precedent for the decision of the Pope against a majority of the German electors. He held, at least he claimed to hold, the greater part of Italy. He did hold the kingdom of Sicily, as a fief of the Papacy; the patrimony of St. Peter, and the inheritance of the Counts of Tuscany, as actual Lord. In France the Popes asserted the reigning family, the descendants of Hugh Capet, to have received the throne by their award. The Pope had transferred it as from the Merovingian to the Carlovingian: so from the house of Charlemagne to that of Capet. In Spain, the kingdom of Arragon owned feudal allegiance. The Latin Empire of Constantinople, though won in direct prohibition of his commands, was yet subject to his undefined claim of sovereignty. Over all kingdoms conquered from the infidels he asserted his right of disposal, as well as over all islands: England held Ireland by his sovereign grant.

Effects of this submission.

Pandulph had received the fealty of the King of England; the 8000*l.* sterling, which had been stipulated as the compensation for the

Pandulph returns to France.

[1] During many pontificates the papal bulls and briefs speak of England as a vassal kingdom held of Rome.

exiled prelates, had been paid into his hands; he is said likewise to have received a sum of money as the first payment of the tribute to Rome, and to have trampled it contemptuously under his feet. But it was not Pandulph's policy to insult further the degraded John; and Pandulph was a man who acted throughout from wary policy. It is possible that in order to take a high tone, and remove that suspicion of rapacity which attached to all the proceedings of the Court of Rome, he may have declined to receive these first fruits of his conquest; but what he did carry to France was not the fee-farm payment to Rome, but the restitution money to the English prelates.[1] He appeared before the King of France, and in the name of the Pope briefly and peremptorily forbade him from proceeding to further hostilities against John, who had now made his peace with the Church. Philip Augustus burst into fury. "Had he at the cost of sixty thousand pounds assembled at the summons, at the entreaty of the Pope, one of the noblest armaments which had ever met under a King of France? Was all the chivalry of France, in arms around their sovereign, to be dismissed like hired menials when there was no more use for their services?" His invectives against the Pope passed not only all the bounds of respect, but of courtesy. But the defection of Ferrand Count of Flanders was more powerful in arresting the invasion of England, than the inhibition of Pandulph. Ferrand, whose conduct had been before doubtful, and who had entered into a secret league with the King of England, diverted on his own dominions the wrath of Philip, to whom the

Fury of Philip.

[1] Sismondi has confounded the two kinds of payment.

more alluring plunder of the rich Flemish towns seemed to offer a conquest more easy and profitable than the realm of England. Flanders, he swore, shall be France, or France Flanders. But the fleets of England joined the Flemings, and the attempted conquest of Flanders by Philip Augustus ended in disgraceful discomfiture.

If the dastardly mind of John was insensible to the shame of having degraded his kingdom into a fief of Rome, he might enjoy an ignominious triumph in the result of Philip's campaign. From himself he had averted all immediate danger; he had arrested the French invasion of England, and the menaced revolt of his barons; he had humbled his implacable enemy by his successes in Flanders. He had secured an ally, faithful to him in all his subsequent tyrannies, humiliations, and disasters. The vassal of the Roman See found a constant, if less powerful protector, in his lord the Pontiff of Rome. As elate in transient success as cowardly in disaster, John determined to resume the aggressive; to invade his ancient dominions in Poitou. But he was still under excommunication (Pandulph had prudently reserved the absolution till John had fulfilled the terms of the treaty by the reception of the exiled prelates). The barons refused to follow the banner of the kingdom, raised by an excommunicated monarch. John was compelled to fulfil his agreement to the utmost; to drink the dregs of humiliation. The exiled prelates, Stephen of Canterbury, William of London, Eustace of Ely, Hubert of Lincoln, Giles of Hereford, landed at Dover; they proceeded to Winchester:[1] there they were met before

July 20, 1213. St. Margaret's Day.

[1] Wendover, p. 260.

the gates by John; he fell at their feet and shed tears. The prelates raised him up, mingling, it is said, their tears with his: they conducted him into the church; they pronounced the absolution. King John swore on the Gospels to defend the Church and the priesthood; he swore also to reëstablish the good laws of his predecessors, especially those of King Edward; to abrogate the bad laws; to judge every man according to his right. He swore also to make ample restitution, under pain of a second excommunication, of all which he had confiscated during the exile of the prelates. He again swore fealty to the Pope and his Catholic successors.

John, now free from ecclesiastical censures, embarked for Poitou in the full hope that the realm of England would follow him in dutiful obedience. Most of the barons stood sullenly aloof; those who embarked abandoned him at Jersey. This was the first overt act in the momentous strife of the Barons of England for the liberties of England, which ended in the signature of the great Charter; and at the head of these Barons was Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury. Henry II. when he raised Becket to the Primacy of England, in order by his means to establish the temporal supremacy of the King over the Church, had not more completely mistaken the character of the man, than Innocent when he raised Langton to the same dignity, to maintain all the exorbitant pretensions of Rome over England. Langton, a more enlightened churchman, remembered not only that he was an Archbishop, but that he was an Englishman and a noble of England. He had asserted with the Pope the liberties of the Church against the King; he asserted the liber-

ties of England against the same King, though supported by the Pope. Almost the first act of Langton was to take the initiative in the cause of the barons. John returned from Jersey in fury against the contumacious nobles; he declared his determination to revenge himself, he summoned troops to execute his vengeance. Langton sought him at Northampton, and remonstrated at his arming against his barons before they had been arraigned and found guilty in the royal courts, as a violation of the oath sworn before his absolution. The King dismissed him with scorn, commanding him not to meddle in state affairs. But Langton followed John to Nottingham; threatened to excommunicate every one who should engage in this war before a fair trial had taken place, excepting only the King himself.[1] The King sullenly consented to convoke a plenary court of his nobles. One meeting of the Primate and the nobles had taken place at St. Albans; a second, ostensibly to regulate the claims of the Church upon the crown, was convened in St. Paul's, London. Langton there produced to the barons the charter of Henry I.; the barons received it with loud acclamations, and took a solemn oath to conquer or die in defence of their liberties.[2]

At Michaelmas arrived the new legate, Nicolas Cardinal of Tusculum: his special mission was the settlement as to the amount to be paid by the king for the losses endured by the clergy. He was received, though the interdict still lingered on the realm till the king should have given full satisfaction, with splendid

[1] Wendover, p. 261.
[2] Wendover, p. 263. See the charter.

processions.[1] His first act was to degrade the Abbot of Westminster, accused by his monks of dilapidation of their estates, and of incontinence. The citizens of Oxford were condemned for the murder of two clerks (not without provocation): they were to present themselves at each of the churches of the city naked to their shirts, with a scourge in their hand, and to request absolution, reciting the fiftieth psalm, from the parish priest. The Cardinal, who travelled at first with seven horses, had soon a cavalcade of fifty. The amount of just compensation to the clergy it was impossible to calculate. Their castles had been razed, their houses burned, their orchards and their woods cut down. John offered the gross sum of 100,000 marks. The Legate urged its acceptance, but was suspected of favoring the King. The bishops received in advance 1,500 marks, and the affair was for the present adjourned. On the payment of this sum the interdict was raised, but what further compensation was awarded to the inferior claimants does not appear. Still meeting after meeting took place, at length the business was referred to the Pope, who awarded to the Archbishop, the Bishops of London and Ely, the sum of 40,000 marks. At St. Paul's the King gave greater form and pomp to his disgraceful act of vassalage.[2] Before the high altar, in the presence of the clergy and people, John deposed his crown in the hands of the Legate, and made the formal resignation of the kingdom of England and Ireland.[3] The golden seal was affixed to the

Second surrender of the realm.

[1] Wendover, p. 275.

[2] "Illa non formosa sed famosa subjectio." — M. Paris.

[3] "Archiepiscopo conquerente et reclamante." — M. Paris. But the words are not in Wendover. Could it be the Archbishop of Dublin? The French translator of Matthew Paris, Mons. Huillard Breholles, would

deed of demission and consigned to the Pope. John did actual homage to the Legate for the kingdom of England. It was said that Stephen Langton had protested even at Winchester against this act of national humiliation. But if Langton bore this second act in silence, it was manifest that he had fallen in the favor of the Pope. The Pope was determined to support his vassal, whatever his iniquities, vices, crimes. Langton had now openly espoused the cause of his country's liberties. The Legate was empowered, without consulting the Primate or the Bishops, to appoint to all the vacant benefices; he travelled through the country attended by the royal officers and the clergy attached to the King; he filled the churches with unworthy men, or men at least thought unworthy; he suspended many ecclesiastics, and tauntingly told them to carry their complaints to Rome, while he seized their property and left them nothing to defray the expenses of their journey.[1] He trampled on the rights of patrons, and appointed his own clerks, many probably foreigners, to English preferments. His progress, instead of being a blessing to the land, was deemed a malediction. His final raising of the interdict was hardly a compensation for his insolent injustice. The Pope no doubt shared in the unpopularity of these proceedings. Stephen Langton the Primate summoned a council of his bishops at Dunstable; and sent certain priests to inhibit the Legate from inducting prelates and priests within the realm. Both appealed to the Pope. The Legate

transfer these complaints as if spoken at Dover, to this second transaction. This is taking great liberty with a text; but it is clear that they were not made by Stephen Langton at Dover; he had not then arrived in England.

[1] "Spreto archepiscopi et episcoporum regni consilio." — Wendover, p. 277.

sent the politic Pandulph, Stephen Langton Simon his bold brother, who afterwards held the archbishopric of York in despite of papal prohibition, to the court of Innocent. But the charter of John's submission weighed down all the arguments of Simon Langton.[1]

The great battle of Bouvines in Flanders, which annihilated the hopes of the Emperor Otho, and placed the Count of Flanders, as a prisoner, at the mercy of the merciless Philip Augustus, recalled John July 28, 1214. from Poitou, where he had made a vigorous, and for a time successful descent. He returned discomfited, soured in temper, to confront his barons, now prepared for the deadly strife in defence of their liberties. Throughout the contest, so long as he was in England, the Primate maintained a lofty position. With the other higher clergy he stood aloof from the active contest, though he was known to be the real head of the confederacy. He was not present at the great meeting at St. Edmondsbury; he appeared not in arms; he does not seem to A.D. 1214. have left the court; the demand for the charter of Henry I. came entirely from the lay barons. On the presentation of that address he consented, Address. Expunged, 1215. with the bishop of Ely and William Mareschal Earl of Pembroke, to be the king's sureties that he would hear and take into consideration the demands of his subjects,[2] and satisfy, if he might, their discontents. While the appeal to arms was yet in suspense, John, with that craft which in a nobler mind might have been wise policy, endeavored to detach the church from the cause of the national liberties. The clergy had been indemnified for their losses, but still there was

Meeting at St. Edmondsbury.

[1] Wendover, p. 279.

[2] Wendover, p. 296.

an old and inveterate grievance, the despotic power exercised by the Norman princes in the nomination to vacant bishoprics and abbacies. On the rare occasions in the early part of his reign, when he gave the royal license for the election of a bishop or great abbot, the electors were summoned before the king; an election in the royal presence was not likely to be against the royal will. During the interdict John's revenge (it was probably the source of the enormous wealth which he had at his command) had seized the revenue of these unfilled benefices. On his reconciliation with the Roman See, elections were to be in his presence, whether he were in England or on the continent. This he relaxed only on the remonstrance of the Archbishop, to permit them to take place, during his absence, before commissioners. But still the nomination was virtually in him, and him alone. He was now seized with an access of pious liberality, granted a charter of free election to all chapters and conventual churches: the charter declared that the royal license would always be granted; if not granted, was no bar to the free election; he renounced all royal influence, and promised the royal approbation unless the King could allege lawful objection.[1] That he might secure still further the protection of the church, John took the cross, and declared his intention to proceed, when relieved from his pressing cares, to the recovery of the Holy Land.

Each party endeavored to obtain the support of Rome. The barons had aided powerfully the cause of the Church in the former contest, and now the Church, at least the Primate, made common cause with the

[1] The document is in Rymer.

barons. But Innocent reserved his gratitude for the vassal who had laid the crown of England at his feet. "We must maintain the rights of, repel all insurrection against, a king who is our vassal."[1] In truth he understood not the nature, no more than he foresaw the remote consequences of the conflict. That the Church should resist, control, dictate to the temporal sovereign, was in the order of things: that other subjects should do the same, whatever the iniquities of the sovereign or the invasion of their natural or chartered rights, unless in defence of the Church, bordered on impiety. Langton received a severe rebuke; he was accused as the secret ringleader in this rebellion; he was commanded to labor for the reconciliation of the king and his subjects. The barons were censured for daring to attempt to extort privileges by force from the crown — privileges to be obtained only as a free gift from the King; the Pope condescended to promise his good offices in their behalf if they humbled themselves before their sovereign. Of his sole authority the Pope annulled all their leagues and covenants. The Pope rebuked, censured, promised in vain.

Arms must decide the strife. At the great meeting of the barons at Brackley, Langton and the Earl of Pembroke (the Bishop of Ely was now dead) again appeared in the King's name to receive the final demands of the barons. So high were their demands, that the king exclaimed in a fury:[2] "They may

[1] Such were the plain words of a memorable letter of Pope Innocent (published by Prynne from the original in the Tower, p. 28). He adds: "Contra dominum suum arma movere temeritate nefariâ præsumpserunt quodque nefandum est et absurdum cum ipse rex quasi perversus Deum et Ecclesiam offendebat, illi assistebant eidem, cum autem conversus Deo et Ecclesiæ satisfecit, ipsum impugnare præsumunt."

[2] Wendover, p. 298.

as well ask my kingdom; think they that I will be their slave?" But though the barons failed before Northampton, Bedford and London opened their gates. The great barons Pembroke, Warenne, and many others who had still appeared at least to be on the king's side, joined Fitzwalter and his party, the Northern Barons as they were called. London was the headquarters of the King's adversaries. The whole realm was one. The King was compelled to submit to the great Charter. Among the witnesses to that Charter, the first were Stephen Archbishop of Canterbury, and Henry Archbishop of Dublin. The first article guaranteed the rights of the Church, not indeed more strongly than by the charter before granted by the King, and which had received the ratification of the Pope. The Papal envoy Pandulph was present at the august ceremony. Pope Innocent saw in this movement only the turbulence of a few factious barons; he received the representations of John's ambassadors with great indignation; he knit his brow (so writes the historian), and broke out into the language of astonishment:[1] "What, have the barons of England presumed to dethrone a King who has taken the cross, and placed himself under the protection of the Apostolic See? Do they transfer to others the patrimony of the Church of Rome? By St. Peter, we cannot leave such a crime unpunished." If such unseemly language was attributed to the Pope, the formal acts of Innocent might almost justify such reports of his conduct. In his Bull[2] he attributes the rebellion of the barons, after John had been reconciled

Magna Charta. 1215, June 15.

[1] Wendover, p. 313.
[2] Rymer, i. p. 135.

to the Church, to the enemy of mankind. He is astonished that the barons have not humbly brought their grievances before his tribunal, and implored redress. The act describes the conduct of the King as throughout just, conciliatory. "Vassals, they have conspired against their lord — knights against their king: they have assailed his lands, seized his capital city, which has been surrendered to them by treason. Under their violence, and under fears which might shake the firmest man, he has entered into a treaty with the barons; a treaty not only base and ignominious, but unlawful and unjust; in flagrant violation and diminution of his rights and honor. Wherefore, as the Lord has said by the mouth of his prophet, — 'I have set thee above the nations, and above the kingdoms, to pluck up and to destroy, to build up and to plant;' and by the mouth of another prophet, — 'break the leagues of ungodliness, and loose the heavy burthens;' we can no longer pass over in silence such audacious wickedness, committed in contempt of the Apostolic See, in infringement of the rights of the King, to the disgrace of the kingdom of England, to the great peril of the Crusade. We therefore, with the advice of our brethren, altogether reprove and condemn this charter, prohibiting the king, under pain of anathema, from observing it, the barons from exacting its observation; we declare the said charter, with all its obligations and guarantees, absolutely null and void."[1]

Condemned by Pope Innocent.

The letter of Innocent to the Barons was no less lofty and commanding. He informed them that as they refused all just terms offered by

Innocent's letter

[1] Dated Anagni, Aug. 4.

the King, and a fair judgment in the court of Rome, the King had appealed to him his liege lord. He urged them to make a virtue of necessity, themselves to renounce this inauspicious treaty, to make reparation to the King for all losses and outrages perpetrated against him, "so that the King, appeased by their reverence and humility, might himself be induced to reform any real abuses." "For if we will not that he be deprived of his right, we will not have you oppressed, nor the kingdom of England, which is under our suzerainty, to groan under bad customs and unjust exactions." They were summoned to depute representatives to the court of Rome, and await the final decision of that tribunal.

The Great Charter of the liberties of England was absolutely, peremptorily annulled, by the supreme authority of the Pope, as Pope and as liege lord of the realm. The King was absolutely released from his oath to the statute; the King threatened with anathema if he observed, the barons if they exacted the observance.[1] Still the rebukes, promises, threats of spiritual censure, the annulling edict, were received with utter disregard by the sturdy barons. They retorted the language of the Scripture, the phrase of Isaiah is said to have been current among them, — "Woe unto him who justifieth the wicked for reward!"

The war had broken out; the King, with the aid of two of his warlike bishops, the Chancellor Bishop of Worcester, and John de Gray of Norwich,

War.

[1] Magna Charta the Pope describes as "compositionem non solum vilem et turpem, verum etiam illicitam et iniquam, in nimiam diminutionem et derogationem sui juris pariter et honoris." The documents in Rymer, sub ann.

had levied hosts of mercenary troops in Flanders; free-booters from all quarters, from Poitou and other parts of France, crowded to win the estates of the English barons, which were offered as rewards for their valor. John was pressing the siege of Rochester, which the remissness of the barons allowed to fall into his hands. He was only prevented by the prudence of one of his foreign captains, who dreaded reprisals, from ordering a general massacre of the garrison. The bull of excommunication against the barons followed rapidly the abrogation of the Charter. It was addressed to Peter Bishop of Winchester, the Abbot of Reading, and the Papal Envoy. It expressed the utmost astonishment and wrath, that Stephen Archbishop of Canterbury, and his suffragans, had shown such want of respect to the Papal mandate and of fidelity to their King; that they had rendered him no aid against the disturbers of the peace; that they had been privy to, if not actively engaged in the rebellious league. "Is it thus that these prelates defend the patrimony of Rome; thus that they protect those who have taken up the cross? Worse than Saracens they would drive from his realm a King in whom is the best hope of the deliverance of the Holy Land." All disturbers of the King and of the realm are declared to be in the bonds of excommunication; the Primate and his suffragans are solemnly enjoined to publish this excommunication in all the churches of the realm, every Sunday and festival, with the sound of bells, until the barons shall have made their absolute submission to the King. Every prelate who disobeys these orders is suspended from his functions.

The Bishop of Winchester, the Abbot of Reading, and Pandulph in a personal interview with the Primate

communicated the injunctions of the Pope. Stephen Langton demanded delay; he was about to proceed to Rome, being summoned to attend the Lateran Council. He firmly refused to publish the excommunication, as obtained from the Pope by false representations.[1] The Papal Delegates declared the Primate suspended from his office, and proceeded to promulgate the sentence of excommunication. The sentence was utterly without effect. An incident of the time shows how strongly the sympathies of the clergy were with Langton. The Canons of York after a long vacancy of the archbishopric,[2] rejecting Walter de Grey Bishop of Worcester, the Chancellor and partisan of John, chose Simon Langton, the brother of the Primate. Two brothers, for the first and last time, held these high dignities. The Pope, it is true, prohibited the elevation of Lang-
A.D. 1215. ton; but his election was a defiance of the King and of the Pope. The Primate, strong in the blameless dignity of his character, in the consciousness that he was acting as a Christian prelate in opposing a lustful, perfidious, and sanguinary tyrant like John, in his dignity as Cardinal of the Roman Church, feared
Nov. 1215. Stephen at Rome. not to confront the Pope, and to present himself at the great Lateran Council. The favor, however, with which the Pontiff and the Council heard

[1] "Dissensiones . . . dissimulastis hactenus, et conniventibus oculis pertransitis . . . . nonnullis suspicantibus . . . . quod vos illis præbetis auxilium et favorem." — Rymer, sub ann. 1215. John had complained to the Pope: "Dominus vero Cantuarensis Archiepiscopus et ejus suffraganei mandata vestra executioni demandare supersederunt . . . Archiepiscopus respondens, ut quod sententiam excommunicationis in eos nullo modo proferret, qui bene sciebat mentem vestram." — Langton agreed, however, if John would revoke his orders for his foreign mercenaries, to pronounce the excommunication. — Rymer, 1215.

[2] From 1212.

his accusers, the envoys of King John, the Abbot of Beaulieu, Thomas of Herdington, and Geoffrey of Cracombe, the unbending severity of the Pope himself, covered him, it is said, with confusion; at least taught him the prudence of silence: the sentence of suspension was solemnly ratified by Pope and Council, and even when it was subsequently relaxed, it was on the condition that he should not return to England. Stephen Langton remained at Rome though not in custody, yet no less a prisoner. The Canons of York were informed that the Pope absolutely annulled the election of Simon Langton; they were compelled to make a virtue of necessity, to affect joy at being permitted to elect the Bishop of Worcester, a man they acknowledged, it should seem, of one rare virtue — unblemished chastity. De Grey returned Archbishop of York, but loaded with a heavy debt to the court of Rome, 10,000*l.* sterling.[1]

When John let loose his ferocious hordes of adventurers from Flanders, Brabant, Poitou, and other countries like wild beasts upon his unhappy realm; when himself ravaged in the north, his bastard brother the Earl of Salisbury in the south; when the whole land was wasted with fire and sword; when plunder, murder, torture, rape, raged without control; when agriculture and even markets had absolutely ceased, the buyers and sellers met only in church-yards, because they were sanctuaries;[2] when the clergy were treated with the same impartial cruelty as the rest of the

[1] Wendover, p. 346. He adds: — "Itaque accepto pallio episcopus memoratus, obligatur in curiâ Romanâ de decem millibus libris legalium sterlingorum."

[2] Wendover, p. 351.

people, John was still the ally, the vassal, under the special protection of the Pope. These terrible triumphs of his arms were backed by the sentence of excommunication against the barons and all their adherents.[1] Many of the noblest barons were anathematized by name; above all, the citizens of London and the Cinque Ports, for the capital boasted itself as the head-quarters of the champions of freedom. The citizens of London however treated the spiritual censure with utter contempt, the services went on uninterrupted and exactly in the usual manner in all the churches.

June, 1216.

So also when the Barons in their desperation offered the crown to Louis, the son of Philip Augustus of France. The Legate Gualo, then on his way to England, solemnly warned Louis not to dare to invade the patrimony of St. Peter, a menace not likely to awe a son of Philip Augustus with such a prize before him. Louis indeed showed a kind of mockery of deference to the Pope, in submitting to the Holy See a statement of the title which he set up to the throne of England.[2] This rested on the right of his Queen, even if the house of Castile had any claim, a younger daughter of that house. Its first postulate was the absolute exclusion of John, as attainted for murder during the reign of his brother Richard, and incapable thereby of inheriting the crown; and for the murder of his nephew,

[1] Wendover, p. 353. The three acts of excommunication against the barons, of suspension against Stephen Langton, the special anathema on certain barons, with their names, are in Rymer.

[2] See Rymer for the document in which Louis alleged his title to the throne of England. Louis asserts the truth of the account, that Archbishop Hubert publicly announced that on the accession of John "non ratione successionis, sed per electionem ipsum in regem coronabat." — Rymer, sul ann. 1216.

of which he had been found guilty in the court of the King of France. With the original flaw in the title of John fell of course his right to grant the island to St. Peter; and so the claim of Louis to the throne was an abrogation of that of Innocent to the suzerainty of the land. No wonder then that the sentence of excommunication was launched at once against Louis himself, and all who should invite, assist, support his descent upon England. The last act of Innocent was to command an excommunication as solemn of the King of France himself, for guiltily conniving at least at an invasion of England, to be pronounced July 16. 1216. at a great synod at Melun. The French prelates interposed delay; and the death of Pope Innocent suspended for a time the execution of this mandate.

The death of Innocent was followed in but a few months by that of John, under fierce affliction for the loss of his baggage and part of his wild freebooting army, which had remorselessly ravaged great part of the kingdom, by sudden floods, as he passed from Lynn in Norfolk into Lincolnshire. John reached the Abbey of Swineshead. Intemperate indulgence in fruit excited his fever; he there made his will,[1] left his young son to the tutelage of the new Pope Honorius III., and dragged his weary and exhausted body to Newark. There he died in peace with the Church, having received the holy Eucharist, commending his body and his soul to the intercession of the pious St. Wulstan in Worcester, under the tutelar shade of

[1] The attesting witnesses to his will were the Cardinal Legate Gualo, the Bishops of Winchester, Chichester, Worcester, Aimeric de St. Maur, or Mareschal, Earl of Pembroke, Earl of Chester, Earl of Ferrars, Wm. Browne, Walter de Lacy, John de Monmout, Savary de Mauleon, Fulk de Breauté

whose cathedral he wished his ashes to repose. John died in peace with the Church, it was of course be-
Oct. 19. lieved with Heaven, leaving Stephen Langton the Primate, a Cardinal of the church, suspended from his holy functions, in a kind of stately disgrace, an exile from his See; the greater part of the higher clergy under virtual excommunication as communicating with the proscribed barons; almost the whole nobility under actual excommunication, and so in peril of eternal perdition.

Thus closed the eventful reign of the meanest and most despicable sovereign who ever sat on the throne of England. Political passions, the pride of ingenuity, the love of paradox, have endeavored to lighten the burden of obloquy which has weighed down the memory of most of our least worthy sovereigns. Richard III. has found an apologist. But John has been abandoned utterly, absolutely, to execration and contempt. Yet from the reign of John dates, if not the first dawn, the first concentrated power of the liberties of England. A memorable example of the wonderful manner in which Divine Providence overrules the worst of men to its noblest and most beneficent designs! From this time, too, the impulses of religious independence began to stir in the hearts of men. The national English pride had been deeply wounded by the degradation of the realm to a fief of the See of Rome; and the ambition of Rome had overleaped itself.[1] Future Popes

[1] The historians, all ecclesiastics, are undeniable witnesses. We have heard Wendover. Westminster describes the charter of surrender as "omnibus eam audientibus lugubrem et detestabilem." — Ann. 1213, p. 93. Knighton says, "De libero fecit se servum, de dominante servientem, terramque Anglicanam quæ solebat esse libera et ab omni servitute quieta, fecit tributariam et ancillam pedissequam." — De event. Angliæ, l. ii. c. 25

were tempted to lay intolerable taxation upon the clergy, which was felt by the whole kingdom; and to inflict the almost more intolerable grievance, the filling up the English benefices by foreign ecclesiastics — if not resident, hated as draining away their wealth without condescending to regard any duties; if resident, hated still more profoundly for their pride, ignorance of the language, and uncongenial manners. Our history must show this gradual alienation and estrangement of the national mind from the See of Rome, the silent growth of Teutonic freedom.

## CHAPTER VI.

### INNOCENT AND SPAIN.

The three great Sovereigns of Western Europe, the Kings of Germany, of France, and England, had seen their realms under Papal interdict, themselves under the sentence of excommunication; but the Papal power under Innocent not only aspired to humble the loftiest: hardly one of the smaller kingdoms had not already been taught, or was not soon taught, to feel the awful majesty of the Papacy. From the Northern Ocean to Hungary, from Hungary to the Spanish shore of the Atlantic, Innocent is exercising what takes the language of protective or parental authority, but which in most cases is asserted by the terrible interdict. The sunshine of Papal favor is rarely without the black thunder-clouds looming heavily over the land, breaking or threatening to break in all their wrath. Nowhere is he more constantly engaged, either as claiming feudal sovereignty, as regulating the ecclesiastical appointments, as, above all, the arbiter in questions of marriage, than among the sovereigns of the petty kingdoms of Spain. These kingdoms had gradually formed themselves out of conquests from receding Mohammedanism. Spanish Christianity was a perpetual crusade; and the Head of Western Christendom might still watch with profound anxiety these advances, as it

were, of Christendom. There was nothing to prevent another inroad from Africa, ruled by powerful Mohammedan potentates; nothing, till the great battle of Naves de Tolosa, to guarantee Western Christendom from a new invasion as terrible as that under Tarik. A second battle of Tours might be necessary to rescue Europe from the dominion of the Crescent. Innocent had the happiness to hear the July 16, 1212
tidings of Naves de Tolosa, where the Crescent fell before the united armies of the three Kings of Castile, Arragon, and Navarre. To each of these Peninsular kingdoms — Portugal, Leon, Castile, Arragon, and Navarre, Innocent speaks in the tone of a master; each, except perhaps Arragon, is in its turn threatened with interdict, his one ordinary means of compulsion.

Portugal had been formed into a Christian State by the valor of a descendant of the house of Capet; it had been organized by the wisdom of his son Sancho. The Popes had already asserted the strange pretensions that territories conquered from the Unbelievers were at their disposal, and that they had the power of raising principalities into kingdoms. Alexander III. had advanced Portugal to that dignity on condition of an annual tribute to the See of Rome. The payment was irregularly made, if not disclaimed. Innocent instructs his Legate, the Brother Rainer, a man of great discretion and trust, employed on all the affairs of Spain, to demand the subsidy; if refused, to compel it by the only authority — ecclesiastical censure. The King of Portugal is to be reminded that he may expect great temporal as well as spiritual advantage from his filial submission to the Supreme Pontiff; but

Henry of Portugal.

if God is offended by the withholding their rightful dues from other churches, how much more grievous a sin, how heinous a sacrilege is it, to deprive of its full rights the Church which is the mistress of all Churches![1] In the same arbitrary manner, and by the same means, Rainer was to compel the Kings of Portugal and Castile to maintain a treaty of peace, on which they had agreed, and to resist the intrigues of turbulent men, who endeavored to plunge them again into war.

In the affairs of Leon and Castile Innocent interposed in his character as supreme arbiter on all questions of marriage. On the death of Alfonso the Emperor,[2] the great kingdom of Leon had been divided between his two sons, the Kings of Leon and Castile, Fernando and Sancho. The second generation was now on each throne; both the princes bore the name of Alfonso. But instead of urging the war against the common enemy, the Unbeliever, these princes had turned their arms against each other. Alfonso of Leon had married the daughter of the King of Portugal. These sovereigns were connected by some remote tie of consanguinity; the incestuous union was declared void. Cœlestine III. placed under interdict the two kingdoms of Portugal and Leon, and the marriage, though Teresa had borne him three children (one son and two daughters), was absolutely annulled. The repudiated Teresa returned to her native Portugal[3]

[1] Epist. i. 99, 449.

[2] Mariana, xi.

[3] Innocent's language is express as to the revocation of the marriage: "Filiam . . . Portugalliæ regis, incestuose præsumpserat copulare . . . . . unde quod illegitimè factum erat, est penitus revocatum." — Epist. ii. 75.

But Alfonso of Leon broke off this wedlock only to form another more obnoxious to the ecclesiastical canons. He married Berengaria, the daughter of his cousin-german the King of Castile. The nobles of both realms rejoiced in this union, as a guarantee for peace between Castile and Leon. They would entertain no doubt that the Papal dispensation might be obtained for a marriage, though within the prohibited degrees, yet by no means offensive to the natural feelings in the West, and of so much importance in directing the united arms of Leon and Castile against the Mohammedans. But to this deviation from the sacred canons the Pope Celestine had expressed his determination not to accede; he sent the Cardinal Guido of St. Angelo to prohibit this second profane wedlock. The Cardinal was to pronounce the interdict against both realms, excommunication against both Sovereigns, unless the hateful contract were annulled. Under this sentence were included, as abettors of the sin, the Archbishop of Salamanca, the Bishops of Zamora, Astorga, and Leon. The Bishop of Oviedo was persecuted by the King of Leon, as inclined to obey the Pope rather than his temporal sovereign.[1] Innocent was not likely to be indulgent where his predecessor had been severe. To this marriage he applies the strongest terms of censure: it is incestuous, abominable to God, detestable in the sight of man. The Brother Rainer is ordered to ratify in the most solemn manner the interdict of the kingdoms, the excommunication of the Kings. Rainer cited the Kings to appear

The King of Leon.

"Verum dictus Rex Legion. ad deteriora manum extendens." — Compare Mariana, xi. 17.

[1] Epist. i. 58, 97, 125.

before him. The King of Leon paid no regard to the summons; the King of Castile averted the interdict for a time by declaring his readiness to receive back his daughter. But he had no intention to restore certain castles which he had obtained as her dowry. The Archbishop of Toledo, and the Bishop of Palencia on the part of the King of Castile, the Bishop of Zamora on that of the King of Leon, appeared in Rome. They could hardly obtain a hearing from the inexorable Pontiff. But their representations of the effects of the interdict enforced the consideration of the Pope. They urged the danger as to the heretics. When the lips of the pastors of the people were closed, the unrefuted heretics could not be controlled by the power of the King. New heresies spring up in every quarter. How great, too, the danger as to the Saracens! The religious services and the religious sermons alone inflamed the valor of the people to the holy war against the misbelievers; their devotion, now that both prince and people were involved in one interdict, waxed cold. Nor less the danger as to the Catholics, for since the clergy refused their spiritual services, the people refused their temporal payments; offerings, first-fruits, tithes, were cut off; the clergy were reduced to beg, to dig, or, worse reproach, to be the slaves of the Jews. The Pope, with great reluctance, consented to relax the severity of the interdict, to permit the performance of the sacred offices, except the burial of the dead in consecrated ground; this was granted to the clergy alone as a special favor. But the King himself was still under the ban of excommunication; whatever town or village he entered, all divine service ceased; no one was to dare to celebrate an act of holy worship. This

mandate was addressed to the Archbishop of Compostella and to all the Bishops of the kingdom of Leon.[1]

But his wife had been still further endeared to the King of Leon by the birth of a son;[2] and so regardless were the Leonese clergy of the Papal decree, that the baptism of the child was celebrated publicly with the utmost pomp in the cathedral church of Leon. Innocent had compared together the royal line of the East and of the West. In the East, Isabella, the heiress of the kingdom of Jerusalem, had contracted two incestuous marriages within the prohibited degrees. God had smitten with death her two husbands, Conrad of Montferrat and Henry of Champagne. He would even inflict worse vengeance on the A.D. 1199.
transgressors of the West, if they persisted in their detestable deed. His vaticination was singularly unfortunate. The son of this unblessed union grew up a king of the most exemplary valor, virtue, and prosperity; and after his death the canonized Ferdinand was admitted into the holy assembly of the Saints. Nor was it till Berengaria had borne five children to Alfonso of Leon that her own religious scruples were awakened, and she retired from the arms of her husband to a peaceful retreat in the dominions of her father. The ban under which the kingdom had labored for nearly five years was annulled; the five children were declared legitimate and capable of inheriting the crown. The dispute concerning the border castles was arranged by the intervention of the bishops.

[1] Epist. ii. 75.

[2] The son by Teresa had died in infancy. Mariana, *loc. cit.*

The King of Navarre had incurred the interdict of Innocent on more intelligible grounds. He had made an impious treaty with the Infidels; he had even undertaken a suspicious visit to the Miramamolin in Africa; he was supposed to be organizing a league with the Mohammedans both of Spain and Africa against his enemies the Kings of Arragon and Castile: on him and on his realm Brother Rainer was at once to pronounce the ban, and to give lawful power to the King of Arragon to subdue his dominions. Sancho of Navarre, however, averted the subjugation of the realm: he entered into a treaty with the allied Kings of Arragon and Castile. It was stipulated in the terms of the treaty that Pedro of Arragon should wed the sister of Navarre. But again was heard the voice of the Pope, declaring that the marriage, though the pledge and surety of peace, and of Sancho's loyalty to the cause of Christendom, being within the third degree of consanguinity, could not be. The oath which Sancho had taken to fulfil this stipulation was worse than perjury; it was to be broken at all cost and all hazard.[1]

A.D. 1204. King of Navarre.

But thus inexorable to any breach of the ecclesiastical canons, so entirely had these canons usurped the place of the higher and immutable laws of Christian morals, here, as in the case of John of England, Innocent himself was, if not accommodating, strangely blind to the sin of marriage contracted under more unhallowed auspices. Pedro of Arragon was the model of Spanish chivalry on the throne. He aspired to be the leader of a great crusading league of all the Spanish kings against

A.D. 1199. King of Arragon.

A.D. 1204.

[1] Epist. i. 556. Compare Abarca, Anales de Aragon, xviii. 7.

the Unbelievers. Innocent himself had the prudence to allay for a time the fervor of his zeal. The court of Pedro, like that of his brother, the Count of Provence, was splendid, gay, and dissolute: the troubadour was welcome, with his music and his song, to the joyous prince and the bevy of fair ladies, who were not insensible to the gallant King or to the amorous bards. But Pedro, while he encouraged the gay science of Provence, was inexorable to its religious freedom. He was hitherto severely orthodox, and banished all heresy from his dominions under pain of death. The kingdom flourished under his powerful rule: the King's peace was proclaimed for the protection of widows and orphans, roads and markets, oxen at the plough and all agricultural implements, olive-trees, and dove-cots. The husbandman found a protector, his harvests security under the King's rule.[1]

The Kings of Arragon had never been crowned on their accession; they received only the honor of knighthood. From Counts of Barcelona, owing allegiance to the descendants of Charlemagne, they had gradually risen to the dignity of Kings of Arragon. But the last sign of kingship was wanting, and Pedro determined to purchase that honor from the hand which assumed the power of dispensing crowns: he would receive the crown at Rome from the Pope himself, and as the price of this condescension hesitated not to declare the kingdom of Arragon feudatory to the See of Rome, and to covenant for an annual tribute to St. Peter. On his journey to Rome he visited his brother at his court in Provence. The beauty and the rich inheritance of Maria, the only daughter of

[1] Hurter, p. 598.

the Count of Montpellier, whose mother was Eudoxia, the daughter of the Emperor of the East, attracted the gallant and ambitious Pedro. There was an impediment to the marriage, it might have been supposed, more insuperable than the ties of consanguinity. She was already married, and had borne two children, to the Count of Comminges;[1] she afterwards, indeed, asserted the nullity of this marriage, on the plea that the Count of Comminges had two wives living at the time of his union with her. But the easy Provençal clergy raised no remonstrance. Innocent, if rumors reached him (he could hardly be ignorant), closed his ears to that which was not brought before him by regular appeal. The espousals took place at Montpellier,[2] Nov. 8, 1204. and Pedro set forth again for Rome. He sailed from Marseilles to Genoa, from Genoa to Ostia. He was received with great state: two hundred horsemen welcomed him to the shore; the Senator of Rome, the Cardinals, went out to meet him; he was received by the Pope himself in St. Peter's; his lodging was with the Canons of that church.

Three days after took place the coronation of the new feudatory king (thus was an example set to the King of England) in the Church of San Pancrazio beyond the Tiber, in the presence of all the civilians, ecclesiastical dignitaries of Rome, and of the Roman

[1] "Si bien Doña Maria di Mompeller fue en *santitad* y valor ornamento de el estado de Reynas, y traia en dote tan ricos y oportunos pueblos." Abarca, indeed, says, "Ella ni era hermosa ni doncella." He adds that she had been forced to this marriage neither legitimate nor public, with the Count of Comminges; see also on her two daughters, and the count's two wives. — i. p. 225.

[2] He soon repented of his ill-sorted marriage. Abarca says he set off "para salir el bien de ellos (desvios de el Rey con la Reyna); y alexarse mas de ella," and hoped to get a divorce from the Pope.

people.[1] He was anointed by the Bishop of Porto, and invested in all the insignia of royalty — the robe, the mantle, the sceptre, the golden apple, the crown, and the mitre. He swore this oath of allegiance: — "I, Pedro, King of Arragon, profess and declare that I will be true and loyal to my lord the Pope Innocent, and to his Catholic successors in the See of Rome; that I will maintain my realm in fidelity and obedience to him, defend the Catholic faith, and prosecute all heretical pravity; protect the liberties and rights of the Church; and in all the territories under my dominion maintain peace and justice. So help me God and his Holy Gospel."

The King, in his royal attire, proceeded to the Church of St. Peter. There he cast aside his crown and sceptre, surrendered his kingdom into the hands of the Pope, and received again the investiture by the sword, presented to the Pope. He laid on the altar a parchment, in which he placed his realm under the protection of St. Peter; and bound himself and his successors to the annual tribute of two hundred gold pieces.[2] So was Arragon a fief of the Roman See; but it was not without much sullen protest of the high-minded Arragonese. They complained of it as a base surrender of their liberties; as affording an opening to the Pope to interfere in the internal affairs of the kingdom with measures more perilous to their honor and liberty. Their discontent was aggravated by heavy burdens laid upon them by the King. They complained that in his private person he was prodigal, and

[1] St. Martin's day. Gesta, c. 120.

[2] They bore the Moorish name of Massimute, from the King Jussuf Masemut; each was worth six solidi.

rapacious as a ruler. When these proceedings were proclaimed at Huesca, they were met with an outburst of reprobation, not only from the people, but from all the nobles and hidalgos of the kingdom.[1] Pedro of Arragon will again appear as Count of Montpellier, in right of his wife, if not on the side of those against whom the Pope had sanctioned a crusade on account of their heretical pravity; yet as the mortal foe, as falling in battle before the arms of the leader of that crusade, Simon de Montfort.

The lesser kingdoms of Europe, Bohemia, Hungary, Poland — those on the Baltic — were not beyond the sphere of Innocent's all-embracing watchfulness, more especially Bohemia, on account of its close relation to the Empire. The Duke of Bohemia had dared to receive the royal crown from the excommunicated Philip.[2] The Pope lifts up his voice in solemn rebuke. The Bohemian shows some disposition to fall off to Otho; the great prelates of Prague and Olmutz are ordered to employ all their spiritual power to confirm and strengthen him in that cause. Hopes are held out that Bohemia may be honored by a metropolitan see.

March 1, 1201.

To the King of Denmark Innocent has been seen as the protector of his injured daughter; throughout, Denmark looks to Rome alone for justice and for redress. Even Thule, the new and more remote Thule, is not inaccessible to the sovereign of Christian Rome. We read a lofty but affectionate letter addressed to the

[1] Mariana, lib. xi. p. 362. "Solo alegre para los Romanos; y despues infeliz y triste para los Aragoneses." — Abarca. King Pedro did not succeed in getting rid of his wife.

[2] Epist. i. 707

bishops and nobles of Iceland.[1] A legate is sent to that island. They are warned not to submit to the excommunicated and apostate priest Swero, who aspired to the throne of Norway. Yet, notwithstanding the Pope, Swero the apostate founded a dynasty which for many generations held the throne of Norway.

The kingdom of Hungary might seem under the special protection of Innocent III.: it was his aim to urge those warlike princes to enter on the Crusades. Bela III. died, not having fulfilled his vow of proceeding to the Holy Land. To his elder son Emeric he bequeathed his kingdom; to the younger, Andrew, a vast treasure, accumulated for this pious end, and the accomplishment of his father's holy vow. Andrew squandered the money, notwithstanding the Pope's rebukes, on his pleasures; and then stood up in arms against his brother for the crown of Hungary. His first insurrection ended in defeat. The Pope urged the victorious Emeric to undertake the Crusade; yet the Pope could not save Zara (Jadara), the haven of Hungary on the Adriatic, from the crusaders, diverted by Venice to the conquest. Andrew, ere long was again in arms against his royal brother; the nobles, the whole realm were on his side; a few loyal partisans adhered to the King. Emeric advanced alone to the hostile van; he threw off his armor, he bared his breast; "who will dare to shed the blood of their King?"[2] The army

[1] Epist. i. On all these minor transactions, for which I have not space, Hurter is full and minute. Hurter, I think, is an honest writer: but sees all the acts of Innocent through a haze of admiration, which brightens and aggrandizes them. Never was the proverb more fully verified, proselytes are always enthusiasts.

[2] Compare Mailath, Geschichte der Magyaren, especially for the striking scene of Emeric in the army of his brother. — v. i. p. 141. A.D. 1203.

of Andrew fell back, and made way for the King, who confronted his brother. He took the rebel by the hand, and led him away through his own hosts. Both armies broke out in loyal acclamations. Andrew was a prisoner, and sent to a fortress in Croatia: Emeric, before he undertook the Crusade, would have his infant son Ladislaus crowned; a few months after he was dying, and compelled to intrust his heir to the guardianship of his rebel brother. Erelong the mother and her royal son were fugitives at Vienna; but the timely death of the infant placed the crown on the head of Andrew. After some delay, Andrew atoned in the sight of the Pope for all the disobedience and ambition of his youth, by embarking at the head of a strong Hungarian army for the Holy Land. The King of Hungary could not overawe the fatal dissensions among the Christians, which thwarted every gallant enterprise. He returned after one ineffective campaign. Yet Andrew of Hungary left behind him the name of a valiant and prudent champion of the Cross. He returned to his kingdom in the year of Innocent's death.[1] The Golden Bull, the charter of the Hungarian liberties, was the free and noble gift of Andrew of Hungary.

Innocent extended his authority over Servia, and boasted of having brought Bulgaria, even Armenia (the Christian Crusader's kingdom), under the dominion of the Roman See.

[1] A.D. 1216. On Andrew's crusade see Michaud and Wilken, *in loc.* Brequigny ii. 487, 489.

# CHAPTER VII.

## INNOCENT AND THE EAST.

INNOCENT III., thus assuming a supremacy even more extensive than any of his predecessors over the kingdoms of the West, was not the Pontiff to abandon the East to its fate; to leave the sepulchre of Christ in the hands of the Infidels; to permit the kingdom of Jerusalem, feeble as it was, to perish without an effort in its defence; to confess, as it were, that God was on the side of Mohammedanism, that all the former Crusades had been an idle waste of Christian blood and treasure, and that it was the policy, the ignominious policy of Christendom to content itself with maintaining, if possible, the nearer frontier, Sicily and Spain. Innocent and the East.

Yet the event of the Crusades might have crushed a less lofty and religious mind than that of Innocent to despair. Armies after armies had left their bones to crumble on the plains of Asia Minor or of Galilee; great sovereigns had perished, or returned discomfited from the Holy Land. Of all the conquests of Godfrey of Bouillon remained but Antioch, a few towns in Palestine, and some desert and uncultivated territory. The hopes which had been excited by the death of Saladin, and the dissensions between his sons and his brother, Melek al Adhel, had soon been Failure of Crusades.

extinguished. The great German Crusade, in which the Archbishops of Mentz and Bremen, the Bishops of Halberstadt, Zeitz, Verden, Wurtzburg, Passau and Ratisbon, the Dukes of Austria, Carinthia and Brabant, Henry the Palgrave of the Rhine, Herman of Thuringia, Otho Margrave of Brandenburg, and many more of the great Teutonic nobles had joined, had ended in disgraceful failure. The death of the Emperor Henry gave them an excuse for stealing back ignominiously, single or in small bands, to Europe; they were called to take their share in the settlement of the weighty affairs of the Empire; the Archbishop of Mentz lingered to the last, and at length, he too turned his back on the Holy Land. The French, who had remained after the departure of Philip Augustus, resented the insufferable arrogance of the Germans; the Germans affected to despise the French. But their only achievement, as Innocent himself tauntingly declared, had been the taking of undefended Berytus; while the unbeliever boasted that he had stormed Joppa in the face of their whole host, with infinite slaughter of the Christians. All was dissension, jealousy, hostility. The King of Antioch was at war with the Christian King of Armenia. The two great Orders, the only powerful defenders of the land, the Hospitallers and the Templars, were in implacable feud. The Christians of Palestine were in morals, in character, in habits, the most licentious, most treacherous, most ferocious of mankind. Isabella, the heiress of the kingdom, had transferred the short-lived sceptre to four successive husbands. It rested now with Amalric, King of Cyprus. Worst of all, terrible rumors were abroad of suspicious compliances, secret correspondences, even

secret apostasies to Mohammedanism, and not only of single renegades. If those rumors had not begun to spread concerning the dark dealings of the Templars with forbidden practices and doctrines, which led during the next century to their fall, Innocent himself had to rebuke their haughty contempt of the Papal authority. In abuse of their privilege, during times of interdict whenever they entered a city they commanded the bells to ring and the divine offices to be publicly celebrated. They impressed with the sign of the cross, and affiliated to their order for a small annual payment of two or three pence, the lowest of mankind, usurers and other criminals, and taught them that, as of their order, whether they died in excommunication or not, they had a right to be buried with the rites of the Church in consecrated earth; it was said that the guilty, licentious and rapacious order wore not the secular garb for the sake of religion, but the garb of religion for the sake of the world.[1]

But the darker the aspect of affairs, the more firmly throughout his Pontificate seemed Innocent to be persuaded that the Crusade was the cause of God. Among his first letters were some addressed to the Patriarch of Jerusalem, and to Conrad of Mentz with the Crusaders of Germany. In every new disaster, in every discomfiture and loss, the Popes had still found unfailing refuge in ascribing them to the sins of the Christians: and their sins were dark enough to justify the strongest language of Innocent. To the Pa- Innocent urges the Crusade.

[1] "Dum utentes doctrinis dæmoniorum in cujusque tructanni pectore Crucifixi signaculum imprimunt . . . asserentes quod quicunque duobus vel tribus denariis annuis collatis eisdem, se in eorum fraternitatem contulerint, carere de jure nequeant ecclesiasticâ sepulturâ etiamsi interdicti." — Epist. x. 121. This letter belongs to the year 1208.

triarch he pledges himself to the most earnest support, exhorts him and his people to prayer, fasting, and all religious works. It needed but more perfect faith, more holiness, and one believer would put to flight twelve millions; the miracles of God against Pharaoh and against the Philistines would be renewed in their behalf. For the first two or three years of Innocent's Pontificate, address after address, rising one above another in impassioned eloquence, enforced the duty of contributing to the Holy War. In the midst of his contest with Markwald, his strife concerning the Empire, his interdict against the King of France, he forgot not this remoter object. This was to be the principal, if not the exclusive theme of the preaching of the clergy.[1] In letters to the Bishop of Syracuse, to all the Bishops of Apulia, Calabria, and Tuscany, he urges them to visit every city, town, and castle; he exhorts not only the nobles, but the citizens to take up arms for Jesus Christ. Those who cannot assist in person are to assist in other ways, by furnishing ships, provisions, money. Somewhat later came a more energetic epistle to all archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, and princes and barons of France, England, Hungary, and Sicily. He spoke of the insulting language of the enemies of Christ.[2] "Where," they say, "is your God, who cannot deliver you out of our hands? Behold, we have defiled your sanctuaries. We have stretched forth our arm, we have taken at the first assault, we hold, in despite of you, those your desirable places, where your superstition had its beginning. We have weakened and broken the lances of the French, we have resisted the efforts of the English; we have

[1] Epist. i. 302. [2] Epist. i. 336.

repressed the strength of the Germans. Now, for a second time we have conquered the brave Spaniards. Where is your God? Let him arise and protect you and himself." The Pope bitterly alludes to the campaign of the Germans, the capture of defenceless Berytus, the loss of well-fortified Joppa. The Vicar of Christ himself would claim no exemption from the universal call; he would, as became him, set the example, and in person and in estate devote himself to the sacred cause. He had, therefore, himself invested with the cross two cardinals of the Church, who were to precede the army of the Lord, and to be maintained, not by any mendicant support, but at the expense of the Holy See. The Cardinal Peter was first to proceed to France, to settle the differences between the Kings of England and France, and to enlist them in the common cause; the Cardinal Soffrido to Venice, to awaken that powerful Republic. After the Pope's example, before the next March, every archbishop, bishop, and prelate was to furnish a certain number of soldiers, according to his means, or a certain rate in money for the support of the crusading army. Whoever refused was to be treated as a violator of God's commandments, threatened with condign punishment, even with suspension. To all who embarked in the war Innocent promised, on their sincere repentance, the remission of all their sins, and eternal life in the great day of retribution. Those who were unable to proceed in person might obtain the same remission in proportion to the bounty of their offerings and the devotion of their hearts. The estates of all who took up the cross were placed under the protection of St. Peter. Those who had sworn to pay interest for sums borrowed

Contributions required.

for these pious uses were to be released from their oaths; the Jews were especially to be compelled by all Christian princes to abandon all their usurious claims on pain of being interdicted from all commercial dealings with Christians. "If the soldiers of the Cross, so entering on their holy course, should walk in the way of the Lord, not as those before them, in revellings and drunkenness, and licentious indulgences in foreign lands, of which they would have been ashamed at home, they would trample their enemies down as mice under their feet."

But Christendom heard the address of the Pope with apathy approaching to indifference. So utterly might the fire seem extinct, which on former occasions ran wild through Europe, and such was the jealousy which had been raised of the rapacity of the Roman court, that sullen murmurs were heard in many parts, that all this zeal was but to raise money for other ends; that only a small part of the subsidies levied for the defence of the Holy Land would ever reach their destination. Nor was this the suspicion of the vulgar alone, it seems to have been shared by the clergy.[1] The Pope was compelled to stand on his defence; to repel the odious charge, to disclaim all intention that the money was to be sent to Rome; to appoint the bishop of each diocese with one Knight Templar, and one Knight of St. John, as the administrators of this sacred trust.[2]

More than a year elapsed; the supplications for aid

[1] Walter der Vogelweide, Radulf de Diceto. Compare Wilken, p. 80.

[2] "Non est ab aliquo præsumendum, ut ea, quæ a fratribus et coepiscopis nostris, et tam prælatis quam subditis ecclesiarum, in opus tam pium erogari mandavimus, propriis velimus usibus applicare, aut aliorum eleemosynas cupiditate quadam terræ sanctæ subtrahere." — Epist. i. 409.

from King Amalric and King Leo of Armenia, from the Patriarchs of Antioch and Jerusalem became more urgent. Innocent found it necessary to make a stronger and more specific appeal to the slug- General taxation.
gish and unawakened clergy. On the last day of the century issued forth a new proclamation to the archbishops, bishops, and prelates of Tuscany, Lombardy, Germany, France, England, Hungary, Scla- Dec. 31 1199.
vonia, Ireland, Scotland. The Pope and his cardinals, and the clergy of Rome, had determined in this pressing exigency to devote a tenth of all their revenues to the succor of the Holy Land. All prelates and clergy in Latin Christendom were summoned to contribute at least a fortieth to this end. But they were assured that this was not intended as a permanent tax, it was a special burden not to be drawn into precedent. How criminally hard-hearted he[1] who should refuse so small a boon in this hour of need to his Creator and Redeemer! These funds were to be deposited in a safe place, the amount notified to Rome. From this enforced contribution were exempted the Cistercian and Carthusian monks, the Præmonstratensian canons, and the hermits of Grandmont: it was left to their devout hearts to fulfil their part in the common sacrifice; but it was suggested that not less than a fiftieth could be just; and there was a significant menace that they would be deprived of all their privileges, if they were slow and sparing in their offerings. In like manner all Christian people were to be called upon incessantly, at masses appointed for the purpose. In every church was to be an alms'-chest, with three keys, one

[1] "Sciat autem se culpabiliter durum, et dure culpabilem." — Epist. ii 270.

held by the bishop, one by the parson of the parish, one by a chosen laic. The administration was committed to the Bishops, the Knights of the Hospital, and those of the Temple. These alms were chiefly designed to maintain poor knights who could not afford the voyage to the Holy Land; but for this they were to serve for a year or more, and obtain a certificate of such service under the hand of the King and the Patriarch of Jerusalem, of the Grand Masters of the Templars and of the Hospitallers, and one of the Papal Legates. If they died or fell in battle, what remained of their maintenance was to be assigned to the support of other soldiers of the Cross.

The demands of the Pope met with no opposition, yet with but scanty compliance. At the Council of Dijon, held concerning the interdict of the King of France, by Peter, Cardinal of Capua, the clergy voted not a fortieth but a thirtieth of their revenue to this service: but the collection encountered insurmountable difficulties; and Innocent found it necessary to address a still sterner rebuke to the clergy of France. "Behold, the crucified is crucified anew! he is again smitten, again scourged; again his enemies take up their taunting reproach, 'If thou be the Son of God, save thyself; if thou canst, redeem the land of thy birth from our hands, restore thy cross to the worshippers of the cross.' But ye, I say it with grief, though I ask you again and again, will not give me one cup of cold water. The laity, whom you urge to assume the cross by your words, not by your acts, take up against you the words of Scripture, 'They bind heavy burdens upon us, but themselves will not move them with one of their fingers.' Ye are reproached as bestowing

more of God's patrimony on actors than on Christ; as spending more on hawks and hounds than in His aid; lavish to all others, to Him alone sparing, even parsimonious."[1]

But Richard and Philip of France suspended not their animosities; and hardly was Richard dead when the interdict fell upon France. Germany was distracted with the claims of the rival Emperors. It needed more than the remote admonitions of the Holy See to rekindle the exhausted and desponding fanaticism of Christendom. Without a Peter the Hermit, or a St. Bernard, Urban II. and Eugenius III. would not have precipitated Europe upon Asia. The successor of these powerful preachers, it was hoped, had appeared in Fulk of Neuilly.[2] Already had Fulk of Neuilly displayed those powers of devout eloquence, which work on the contagious religious passions of multitudes. The clergy of Paris and its neighborhood were not famous for their self-denial, and Fulk of Neuilly had been no exception to the common dissoluteness. He had been seized, however, with a paroxysm of profound compunction; he was suddenly a model of the severest austerity and devout holiness. He became ashamed of his ignorance, especially of the Holy Scriptures; he, a teacher of the people, wanted the first elements of instruction. He began to attend the lectures of the learned men in Paris, especially of the celebrated Peter the Chanter. With style and tablet he noted down all the vivid and emphatic sentences which he heard; he taught to his parishioners

Fulk of Neuilly.

[1] Gesta, c. 84.

[2] Ranulf de Coggeshalle and James de Vitry are most full on Fulk of Neuilly; the other authorities, in Michaud, Wilken, and Hurter.

on Sunday what he had learnt during the week. He wrought unexpected wonders on the minds of his simple hearers: his fame spread; he was invited to preach in neighboring churches. He himself was hardly aware of his powers, till on a memorable sermon preached in the open street, that of Chaupel, in Paris, to a crowd of clergy and laity, his hearers suddenly began to tear off their clothes, to throw away their shoes, to cast themselves at his feet, imploring him to give them rods or scourges to inflict instant penance on themselves. They promised to yield themselves up to his direction. Everywhere it was the same; usurers laid down their ill-gotten gains at his feet; prostitutes forswore their sins and embraced a holy life. But, it should seem, that the first passion for his preaching died away; the public mind had become more languid, and Fulk of Neuilly retired to the diligent and faithful care of his own flock at Neuilly.

Just at this time died his teacher, Peter the Chanter. On that eloquent man Innocent had relied for the effective preaching of the Crusade of France; with his dying lips Peter bequeathed his mission to Fulk of Neuilly. With this new impulse the fervid preaching of Fulk kindled to all its former energy and power. He now, in his zeal for the cross, assailed higher vices — the somnolence of the prelates, the unchastity of the clergy; he denounced the popular heresies; many were converted from their errors; over a softer class of sinners he again obtained such influence, that from the gifts which flowed in to him on all sides, he gave some marriage portions, for others he founded the convent of St. Anthony in Paris as a refuge from the world. His reputation reached Rome. Soon after his

accession, Innocent wrote a letter highly approving the holy zeal of Fulk, urged him to devote all his exertions to the sacred cause, to choose some both of the Black and White Monks, with the sanction of the Legate Peter of Capua, as his assistants, and thus to sow the good seed through the breadth of the land.[1]

Again Fulk of Neuilly set out from place to place; he was everywhere hailed as the worthy successor of Peter the Hermit. The wonders which he wrought in the minds and hearts of men were believed to be accompanied by miraculous powers of healing and of blessing. But in the display of his miraculous powers, the preacher showed prudence and sagacity. Some he healed instantaneously; to others he declared that their cure would be prejudicial to their salvation, and, therefore, displeasing to God; others must wait the fitting time, they had not yet suffered long enough the chastening discipline of the Lord. He blessed many wells, over which chapels were built and long hallowed by popular veneration. Before the close of the year, full of fame as the preacher of the cross, Fulk of Neuilly attended the great meeting of the Cistercian Order, and himself took the cross with the Bishop of Langres. Yet the Order declined to delegate any of their body as attendants of the preacher. They gave him, however, a multitude of crosses to distribute, which were almost snatched from his hands by the eager zeal of his followers, as he left the church. The news spread that, like Peter the Hermit, he was about himself to head a crusade; thousands flocked around him, but he would only receive the poor as his followers; he declined the association of the rich.

[1] Epist. i. 398. Villehardouin.

He pursued his triumphant career with the full sanction of his Bishop, through Normandy and Brittany, Burgundy and Flanders, everywhere preaching the crusade, everywhere denouncing the vices of the age, avarice, usury, rapacity. Nobles, knights, citizens, serfs, crowded around him; they took the cross from his hands, they gazed in astonishment at his miracles; their zeal at times rose to an importunate height; they tore his clothes from him to keep the shreds as hallowed relics. Fulk seems to have been somewhat passionate, and not without humor. Once, a strong and turbulent fellow being more than usually troublesome, he shouted aloud that he had not blessed his own garments, but would bless those of this man. In an instant the zeal of the multitude was diverted; they fell upon the man, tore his whole dress in tatters, and carried off the precious shreds. Sometimes he would keep order by laying about him vigorously with his staff; those were happy who were wounded by his hallowed hands; they kissed their bruises, and cherished every drop of blood shed by his holy violence. At the close of three years Fulk of Neuilly could boast, in another assembly of the Cistercian Order, that 200,000 persons had received the cross from his hands.

Yet, as before, the eloquence of Fulk of Neuilly wanted depth and intensity; its effects were immediate and violent, but not lasting. It might be, that he either disdained or neglected those ostentatious austerities, which to the vulgar are the crowning test of earnestness. He wore, indeed, a sackcloth shirt next his skin, and kept rigidly the fasts of the Church; but on other occasions he ate and drank, and lived like other men. He was decently shaved, wore seemly at-

tire, he did not travel barefoot, but on an easy palfrey. It might be that his reserve in working miracles awoke suspicion in some, resentment in others who were disappointed in their petitions. But the deep and real cause of his transitory success, was the general jealousy which was abroad concerning the misapplication of the vast funds raised for the service of the Holy Land. Offerings had streamed to him from all quarters; he had received vast subsidies: these he devoted to supply the more needy knights, who took the cross, with arms and provisions for their pilgrimage. But the rapacity of Rome and of the clergy had settled a profound mistrust throughout mankind: like Innocent, Fulk was accused of diverting these holy alms to other uses.[1] From the time that he began to receive these lavish offerings, the spell of his power was broken; as wealth flowed in, awe and respect fell off. He did not live to witness the crusade of which, even if his motives were thus with some clouded by suspicion, he had been the great preacher; he died of a fever at Neuilly in the year 1202. The large sums which he had deposited in the abbey of the Cistercians were faithfully applied to the restoration of the walls of Tyre, Acre, and Berytus, which had been shaken by an earthquake; and to the maintenance of poor knights in the Holy Land. The

[1] "Ipse (Falco) ex fidelium eleemosynis maximam cœpit congregare pecuniam quam pauperibus crucesignatis, tam militibus quam aliis proposuerat erogare. Licet autem causâ cupiditatis vel aliquâ sinistra intentione collectas istas non faceret, occulto Dei judicio, ex tunc ejus auctoritas et prædicatio cœpit valde diminui apud homines, et, crescente pecuniâ, timor et reverentia decrescebat." — Jac. de Vitriac. "Tandem (Fulco) sub obtentu Terræ Sanctæ, prædicationi quæstuosæ insistens, quod nimiam pecuniam aggregavit, quasi ad succursum terræ Hierosolymitanæ, et quod erat ultra modum iracundus." — Anonym. Chron. of Laon, in Bouquet, viii. p. 711.

death of Fulk is attributed by one writer to grief at the mal-appropriation of a large sum deposited in another quarter.[1] Nor was Fulk's example without followers. Preachers of the Cross rose up in every part of England and France; the most effective of whom was the Abbot Martin, the head of a Cistercian convent, that of Paris, in Alsace, who himself bore a distinguished part in the Crusade which never reached the Holy Land.

Crusade of Cery.

The admonitions and exhortations of the Pope, the preachings of Fulk of Neuilly, of the Abbot Martin, and their followers, had at length stirred some of the young hearts among the secondary Princes of France. At a tournament at Cery in Champagne, Thiebault the Count of Champagne and Brie, at the age of twenty-one, and Louis Count of Blois and Chartres, at the age of twenty-seven, in an access of religious valor, assumed the Cross. The bishops and the nobles of the land caught the contagious enthusiasm: at Cery, Rainald de Montmirail and Simon de Montfort, Garnier Bishop of Troyes, Walther of Brienne, and the Marshal of Champagne Geoffroy of Villehardouin; the great names of Dampierre, of de Castel and Rochfort were enrolled in the territory of Blois; in the royal domains, the Bishop of Soissons, two Montmorencies, a de Courcy, a Malvoisin, and a Dreux.

The following year (1200) Baldwin Count of Flanders, with his wife Maria, sister of Count Thiebault of Champagne, his nephew Dietrich, Jacob of Avenes, William and Conon of Bethune, Hugh of St. Pol, and his brother Peter of Anvers, the Count of Perche and

[1] Hugo Plagon, cited by Wilken, v. p. 105.

his brother, swore the solemn oath for the deliverance of the holy sepulchre. The Crusade was determined, but it was now become matter of deep deliberation as to the safest and most advantageous way of reaching the shores of Palestine. The perils and difficulties of the land journey, the treachery of the Greeks, the long march through Asia Minor, had been too often and too fatally tried: but how was this gallant band of Frenchmen to provide means for maritime transport?

Religion by her invasion of the East had raised a rival, which began as ancillary, and gradually grew up to be the mistress of the human mind — commercial enterprise. Venice was rising towards the zenith of her greatness, if with some of the danger and the glory of the Crusades, with a far larger share of the wealth, the arts, the splendor of the East. The sagacious mind of Innocent might seem to have foreseen the growing peril to the purely religious character of the Crusades; but he miscalculated his power in supposing that a papal edict could arrest the awakened passion for the commodities of the East, and the riches which accrued to those who were their chief factors and distributors to Europe. There was already a canon of the Lateran Council under Alexander III. prohibiting, under pain of excommunication, all trade with the Saracens in instruments of war, arms, iron, or timber for galleys. Innocent determined to prohibit all commerce whatever with the Mohammedans during the war in the East. The republic, according to her usual prudence, sought not by force and open resistance what she might better gain by policy; she sent two of her noble citizens, Andrea Donato and Benedetto Grillon, Venice.

to Rome to represent with due humility, that the republic of Venice, having no agriculture, depended entirely on her commerce; and that such restriction would be her ruin. Innocent brought back the edict to its former limits. He positively prohibited the supply of iron, tow, pitch, sharp stakes, cables, arms, galleys, ships, and ship-timber, either hewn or unhewn. He left the rest of their dealings with the kingdom of Egypt and of Babylon till further orders entirely free, expressing his hope that the republic would show her gratitude by assisting to the utmost the Christians in the East.[1]

Venice alone could furnish a fleet to transport a powerful army. After long debate the three Counts of Flanders, of Champagne, and of Blois agreed to despatch each two ambassadors to Venice to frame a treaty for the conveyance of their forces. The ambassadors of the Count of Flanders were Conon de Bethune and Alard Maquerau; those of the Count of Blois, John of Friaise and Walter of Gandonville, those of the Count of Champagne Miles of Brabant and Geoffroy of Villehardouin, the historian of the Crusade.[2] The envoys arrived in Venice in the first week of Lent; they were received with great courtesy A.D. 1201. by the Doge, the aged Henry Dandolo; they were lodged in a splendid palace, as became the messengers of such great princes; after four days they were summoned to a public audience before the Doge and his council. "Sire," they said, "we are come in the name of the great barons of France, who have taken the cross, to avenge the insults against our Lord Jesus Christ, and by God's will to conquer Jerusalem.

[1] Epist. i. 539. [2] Villehardouin, i 11.

As no power on earth can aid us as you can, they implore you, in God's name, to have compassion on the Holy Land, to avenge with them the contumely on Jesus Christ, by furnishing them with ships and other conveniences to pass the sea." "On what terms?" inquired the Doge. "On any terms you may please to name, provided we can bear them." "It is a grave matter," answered the Doge; "and an enterprise of vast moment. In eight days ye shall have your answer." At the end of eight days the Doge made known the terms of the republic. They would furnish palanders and flat vessels to transport 4500 horses and 9000 squires, and ships for 4,500 knights and 20,000 infantry, and provision the fleet for nine months. They were to receive four marks of silver for each horse, for each man two; the total 85,000 marks.[1] They promised to man 50 galleys of their own to join the expedition. The bargain was ratified in a great public assembly of ten thousand of the Venetian citizens before the church of St. Mark. The ambassadors threw themselves on the pavement and wept. The grave Venetians expressed their emotions by loud acclamations. Mass was celebrated with great solemnity; the next day the agreements were reduced to writing, and signed by the covenanting parties. The ambassadors returned; at Piacenza they separated, four to visit Pisa and Genoa and implore further aid; they were coldly received by those jealous republics; Villehardouin and Maquerau returned to France. Villehardouin found his young master the Count of Champagne

Treaty with Villehardouin.

1 "Représentant environ quatre millions et demi de la monnaie actuelle." — Daru, i. 267. "Le septier de bled valait de cinq à six sols, le marc d'argent cinquante et quelques sols." — Sismondi reckons 4½ millions.

at Troyes, dangerously ill; the youth, in his joy at beholding his faithful servant, mounted his horse for the last time; he died in a few days. Thiebault was to have been at the head of the Crusade. The command was offered to the Duke of Burgundy, to the Count of Bar le Duc; the proudest nobles declined the honor; it was accepted by the Marquis Boniface of Montferrat. The armament suffered another heavy loss by the death of the Count of Perche.

Crusaders assemble.

Between Easter and Whitsuntide in the following year (1202) the Crusaders were in movement in all parts. But Venice was thought by some to have driven a hard bargain; among others there was some mistrust of the republic. Innocent had given but a reluctant assent to the treaty of Villehardouin. Baldwin himself and his brother kept their engagement with Venice. The Count of Flanders manned his own fleet, himself embarked his best troops, which set sail for Palestine round by the Straits of Gibraltar. Some went to Marseilles. Multitudes passed onwards on the chance of easier freight to the south of Italy. The French and Burgundians arrived but slowly, and in small divisions, at Venice; they were lodged apart in the island of St. Nicolas; among these was Baldwin of Flanders. The Count of Blois was at Pavia, on his way to the south of Italy, where he was stopped by Villehardouin, and persuaded to march to Venice. The Republic kept her word with commercial punctuality; never had been beheld a nobler fleet; her ships were in the highest order, amply sufficient for the whole force which they had stipulated to convey. They demanded the full amount of the covenanted payment, the 85,000 marks, and declared themselves ready at

once to set sail. The Crusaders were in the utmost embarrassment, they bitterly complained of those who had deserted them to embark at other ports.[1] There were multitudes of poor knights who could not pay, others who had paid, sullenly demanded, in hopes of breaking up the expedition, that they should at once be embarked and conveyed to their place of destination. The Count of Flanders, the Count Louis of Blois, the Count of St. Pol, and the Marquis of Montferrat contributed all their splendid plate, and stretched their credit to the utmost, there were yet 34,000 marks wanting to make up the inexorable demand.

The wise old Doge saw his advantage; his religion was the greatness of his country. It is im- Venetians propose conquest of Zara.
possible not to remember in the course of events, by which the Crusade for the recovery of the Holy Land became a crusade for the conquest of the Eastern Empire, that Henry Dandolo had been, if not entirely, nearly blinded by the cruelty of the Byzantine court. His sagacity could scarcely foresee the fortuitous circumstances which led at length to that unexpected victory of the West over the East, but he had the quick-sightedness of ambition and revenge to profit by those circumstances as they arose. He proposed to his fellow-citizens, with their full approval he explained to the Crusaders, that Venice would fulfil her part of the treaty, if in discharge of the 34,000 marks of silver they would lend their aid in the conquest of Zara,[2] (which had been wrested from them unjustly, as they said, by the King of Hungary.) The gallant chivalry

[1] "Ha! cum grant domages fu quant li autre qui allèrent as autres pors, ne vindrent illuec." — Villehardouin, c. 29.

[2] Called also Jadara.

of France stood aghast; that knights sworn to war for the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre should employ their arms against a Christian city, the city of a Christian King under the special protection of the Pope! that the free armies of the cross should be the hirelings of the Venetian republic! But the year was wearing away; the hard necessity bowed them to submission. The Doge pursued his plan with consummate address. As though he too shared in the religious enthusiasm which was to be gratified in all its fulness after the capture of Zara, on the great festival of the Nativity of the Virgin, Dandolo ascended the pulpit in the church of St. Mark. In a powerful speech he extolled the religious zeal of the pilgrims: "Old and feeble as I am, what can I do better than join these noble cavaliers in their holy enterprise? Let my son Rainer take the rule in Venice; I will live or die with the pilgrims of the Cross." But there was a careful stipulation behind that Venice was to share equally in all the conquests of the Crusaders. The Doge advanced to the altar, and fixed the cross in his high cotton cap; the people and the pilgrims melted into tears.

Sept. 2.

No sooner was this over than a new and unexpected event excited the utmost amazement among the French pilgrims: the appearance of messengers from the young Prince Alexius Comnenus, entreating the aid of the Crusaders to replace his father on his rightful throne of Constantinople. After the overthrow of the first noble line of Comnenus, the history of Byzantium had for some years been one bloody revolution; a short reign ended in blinding or death was the fate of each successive Emperor. Isaac Angelus, hurried from the sanctuary in

Arrival of Alexius Comnenus in Venice.

which he had taken refuge to be placed on the throne, had reigned for nearly ten years, when he was supplanted by the subtle treason of his brother Alexius. Isaac was blinded, his young son Alexius imprisoned. But mercy is a proscribed indulgence to an usurper; a throne obtained by cruelty can only be maintained by cruelty. Alexius abandoned himself to pleasure; in his Mohammedan harem he neglected the affairs of state, he increased the burdens of the people, he even relaxed his jealousy of his brother and nephew. The blind Isaac, in a pleasant villa on the Bosphorus, could communicate with his old partisans and the discontented of all classes. The son was allowed such freedom as enabled him to make his escape in a Pisan vessel, under the disguise of a sailor, and to reach Ancona. From Ancona he hastened to Rome; the son of a blinded father, to seek sympathy; a prince expelled from his throne by an usurper, to seek justice; an exile, to seek generous compassion from the Vicar of Christ. He was coldly received. Innocent had already been tempted by some advances — religious advances — on the part of the usurper: he would not risk the chance of subjugating the Eastern Church to the See of Rome through the means of the sovereign in actual possession. The sister of young Alexius was the wife of Philip of Swabia; perhaps this alliance with his enemy operated on the policy of Innocent. Alexius proceeded to the court of Philip; he was received with generous courtesy: at Verona he was introduced to a great body of Crusaders, and implored their aid in the name of Philip. His messengers were now in Venice appealing to the chivalry, to the justice, the humanity, the compassion of the gallant knights of France, and the lofty senators

A. D. 1185 to 1195.

of the republic. Did this new opening for the extension of the power and influence of Venice, or for revenge against the perfidious Greeks of Constantinople, expand at once before Dandolo into anticipations of that close which made this crusade the most eventful, the most important to Christendom, to civilization, even perhaps beyond the first conquest of Jerusalem and the establishment of the Christian kingdom in the Holy Land? The Doge and the Pilgrims listened with undisguised sympathy to the appeal of young Alexius; but as yet with nothing beyond earnest expressions of interest in his cause. Both parties were fully occupied, one in urging, the other in sullenly preparing themselves for the expedition against Zara. A large body of Germans had now arrived, under Conrad Bishop of Halberstadt, Count Berthold of Katzenellenbogen, and other chiefs. The Abbot Martin had crossed the Tyrolese Alps with a vast band of followers of the lower orders. Martin himself lived with the austerity of a monk in the camp: all the splendid offerings lavished upon him by the way were spent on his soldiery. In each of two days it is said he expended a hundred marks of silver, seventy on the third. He was entertained for eight days in the palace of the Bishop of Verona, and at length arrived with all his host at Venice. The indignation of the Germans, and of the followers of Abbot Martin, was vehement when they were told of the meditated attack on Zara. They had heard that Egypt was wasted with famine, by the failure of the inundation of the Nile; that the Paynims of Syria were in profound distress from earthquakes and bad harvests; they remonstrated against this invasion of the lands of their ally the King of Hungary,

who had himself taken up the Cross. The Venetians held the Crusaders to their bond: Zara or the rest of the marks of silver was their inflexible demand. The Germans, as the French, were compelled to yield. The Pope himself had no influence on the grasping ambition of the republic.

And this was Pope Innocent's Crusade, the Crusade to which he looked as the great act of his Pontificate! Now when it was assembled in its promising overpowering strength it had been seized and diverted to the aggrandizement of Venice. He sent his Legate Peter of Capua, with the strongest remonstrances, to interdict even the Venetians from the war against Christian Zara, and to lead the other Pilgrims directly to the Holy Land. The Venetians almost contemptuously informed the Cardinal that he might embark on board their fleet as the preacher and spiritual director of the Crusaders, but on no account must he presume to exercise his legatine power; if he refused these terms he might return from whence he came. The Abbot Martin entreated the Cardinal to release him from his vow; as he could not at once proceed against the Saracens, he would retire to his peaceful cloister. The Cardinal Peter implored him to remain, if possible, with the other ecclesiastics, to prevent the shedding of Christian blood. For himself he shook the dust from his feet, and left the contumacious city. Letters from Innocent, menaces of excommunication were treated with as slight respect; only some few of the French, some of the Germans, withdrew; the Marquis Boniface of Montferrat alleged important affairs, and declined as yet to take the command of the Crusade.

The Pope interferes in vain.

Never did Crusade set forth under more imposing auspices. No doubt the martial spirit of all ranks could not resist the spreading enthusiasm, when four hundred and eighty noble ships, admirably appointed, with banners and towers, blazing with the arms and shields of the chivalry of Europe, expanded their full sails to the autumnal wind, and moved in stately order down the Adriatic. It seemed as if they might conquer the whole world.[1] On the eve of St. Martin's day they were off Zara; the haven was forced; they were under the walls of the city; they landed; the knights disembarked their horses. The sight of this majestic fleet appalled the inhabitants of Zara; they sent a deputation to surrender the city on the best terms they could obtain. The Doge, with mistimed courtesy, replied, "that he must consult the counts and barons of the army." The Counts and Barons assembled round the Doge advised the acceptance of the capitulation. But without the tent where they sat was Simon de Montfort, with others whose object it was to break up the misguided army.[2] De Montfort taunted the Zarans with their dastardly surrender of so strong a city: — "We are Christians, we war not against our brother Christians." Simon de Montfort then retired, and from that time stood aloof from the siege. When the Doge demanded the presence of the ambassadors that they might ratify the treaty, they had disappeared; the city walls were manned for obstinate defence. At the same time rose Guido the Abbot of Vaux Cernay: — "In the name

Oct. 8. 1202. Crusade sets forth.

[1] "Et bien semblait estone qui terre deust conquerre." — Villehardouin.

[2] So says Villehardouin; perhaps he foresaw the yet undeveloped character of De Montfort.

of the Pope I prohibit the assault on his Christian cities: ye are Pilgrims, and have taken the cross for other ends." The Doge was furious; he reproached the Crusaders with having wrested from him a city already in his power; he summoned them to fulfil the treaty to which they had sworn. The greater part either could not or would not resist the appeal. The siege began again, and lasted for five days. On the sixth Zara opened her gates. The Doge took possession of the city in the name of his republic; but divided the rich spoil equally with the Crusaders.

Zara was taken, but that was not enough; the presence of the crusading army was necessary to maintain the city against any sudden attack of the King of Hungary, and to strengthen and secure the Dalmatian possessions of Venice. The Doge represented to the Barons that the bad season was now drawing on: Zara offered safe and pleasant winter quarters, with abundance of provisions. Throughout Greece and the East there was scarcity:[1] they could obtain no supplies in the course of their voyage. The Barons yielded, as they could not but yield, to those arguments. The city was divided: the Venetians occupied the part nearest the port and their ships; the French the rest. But among the pilgrims there were many who felt bitterly that they were only slaves in the hands of the Venetians; their religious feelings revolted against the occupation of the Christian city; they called it "the city of transgression." Three nights after broke out a fierce and sanguinary quarrel between the Franks and Venetians, which was with great difficulty allayed by the

Zara taken.

Winter quarters.

[1] Villehardouin, 43.

more sage and influential of each host. Fourteen days after this arrived the Marquis of Montferrat, the Commander-in-Chief of the Crusade: though he and many of the French knights had designedly remained in Italy till the conquest of Zara; now that this conquest was achieved they joined the army of the pilgrims. Two weeks later came those who had accompanied Alexius to the court of Philip of Swabia, with ambassadors from King Philip. They appeared before an assembly held in the palace occupied by the Doge of Venice. "We are here on the part of King Philip and the Prince of Constantinople his brother-in-law, before the Doge of Venice and the Barons of this host. King Philip will intrust his brother-in-law in the hand of God, and in yours. You are armed for God, for the right, for justice; it becomes you, therefore, to restore the disinherited to his rightful throne. Nor will it be less to your advantage than to your honor; for your advantage in your great design, the conquest of the Holy Land. As soon as you restore Alexius to his throne, he will first submit the Empire of the Romans to obedience to Rome, from which it has been separated so long. In the next place, as he knows that you are exhausted by the vast cost of this armament, he will give you two hundred thousand marks of silver, and supply the whole army with provisions. He will either join the armament against Egypt in person, or send ten thousand men, to be maintained for a year at his charge. During his lifetime he will maintain five hundred knights for the defence of the Holy Land."

Ambassadors from King Philip.

No sooner had the Barons met the next day to discuss this high matter, than Guido, the Cistercian Abbot

of Vaux Cernay, rose and declared emphatically that they came not to wage war on Christians; to Syria they would go, and only to Syria. He was supported by the faction desirous of dissolving the armament. It was replied that they could now do nothing in Syria; that the only way to subjugate permanently the Holy Land was by Egypt or by Greece. Even the clergy were divided: the Cistercian Abbot of Loces, a man of high esteem for his profound piety, took the other side. Words ran high even among those holy persons.

Treaty with Alexius.

The treaty was accepted (they could not without shame refuse it) by the Marquis of Montferrat, the Count of Flanders, Hennegau, the Count of Blois, and the Count of St. Pol; yet only eight knights more dared to set their hands to this doubtful covenant. But all the winter there were constant defections in the army; some set out by land, and were massacred by the barbarous Sclavonians; some embarked for Syria in merchant vessels; at a later period Simon de Montfort quitted the camp with many noble followers, and joined the King of Hungary. "If God," says Villehardouin, "had not loved the army, it would have melted away through the contending factions." It was the Papal ban, either actually in force, or impending in all its awful menace over the pilgrim army, which was alleged as the summons to all holy men to abandon the unhallowed expedition. The bishops in the army had taken upon themselves to suspend this anathema. The Barons determined to send a mission to Rome to deprecate the wrath of the Pope. The Bishop of Soissons, John of Noyon the Chancellor of the Count of Flanders, ecclesiastics of fame for

learning and holiness, with the knights John of Friaise and Robert de Boves, were, not without mistrust, sworn solemnly on the most holy relics, to return to the army. The oath was broken by Robert of Boves, whom the army held as a perjured knight. Their mission was to explain to the Pope that they had been compelled, through the treacherous abandonment of the enterprise by those crusaders who had embarked in other ports, to obey the bidding of Venice, and to lend themselves to the siege of Zara. Innocent admitted their plea — it was his only course. He gave permission to the Bishop of Soissons and John of Noyon provisionally to suspend the interdict till the arrival of his legate, Peter of Capua; but the Barons were bound under a solemn pledge to give full satisfaction to the Pope for their crime. Yet notwithstanding the bold remonstrance of John of Noyon (Innocent commanded him to be silent), they were compelled to bear a brief letter of excommunication against the Venetians. Boniface had the prudence to prevent the immediate publication of that ban. He sent to Rome their act of submission, couched in the terms dictated by the Cardinal Peter; and intimated that the Venetians were about to send their own messengers to entreat the forgiveness of the Pope for the conquest of Zara. But the Venetians made no sign of submission. Positive orders were given to deliver the brief of excommunication into the hands of the Doge. If the Doge received it, he received it with utter indifference; and two singular letters of Innocent prescribe the course to be followed by the absolved Crusaders, thus of necessity, on board the fleet of Venice, in perpetual intercourse with the profane and excommunicated Venetians. They might

communicate with them as far as necessity compelled so long as they were on board their ships; no sooner had they reached the Holy Land, than they were to sever the ungodly alliance; they were on no account to go forth to war with them against the Saracens, lest they should incur the shameful disaster of those in the Old Testament, who went up in company with Achan and other sinners against the Philistines.[1]

Innocent condemns the expedition to Constantinople.

The mission of the Crusaders had been entirely silent as to the new engagement to place the young Alexius on the throne of Constantinople. Innocent either knew not or would not know this new delinquency. He received the first authentic intelligence from the legate Peter of Capua. The Pope's letters denounced the whole design in the most lofty admonitory terms. "However guilty the Emperor of Constantinople and his subjects of blinding his brother and of usurping the throne, it is not for you to invade the Empire, which is under the especial protection of the Holy See. Ye took not the Cross to avenge the wrongs of the Prince Alexius; ye are under the solemn obligation to avenge the Crucified, to whose service ye are sworn." He intimated that he had written to the Emperor of Constantinople to supply them with provisions; the Emperor had faithfully promised to do so. Only in the case that supplies were refused them, then, as soldiers of Him to whom the earth and all its produce belonged, they might take them by force; but still in the fear of God, faithfully paying or promising to pay for the same, and without injury to person.

But already the fleet was in full sail for Corfu, the

[1] Epist. vi. 99, 100.

Prince Alexius on board. Of the excommunication against the Venetians no one took the slightest heed, least of all the Venetians themselves. Simon de Montfort alone, who had stood aloof from the siege of Zara, on the day of embarkation finally separated himself from the camp of the ungodly, who refused obedience to the Pope. With his brother and some few French knights he passed over to the King of Hungary, and after many difficulties reached the Holy Land. In truth, the Crusaders had no great faith in the sincerity of the Pope's condemnation of the enterprise against Constantinople. The subjugation of the heretical, if not rival, Church of Byzantium to the Church of St. Peter, had been too long the great aim of Papal ambition for them to suppose that even by more violent or less justifiable means than the replacing the legitimate Emperor on the throne and the degradation of an usurper, it would not soon reconcile itself to the Papal sense of right and justice. Some decent regard to his acknowledgment of, to his amicable intercourse with the usurper, might be becoming; yet even as a step to the conquest of the Holy Land, it might well be considered the most prudent policy. In a short time the submission of the Greek Church, the departure of the Crusaders under better auspices to the Holy Land (for as yet even the ambitious Venetians could hardly apprehend the absolute conquest of Constantinople, and the establishment of a Latin Empire), would allay the seeming resentment of Innocent. In the mean time, no doubt many hearts were kindled with the romance of this new adventure and the desire to behold this second Rome; vague expectations were entertained of rich plunder, or at least of splendid

Fleet off Constantinople.

reward for their services by the grateful Alexius; it is even said that many were full of strange hopes of more precious spoils, the pillage of the precious relics which were accumulated in the churches of Constantinople, and of which the heretical Greeks ought to be righteously robbed for the benefit of the more orthodox believers of the West.

The taking of Constantinople and the foundation of the Latin Empire concern Christian history in their results more than in their actual achievements. Taking of Constantinople. The arrival of the fleet before Constantinople; the ill-organized defence and pusillanimous flight of the usurper Alexius; the restoration of the blind Isaac Angelus and his son; the discontent of the Greeks at the subservience of young Alexius to the Latins; his dethronement, and the elevation of Alexius Ducas (Mourzoufle) to the throne; the siege; the murder of the young Alexius; the flight of Mourzoufle, and the storming of the city by the Crusaders, were crowded into less than one eventful year.[1] A Count of Flanders sat on the throne of the Eastern Cæsars.

Europe, it might have been expected, by the Latin conquest of Constantinople and of great part of the Byzantine Empire, would have become one great Christian league or political system: European Christendom one Church, under the acknowledged supremacy of the Pope. Partition of the conquest. But the Latin Empire was not that of a Western sovereign ascending the Byzantine throne, and ruling over the Greek population undisturbed in their possessions, and according to the laws of Justinian and the later Emperors of the East. His

[1] The fleet reached Constantinople the eve of St. John the Baptist, June 23, 1203. The storm took place April 13, 1204.

followers did not gradually mingle by intermarriages with the Greeks, and so infuse, as in other parts of Europe, new strength and energy into that unwarlike and effete race. The Emperor was a sovereign elected by the Venetians and the Franks, governing entirely by the right of conquest. It was a foreign settlement, a foreign lord, a foreign feudal system, which never mingled in the least with the Greeks. The Latins kept entirely to themselves all honors, all dignities (no Greek was admitted to office), even all the lands; the whole country, as it was conquered, was portioned out as Constantinople had been, into great fiefs between the Venetians and Franks. This western feudal system so established throughout the land implied the absolute, the supreme ownership of the soil by the conquerors. The condition of the Greeks under the new rule depended on the character of their new masters. In Constantinople the high-born and the wealthy had gladly accepted the permission to escape with their lives; the Crusaders had taken possession of such at least of their gorgeous palaces and splendid establishments as had escaped the three fires which during the successive sieges had destroyed so large a part of the city.[1] When the Marquis of Montferrat took possession of Thessalonica he turned the inhabitants out of all the best houses, and bestowed them on his followers: in other places they were oppressed with a kind of indifferent lenity. But they were, in truth, held as a race of serfs, over whom the Latins exercised

[1] In the conflagration on the night of the capture, caused by some Flemings, who thought by setting fire to the houses to keep off the attack of the Greeks, as many houses were destroyed, according to Villehardouin, as would be found in three of the largest cities in France.

lordship by the right of conquest; they were left, indeed, to be governed, as had been the case with the subject Roman population in all the German conquests, by their own laws and their own magistrates. The constitution of the Latin Empire was the same with that of the kingdom of Jerusalem, founded in the midst of a population chiefly Mohammedan; their code of law was the Assizes of Jerusalem. No Greek was admitted to any post of honor or dignity till after the defeat and capture of the Emperor Baldwin. Then his successor, the Emperor Henry, found it expedient to make some advances towards conciliation; he endeavored to propitiate by honorable appointments some of the leading Greeks. But to this he was compelled by necessity. The original Crusaders gradually died off, or were occupied in maintaining their own conquests in Hellas or in the Morea; only few adventurers, notwithstanding the temptations and promises held out by the Latin Emperors, arrived from the West. The Emperor in Constantinople became a sovereign of Greeks. It is surprising that the Latin Empire endured for half a century: had there been any Greeks of resolution or enterprise, Constantinople at least might have been much sooner wrested from their hands.

Establishment of Latin Christianity.

The establishment of Latin Christianity in the East was no less a foreign conquest. It was not the conversion of the Greek Church to the creed, the usages, the ritual, the Papal supremacy of the West; it was the foundation, the super-induction of a new Church, alien in language, in rites, in its clergy, which violently dispossessed the Greeks of their churches and monasteries, and appropriated them to its

own uses. It was part of the original compact between the Venetians and the Franks, before the final attack on the city, that the churches of Constantinople should be equally divided between the two nations: the ecclesiastical property throughout the realm was to be divided, after providing for the maintenance of public worship according to the Latin form by a Latin clergy, exactly on the same terms as the rest of the conquered territory. The French prelates might, indeed, claim equal rights, as having displayed at least equal valor and confronted the same dangers with the boldest of the barons. The vessels that bore the bishops of Soissons and Troyes, the Paradise and the Pilgrim, were the first which grappled with the towers of Constantinople: from them were thrown the scaling ladders on which the conquerors mounted to the storm; the episcopal banners were the first that floated in triumph on the battlements of Constantinople.[1]

Like the Emperor Alexius, the Patriarch of Constantinople, John Camaterus, had fled, but it was at a time and under circumstances far less ignominious. The clergy had not been less active in the defence of the city, than the Frankish bishops in the assault. After the flight of Mourzoufle they had chiefly influenced the choice of Theodore Lascaris as Emperor; the Patriarch had presented him to the people, and with him vainly endeavored to rouse their panic-stricken courage. It was not till the city was in the hands of the enemy that the Patriarch abandoned his post. He was met in that disastrous plight described by Nicetas, riding on an ass, reduced to the primitive

[1] See the despatch to Pope Innocent announcing the taking of Constantinople.

Apostolic poverty, without scrip, without purse, without staff, without shoes. It was time, indeed, to fly from horrors and unhallowed crimes which he could not avert. The Crusaders had advanced to the siege of Constantinople in the name of Christ; they had issued strong orders to respect the churches, the monasteries, the persons of the clergy, the chastity of the nuns. The three Latin bishops had published a terrible excommunication against all who should commit such sacrilegious acts of violence. But of what effect were orders, what awe had excommunications for a fierce soldiery, flushed with unexpected victory, let loose on the wealthiest, most luxurious, most dissolute capital of the world, among a people of a different language, whom they had been taught to despise as the most perfidious of mankind, the base enemies of all the former armies of the Cross, tainted with obstinate heresy? Nicetas, himself an eye-witness and sufferer in these terrible scenes, may be suspected of exaggeration, when he contrasts the discipline and self-denial of the Mohammedans, who under Saladin stormed Jerusalem, with the rapacity, the lust, the cruelty of the Christian conquerors of Constantinople. But the reports which had reached Pope Innocent would hardly darken the truth. "How," he writes, "shall the Greek Church return to ecclesiastical unity and to respect for the Apostolic See, when they have beheld in the Latins only examples of wickedness and works of darkness, for which they might well abhor them worse than dogs? Those who were believed to seek not their own but the things of Christ Jesus, steeping those swords, which they ought to have wielded against the Pagans, in Christian blood, spared neither religion, nor

age, nor sex; they were practising fornications, incests, adulteries, in the sight of men; abandoning matrons and virgins dedicated to God to the lewdness of grooms.[1] Nor were they satisfied with seizing the wealth of the Emperors, the spoils of the princes and the people; they lifted their hands to the treasures of the churches; what is more heinous! the very consecrated vessels; tearing the tablets of silver from the very altars, breaking in pieces the most sacred things, carrying off crosses and relics." Some revolting incidents of this plunder may be gathered from the Historians. Many rushed at once to the churches and monasteries. In the Church of Santa Sophia the silver was rent off from the magnificent pulpit: the table of oblation, admired for its precious material and exquisite workmanship, broken to pieces. Mules and horses were led into the churches to carry off the ponderous vessels; if they slipped down on the smooth marble floor, they were forced to rise up by lash and spur, so that their blood flowed on the pavement. A prostitute mounted the Patriarch's throne, and screamed out a disgusting song, accompanied with the most offensive gestures. Instead of the holy chants the aisles rung with wild shouts of revelry or indecent oaths and imprecations. The very sacred vessels were not spared; they were turned into drinking cups. The images were robbed of their gold frames and precious stones. It is said that the body and blood of the Lord were profanely cast down upon the floor, and trodden under foot.[2]

[1] Innocent. Epist. viii. 126 (apud Brequigny and Du Theil). Compare the whole detailed account in Wilken, v. p. 301, *et seq.*

[2] Wilken conjectures that the expression of Nicetas may refer to a cas-

There was one kind of plunder which had irresistible attraction for the most pious, that of relics. These, like the rest of the spoil, were to have been brought into the common stock, to be divided according to the stipulated rule. But even the Abbot Martin[1] was guilty of this holy robbery. His monastery of Paris in Alsace, as well as the churches of the bishops present at the siege, those of Soissons and Halberstadt, boasted of many sacred treasures from Constantinople, which might have been fairly obtained, but which were supposed to have been more than the fair share of those warlike dignitaries.[2]

No sooner was order restored than the Franks and Venetians took possession of the churches as their own; the principal clergy had fled, the inferior seem to have been dismissed or were driven out as if they had been Mohammedan Imauns: of provision for the worship of the Greeks according to their own ritual, in their own language, nothing is heard. After the election of the Emperor, the first act was the election of a Patriarch. It was an article of the primary compact, that of whichever nation, Venetian or

Election of Emperor.

ket, which was supposed to contain some of the actual body and blood imparted by the Lord to his disciples before his crucifixion. — See Wilken, p. 305.

[1] "Indignum ducens sacrilegium, nisi in re sacra, committere." — Gunther, who gives a full account of this holy theft of the Abbot Martin. His spoil was a stain (vestigium) of the blood of the Lord, a piece of the Holy Cross, the arm of the apostle James, no small portion of the bones of John the Baptist, some of the milk of the Blessed Virgin, and many more. — Wilken, Gunther. See, too, the theft of the head of S. Clement, Pope and martyr, by Dalmatius of Sergy from the Biblioth. Cluniac, also in Wilken. The note in Wilken, v. p. 306, is full of curious details.

[2] Some ventured to doubt the virtue of these acts. The Abbot Urspergensis says of Martin's plunder: "An furtivæ sint, judicet, qui legit. ...n videlicet Dominus Papa talem rapinam in populo Christiano factam potuerit justificare, sicut furtum Israelitici populi in Ægypto justificatur autoritate divinâ." — p. 256.

Frank, the Emperor should be chosen, the nomination of the Patriarch should be with the other. In the election of the Emperor it was a significant circumstance, that of the twelve electors, those of the Franks were all ecclesiastics — the Bishops of Troyes, Soissons, Halberstadt, Bethlehem, and Ptolemais, with the Abbot of Loces. Those of Venice were lay nobles. The Bishops of Soissons and of Troyes would have placed the blind old Doge Dandolo on the imperial throne; his election was opposed by the Venetians. Pantoleon Barbo alleged the ostensible objection, the jealousy which would spring up among the Franks. But probably the wise patriotism of Dandolo himself, and his knowledge of the Venetian mind, would make him acquiesce in the loss of an honor so dangerous to his country. A Doge of Venice exalted into an Emperor, taking up his residence in the Palace of Constantinople instead of amid their own lagunes, would have been the lord, not the accountable magistrate, of the republic. Venice might have sunk to an outpost, as it were, of the Eastern Empire. But Venice, though consenting to the loss of the Empire, made haste to secure the Patriarchate.[1] They immediately appointed certain of their own ecclesiastics Canons of Santa Sophia, in order to give canonical form to the election. By a secret oath[2] these canons were sworn never to elect into their chapter any one but a Venetian.[3] With their wonted sagacity, their first choice fell

Election of Patriarch.

[1] Pope Innocent boldly asserts that the Church of Constantinople was raised into a Patriarchate by the See of Rome. Was this ignorance or mendacity?

[2] Wilken has cited this oath from the Liber Albus, in the archives of Vienna. — vol. v. p. 330.

[3] The Patriarch was absolved from his oath that he would appoint only Venetian canons into the chapter of S. Sophia. The Church was to receive

on Thomas Morosini, of one of their noble families, as yet only in subdeacon's orders, but of a lofty and unblemished character, who had been some time at Rome, and was known to stand high in the estimation of the Pope. The Venetians, who, when they had any great object of ambition at stake, treated with utter contempt the Papal interdict, yet never wantonly provoked that dangerous power; now, as always when it suited their schemes, were among the humblest and most devout subjects of the Holy See. Nor was Innocent disinclined to receive the submission of the lords of one half of the Eastern Empire.

The Pope had watched with intense anxiety the progress of the Crusade towards Constantinople. He had kept his faith with the usurper, who had promised to unite the Greek Church to the See of Rome; he had asserted the exclusive religious object of the Crusades, by protesting first against the siege of Zara, and then against the diversion to Constantinople: the Venetians, at least, were still under the unrevoked excommunication. But the ignominious flight of his ally, the Emperor Alexius, had released him from that embarrassing connection. No sooner was the young Alexius on the throne, than the Pope reminded him of the protestations of submission which he had made, when a suppliant for aid at the court of Rome, and which he had renewed when on board the Pilgrim fleet. He urged the Crusaders to enforce this acknowledgment of the Papal supremacy. This great blessing to Christendom could alone justify the tardy fulfilment of their vows for the reconquest of the Holy Land.

a fifteenth of all property, with some exceptions, gained by the conquest of Constantinople. Tithes were to be paid.

Masters of Constantinople, their victory achieved, Franks and Venetians vied in their humble addresses to the Holy Father. The Emperor Baldwin, by the hands of Barochias, the Master of the Lombard Templars, informed the Pope of his election to the Empire of Constantinople, and implored his ratification of the treaty with the Venetians,[1] those true and zealous allies, without whose aid he could not have won, without whose support he could not maintain, the Eastern Empire, founded for the honor of God and of the Roman See. He extolled the valiant acts of the bishops in the capture of the city. He entreated the Pope to admonish Western Christendom to send new supplies of warriors for the maintenance of his Empire, and to share in the immeasurable temporal and spiritual riches, which they might so easily obtain. The Pope was urged to grant to them, as to other soldiers of the Cross, the plenary absolution from their sins. Above all, he pressed that clergy should be sent in great numbers to plant the Latin Church, not in blood, but in freedom and peace throughout the noble and pleasant land. He invited the Pope to hold a general Council at Constan

[1] The letter of Baldwin describes the Greeks in the most odious terms, as playing a double game between the Western Christians and the Unbelievers; as framing disastrous treaties with the Mohammedans, and supplying them with arms, provisions, and ships; while they refused all these things to the Latins. "But (he is addressing the Pope) it is the height of their wickedness obstinately to disclaim the supremacy of Rome." "Hæc est quæ in odium apostolici culminis, Apostolorum principis nomen audire vix poterat, nec unam eidem inter Græcos ecclesiam concedebat qui omnium ecclesiarum accepit ab ipso Domino principatum." The Latins were greatly shocked at the Greek worship of pictures. "Hæc est quæ Christum solis didicerat honorare picturis." They sometimes, among their wicked rites, repeated baptism. They considered the Latins not as men, but as dogs, whose blood it was meritorious to shed. This is an evidence of the feelings of the Crusaders towards the Greeks. — Apud Gesta Innocent. c. xci.

tinople. These prayers were accompanied with splendid presents from his share of the booty.[1]

The Venetians were not less solicitous now to propitiate the Holy Father. Already they had sent to the Legate, Peter of Capua, at Cyprus; they implored this prelate, whom they had treated before with such contemptuous disregard, to interpose his kind offices and to annul the excommunication. The Legate had sent the Treasurer of the church of Nicosia, with powers to receive their oath of future obedience to the Roman See and the fulfilment of their vows as soldiers of the Cross, and provisionally to suspend the interdict, which was not absolutely revocable without the sanction of the Pope. Two Venetian nobles were now despatched to Rome by the Doge. They were to inform the Pope, that, compelled by the treachery of the young Emperor Alexius, who had attempted to burn their fleet, with their brethren the temporal and spiritual pilgrims, they had conquered Constantinople for the honor of God and of the Roman Church, and in order to facilitate the conquest of the Holy Land. They endeavored to explain away their attack on Zara; they could not believe that the inhabitants of that city were under the Pope's protection, therefore they had borne in patience the excommunication, till relieved from it by the Cardinal Peter. Venetians address the Pope.

Innocent replied to both the Emperor and the Doge with some reserve, but with manifest satisfaction. He had condemned, with the severity which became the Holy Father, the enormities perpetrated during the storming of the city, the worse than infidel acts of lust and cruelty, the profane plunder and Innocent's answers

[1] Compare Raynaldus, sub anno.

violation of the churches. But it was manifestly the divine judgment, that those who had so long been forborne in mercy, and had been so often admonished not only by former Popes, but by Innocent himself, to return to the unity of the Church, and to send succors to the Holy Land, should forfeit both their place and their territory to those who were in the unity of the Church, and sworn to deliver the sepulchre of Christ: in order that the land, delivered from the bad, should be committed to good husbandmen, who would bring forth good fruit in due season.[1]

The Pontiff took the new Empire under the special protection of the Holy See. He commanded all the Sovereigns of the West, and all the prelates of the Church, archbishops, bishops, and abbots, to maintain friendly relations with the new Latin kingdom, so important for the conquest of the East. He ratified the revocation of the excommunication against the Venetians by his Legate the Cardinal Peter. He declined, indeed, to accede to the prayer of the Doge to be released from his vow, from his obligation to follow the Crusade to the Holy Land, on account of his great age and feebleness; but the refusal was the highest flattery. The Pope could not take upon himself to deprive the army of the Cross of one endowed by God with such exalted gifts, so valiant, and so wise: if the Doge would serve God and his Church henceforth with the same glorious ability with which he had served himself and the world, he could not fail of attaining the highest reward.

Innocent assumed at once the full ecclesiastical ad-

[1] This is from the letter to the Marquis of Montferrat, in the Gesta, c. xcii.

ministration. There was one clause in the compact between the Franks and the Venetians, which called forth his unqualified condemnation; they had presumed to seize the property of the Church, and after assigning what they might think fit for the maintenance of the clergy, to submit the rest to the same partition as the other lands. This sacrilegious article the bishops and the abbots in the army were to strive to annul with all their spiritual authority; the Emperor and the Doge of Venice were admonished to abrogate it as injurious to the honor, and as trenching on the sovereign authority of the Roman Church. Nor would Innocent admit the right of the self-elected Chapter, or worse, a Chapter appointed by lay authority, to the nomination of the Patriarch. He absolutely annulled this uncanonical proceeding; but from his high respect for Thomas Morosini, and the necessity to provide a head to the Church of Constantinople of his own authority, he invested Morosini with the vacant Patriarchate.[1] Morosini was allowed to accumulate within a few days the orders of Deacon, Priest, and Bishop; the Pope invested him with the Archiepiscopal pall. Innocent at the same time bestowed the highest privileges and powers on the new Patriarch, yet with studious care that all those privileges and powers emanated from, and were prescribed and limited by the Papal authority.[2] He might wear the pall at all times in all places, except in Rome and in the presence of the Pope; in processions in Constantinople he might ride

Sanctions Morosini as Patriarch.

[1] "Elegimus et confirmavimus eidem Ecclesiæ Patriarcham." — Epist. viii. 20.

[2] The patriarchate of Constantinople, Innocent averred, owed its original superiority over the patriarchates of Antioch, Alexandria, and Jerusalem, to a grant from the successor of St. Peter.

a white horse with white housings. He had the power of absolving those who committed violence against a spiritual person; to anoint kings within his Patriarchate at the request and with the sanction of the Emperor; to ordain at the appointed seasons and appoint all qualified persons, to distribute, with the advice of sage counsellors, all the goods of the Church, without the approbation of Rome in each special case. But all these privileges were the gifts of a superior; the dispensation with appeal in certain cases, only confirmed more strongly the right of receiving appeals in all others. Of the dispossessed and fugitive Patriarch no notice is taken either in this or any other document; the Latin Patriarch was planting a new Church in the East as in a Pagan land.

Thus then set forth the Latin Patriarch to establish a Latin Church in the East. The Emperor had before entreated the Pope to send a supply of breviaries and missals and rituals according to the Roman use, with clergy competent to administer to the Latins. He requested also some Cistercian monks to teach the churches of Antony and Basil the true rules and constitutions of the monastic life.[1] Innocent appealed to the prelates of France to supply this want of clergy for the new Church of the East. To the bishops he denounced the heresies of the Greeks; first their departure from the unity of the Church, then their denial of the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Son as well as from the Father; their use of leavened bread in the Eucharist. "But Samaria had now returned to Jerusalem; God had transferred the Empire of the Greeks from the proud to the lowly, from the superstitious to

[1] Epist. viii. 70.

the religious, from the schismatics to the Catholics, from the disobedient to the devoted servants of God."[1] He addressed the high school of Paris to send some of their learned youth to study in the East, the source and origin of knowledge; he not only opened a wide field to their spiritual ambition, the conversion of the Greeks to the true Apostolic faith; he described the East as a rich land of gold and silver and precious stones, as overflowing with corn, wine, and oil. But neither the holy desire of saving the souls of the Greeks, nor the noble thirst for knowledge, nor the promise of these temporal advantages (which, notwithstanding the splendid spoil sent home by some of the crusaders, and the precious treasures of art and of skill which were offered in their churches, they must have known not to be so plentiful, or so lightly won), had much effect; no great movement of the clergy took place towards the East. Philip Augustus made a wiser, but not much more successful attempt; he established a college of Constantinople in the university of Paris for the education of young Greeks, who, bringing with them some of the knowledge and learning of the East, might be instructed in the language, the creed, and the ritual of the West. This was the first unmarked step to the cultivation of the study of Greek in the West, which some centuries afterwards was so powerfully to assist in the overthrow of the sole dominion of Latin Christianity in Europe.

Thus, then, while Rome appointed the Patriarch of Constantinople, and all the churches within the dominion of the Latins adopted the Roman ritual, by the more profound hatred, on the one side contemptuous, on the other revengeful, of the two nations, the recon-

[1] Gesta, xciv.

ciliation of the Eastern and Western Churches was farther removed than ever. No doubt this inauspicious attempt to subjugate, rather than win, tended incalculably to the obstinate estrangement, which endured to the end. The Patriarch, John Camaterus, took refuge in the new Empire founded by Theodore Lascaris in Nicea and its neighborhood: to him, no doubt, the clergy throughout Greece maintained their secret allegiance. Nor was the reception of the new Latin Patriarch imposing for its cordial unanimity. Before Morosini disembarked, he sent word to the shore that the clergy and the people should be prepared to meet him with honorable homage. But the Frank clergy stood aloof; they had protested against the election being left to the Venetians; they declared that the election had been carried by unworthy subtlety; that the Pope himself had been imposed upon by the crafty republicans. Not one appeared, and the only shouts of rejoicing were those of the few Venetians. The Greeks gazed with wonder and disgust at the smooth-faced prelate, without a beard, fat as a well-fed swine; on his dress, his demeanor,[1] the display of his ring. And the clergy, as beardless as their bishop, eating at the same table, like to him in dress and manners, were as vulgar and revolting to their notions. The contumacious French hierarchy would render no allegiance whatever to the Venetians; the excommunication which the Patriarch fulminated against them they treated with sovereign contempt. The jealousy of the Franks against the Venetian Primate was not without ground. The Venetians had from the first determined to secure

Greek Patriarch at Nicea.

Reception of new Patriarch.

[1] Nicetas, *in loc.*

to themselves in perpetuity, and, as they could not accept the temporal dominion, to make the great ecclesiastical dignitaries hereditary in their nation; so to establish their own Popedom in the East. But Innocent had penetrated their design; he had rigidly defined the powers of the new Patriarch, and admonished him, before he left Rome, not to lend himself to the ambition of his country, to appoint the canons of Santa Sophia for their worth and knowledge, not for their Venetian birth; the Legate was to exercise a controlling power over these appointments. From Rome Morosini had proceeded to Venice, to embark for his Patriarchate. He had been received with bitter reproaches by the son of the Doge and many of the counsellors and nobles, as having betrayed his country; as having weakly abandoned to the Pope the rights and privileges of Venice. They threatened not to furnish him with a ship for his passage; he was deeply in debt, his creditors beset him on all sides; he was compelled to take an oath before the Senate that he would name none but Venetians, or at least those who had resided for ten years in the Venetian territory, as canons of Santa Sophia; and to take all possible measures that none but a Venetian should sit on the Patriarchal throne of Constantinople.[1] If even dim rumors of these stipulations had reached the French clergy, their cold reception of the Patriarch is at once explained. So deep, indeed, was the feud, that Innocent found it necessary to send another Leg-

[1] Innocent heard of this extorted oath; he immediately addressed a letter to the Patriarch, positively prohibiting him from observing it; from the profane attempt to render the patriarchate hereditary among the Venetian aristocracy. — Gesta. c. xc

ate to Constantinople, the Cardinal Benedict, who enjoyed his full and unlimited confidence. The former Legate to the East, Peter of Capua, with his colleague the Cardinal Soffrido, had caused great dissatisfaction to the Pope. He had released the Venetians from their interdict, he had deserted his proper province, the Holy Land; and, in a more open manner than Innocent thought prudent, entered into the great design for the subjugation of the Greek Empire. He had absolved the crusaders, on his own authority, from the fulfilment, for a limited period, of their vows to serve in Palestine. He had received a strong rebuke from Innocent, in which the Pope dwelt even with greater force on the cruelties, plunders, sacrileges committed after the storming of Constantinople. The Saracens in Palestine, instead of being kept in the salutary awe with which they had been struck by the capture of Constantinople, could not be ignorant that the Crusaders were now released from their vow of serving against them; and would fall with tenfold fury on the few who remained to defend the Holy Land.

Constitution of the Clergy.

The Cardinal Benedict, of Santa Susanna, conducted[1] his office with consummate skill; perhaps the disastrous state of affairs awed even the jealous clergy with the apprehension that their tenure of dignity was but precarious. The Emperor Baldwin had now fallen a captive into the hands of the King of Bulgaria; his brother Henry, the new Sovereign, made head with gallantry, but with the utmost difficulty, against the Bulgarians, who, with their A.D. 1206. wild marauding hordes, spread to the gates of Constantinople; Theodore Lascaris had established

[1] Gesta, xiv.

the new Greek Empire in Asia. The Cardinal not only reconciled the Frank clergy to the supremacy of the Patriarch, Morosini himself was inclined to the larger views of the churchman rather than the narrow and exclusive aims of the Venetian. He gladly accepted the Papal absolution from the oath extorted at Venice; and, so far from the Venetians obtaining a perpetual and hereditary majority in the Chapter of Santa Sophia, or securing the descent of the Patriarchate in their nation, of the line of the Latin Patriarchs after Morosini there was but one of Venetian birth. The Legate established an ecclesiastical constitution for the whole Latin Empire. The clergy were to receive one fifteenth of all possessions, cities, castles, tenements, fields, vineyards, groves, woods, meadows, suburban spaces, gardens, salt-works, tolls, customs by sea and land, fisheries in salt or fresh waters; with some few exceptions in Constantinople and its suburbs reserved for the Emperor himself. If the Emperor should compound for any territory, and receive tribute instead of possession, he was to be answerable for the fifteenth to the Church; he could not grant any lands in fief, without reserving the fifteenth. Besides this, all monasteries belonged to the Church, and were not reckoned in the fifteenth. No monastery was to be fortified, if it should be necessary for the public defence, without the permission of the Patriarch or the Bishop of the diocese. Besides this, the clergy might receive tithe of corn, vegetables, and all the produce of the land; of fruits, except the private kitchen-garden of the owner; of the feed of cattle, of honey, and of wool. If by persuasion they could induce the land-owners to pay these tithes, they were fully entitled

to receive them. The clergy and the monks of all orders were altogether exempt, according to the more liberal custom of France, from all lay jurisdiction. They held their lands and possessions absolutely, saving only allegiance to the See of Rome and to the Patriarch of Constantinople, of the Emperor and of the Empire.[1]

Toleration of Greeks.

Even towards the Greeks, as the new Emperor discovered too late the fatal policy of treating the conquered race with contemptuous hatred, so the ecclesiastical rule gradually relaxed itself, and endeavored to comprehend them without absolute abandonment of their ritual, and without the proscription of their clergy. Where the whole population was Greek, the Patriarch was recommended to appoint a Greek ecclesiastic; only, where it was mixed, a Latin.[2] Even the Greek ritual was permitted where the obstinate worshippers resisted all persuasions to conformity, till the Holy See should issue further orders. Nor were the Greek monasteries to be suppressed, and converted, according to Latin usage, into secular chapters; they were to be replaced, as far as might be, by Latin regulars; otherwise to remain undisturbed. This tardy and extorted toleration had probably no great effect in allaying the deepening estrangement of the two churches. Nor did these arrangements pacify the Latin Byzantine Church; there were still jealousies among the Franks of the Venetian Patriarch, excommunications against his con-
A.D. 1209. tumacious clergy by the Patriarch, appeals to Rome, attempts by the indignant Patriarch to re-

[1] Dated 16 Calends, April. Confirmed at Ferentino, Nones of August.
[2] Gesta, ch. cii.

sume some of the independence of his Byzantine predecessors, new Legatine commissions from the Pope, limiting or interfering with his authority.

Even had the Latin conquerors of the East the least disposition to resist the lofty dictation of the Pope in all ecclesiastical concerns, they were not in a situation to assert their independence as the undisputed sovereigns of Eastern Christendom. On Innocent might depend the recruiting of their reduced, scattered, insufficient forces by new adventurers assuming the Cross, and warring for the eventual liberation of the East, and so consolidating the conquest of the Eastern Empire; on Innocent might depend the deliverance of their captive Emperor, of whose fate they were still ignorant. The King of Bulgaria, by the submission of the Bulgarian Church to Rome, was the spiritual subject of the Pope. Henry, while yet Bailiff of the Empire, during the captivity of Baldwin, wrote the most pressing letters, entreating the mediation of the Pope with the subtle Johannitius. The letters described the insurrection of the perfidious Greeks, the invasion of the Bulgarians, with their barbarous allied hordes, the fatal battle of Adrianople in which Baldwin had been taken prisoner: the Latins fled to the Pope as their only refuge above all kings and princes of the earth; they threw themselves in prostrate humility at his parental feet. Kings of Bulgaria.

Innocent delayed not to send a messenger to his spiritual vassal, the King of Bulgaria; but his letter was in a tone unwontedly gentle, persuasive, unauthoritative. He did not even throw the blame of the war with the Franks of Constantinople on the King of Bulgaria: he reminded him that he had received his crown

and his consecrated banner from the Pope, that banner which had placed his kingdom under the special protection of St. Peter, in order that he might rule his realm in peace. He informed Johannitius that another immense army was about to set out from the West to recruit that which had conquered the Byzantine Empire; it was his interest, therefore, to make firm peace with the Latins, for which he had a noble opportunity by the deliverance of the Emperor Baldwin.[1] "This was a suggestion, not a command. On his own part he would lay his injunction on the Emperor Henry to abstain from all invasion of the borders of Bulgaria; that kingdom, so devoutly dedicated to St. Peter and the Church of Rome, was to remain in its inviolable security!" The Bulgarian replied that "he had offered terms of peace to the Latins, which they had rejected with contempt; they had demanded the surrender of all the territories which they accused him of having usurped from the Empire of Constantinople, themselves being the usurpers of that Empire. These lands he occupied by a better right than they Constantinople. He had received his crown from the Supreme Pontiff; they had violently seized and invested themselves with that of the Eastern Empire; the Empire which belonged to him rather than to them. He was fighting under the banner consecrated by St. Peter; they with the cross on their shoulders, which they had falsely assumed. He had been defied, had fought in self-defence, had won a glorious victory, which he ascribed to the intercession of the Prince of the Apostles. As to the Emperor, his release was impossible, he had already gone the way of all flesh." It is impossible not to

[1] Epist. viii. 132.

remark the dexterity with which the Barbarian avails himself of the difficult position of the Pope, who had still openly condemned the invasion of Constantinople by the Crusaders, and had threatened, if he had not placed them under interdict for that act; how he makes himself out to be the faithful soldier of the Pope. Nor had either the awe or fear of Innocent restrained the King of Bulgaria from putting his prisoner to a cruel death (this seems to be certain, however the manner of Baldwin's death grew into a romantic legend),[1] nor did he pay the slightest regard to the pacific counsels of Rome; the consecrated banner of St. Peter still waved against those who had subdued the Eastern Empire under allegiance to the successor of St. Peter. Till his own assassination, Johannitius of Bulgaria was the dangerous and mortal foe of the Latins in the Empire of the East.

Effects of conquest of Constantinople.

The conquest of Constantinople by the Latins, that strange and romantic episode in the history of the Crusades, in its direct and immediate results might seem but imperfect and transitory. The Latin Empire endured hardly more than half a century, the sovereignty reverted to its old effete masters. The Greeks who won back the throne were in no respect superior either in military skill or valor, in genius, in patriotism, in intellectual eminence, to those who had been dispossessed by the Latins. The Byzantine Empire had to linger out a few more centuries of inglorious inactivity; her religion came back with her,

[1] Ephraïm, l. 7406, 7, p. 300, edit. Bonn; Nicetas, p. 847; George Acropolita, p. 24, give different versions of his death. See also Ducange's note on Villehardouin, and Alberic des trois Fontaines, on the impostor who represented him. — Gesta Ludov. viii., apud Duchesne, Matt. Paris.

with all its superstition, with nothing creative, vigorous, or capable of exercising any strong impulse on the national mind. As the consolidation therefore of Europe into one great Christian confederacy the conquest was a signal failure; as advancing, as supporting the Christian outposts in the East, it led to no result; the Crusades languished still more and more; they were now the enterprises of single enthusiastic princes, brilliant, adventurous expeditions like that of our Edward I. even national armaments like those of St. Louis of France, whom his gallant chivalry followed to the East as they would on any other bold campaign, obedient to, even kindled by his fanatic fervor, rather than by their own profound religious zeal. They were no longer the wars of Christendom, the armed insurrections of whole populations, maddened to avenge the cause of the injured Son of God, to secure to themselves the certain absolution for their sins and everlasting reward.

But the immediate and indirect results on the Latin, and more especially on the Italian mind, constituted the profound importance of this event, and was at once the sign and the commencement of a great revolution. A new element had now entered into society, to contest with the warlike and religious spirit the dominion over human thought. Commercial Venice had now taken her place with the feudal monarchies of Transalpine Christendom, and with Rome the seat of ecclesiastical supremacy. A new power had arisen, which had wrested the generalship and the direction of a Crusade from the hands of the most mighty prelate who had filled the chair of St. Peter, had calmly pursued her own way in defiance of interdict, and only at her own

convenient time, and for her own ends, stooped to tardy submission and apology.

Venice almost alone reaped the valuable harvest of this great Crusade. Zara was the first step to her wide commercial empire; she had wisely left the more imposing but precarious temporal sovereignty in Constantinople to her confederates; to them she abandoned whatever kingdoms, principalities, or baronial fiefs they might win upon the mainland; but she seized on the islands of the Archipelago as her own. Constantinople was not her seat of empire, but it was her central mart; the Emperor had to defend the walls on the land side, the factories of Venice at Pera were amply protected by her fleets. Wherever there was a haven there waved the flag of St. Mark: the whole coast and all the islands were studded with her mercantile establishments. Advantages secured by Venice.

Venice had been thwarted by the natural jealousy of the Church, by the vigilance and authority of the Pope, and by the defection of Morosini himself, her Patriarch, in her bold project of retaining in her own hands the chief ecclesiastical dignity of the new Empire. It was a remarkable part of the Venetian policy, that though jealous of any overweening ecclesiastical authority at home, within her own lagunes; abroad, in her colonies and conquests, she was desirous of securing to herself and her sons all the high spiritual dignities, and so to hold both the temporal and ecclesiastical power in her own hands. Venice, by her fortune, or by her sagacity, had never become, never aspired to become the seat of an archiepiscopate; the city was a province first of Aquileia, then of Grado; but the Archbishop was no citizen of Venice; he dwelt apart

in his own city; he was at times a stately visitor, received with the utmost ceremony, but still only a visitor in Venice; he could not be a resident rival and control upon the Doge and the senators. Hence Venice alone remained comparatively free from ecclesiastical intrigue; the clergy took no part, as clergy, in the affairs of state; they had no place in the successive senatorial bodies, which at different periods of the constitution ruled the republic. Hence, even from an earlier period she dared to take a firmer tone, or to treat with courteous disrespect the mandates of the supreme Pontiff; the republic would sternly assert her right to rule herself of her own sole and exclusive authority; but in her settlements she would not disdain to rule by the subsidiary aid of the ecclesiastical power.

Archbishop of Zara.

Among the first acts of Ziani, the Doge who succeeded Henry Dandolo, was the appointment of the Abbot of St. Felix in Venice to the archbishopric of Zara; he obtained the consecration and confirmation from the obsequious Primate of Grado. Not till then did he condescend to request the Papal sanction: to demand the pall for the new archbishop.

Innocent seized the opportunity of abasing the pride of Venice, of disburdening his mind of all his wrath, perhaps his prescient apprehensions of her future unruliness. "We have thought it right in our patient love to rebuke your ambassadors for the many and heinous sins wickedly committed against God, the Roman Church, and the whole Christian people — the destruction of Zara; the diversion of the army of the Lord, which ought not to have moved to the right or the left, from their lawful enemies the perfidious Saracens, against faithful Christian nations; the contume-

lious repulse of the Legate of the Roman See; the contempt of our excommunication; the violation of the vow of the Cross in despite of a crucified Saviour. Among these enormous misdeeds we will not name those perpetrated in Constantinople, the pillage of the treasures of the church, the seizure of her possessions, the attempt to make the sanctuary of the Lord hereditary in your nation by extorting unlawful oaths. What reparation can ye make for this loss to the Holy Land by your misguiding to your own ends an army so noble, so powerful, raised at such enormous cost, which might not only have subdued the Holy Land, but even great part of the kingdom of Egypt? If it has been able to subdue Constantinople and the Greek Empire, how much easier Alexandria and Egypt, and so have obtained quiet possession of Palestine? Ascribe it not then to our severity, but to your own sins, that we refuse to admit the Abbot of St. Felix, whom ye call Archbishop of Zara. It would be a just offence to all Christian people if we should seem thus to sanction your iniquity in the seizure of Zara, by granting the pall of an archbishop in that city to a prelate of your nomination."[1]

The Pope called on the Venetians to submit and make satisfaction for all their crimes against A.D. 1206. the Holy See; on making that submission he would suspend the censure which the whole world expected to fall on the contumacious republic. We hear not that Venice trembled at this holy censure; history records no proof of her fear or submission.

Through Venice flowed into Western Europe almost all those remains of ancient art, and even of ancient

[1] Gesta, civ.

letters, which had some effect in awakening the slumbering genius of Latin Europe. The other western kingdoms were content mostly with relics; perhaps the great marts of Flanders, and the rising Hanse Towns had some share, more or less direct, in Eastern commerce; but besides the religious spoils, Venice alone, and through Venice Italy, was moved with some yet timid admiration of profaner works, such as the horses of Lysippus, which now again stand in her great Place of St. Mark. Venice after the conquest of Constantinople became a half Byzantine city. Her great church of St. Mark still seems as if it had migrated from the East; its walls glow with Byzantine mosaic; its treasures are Oriental in their character as in their splendor.

# CHAPTER VIII.

## INNOCENT AND THE ANTI-SACERDOTALISTS.

THE Crusades had established in the mind of men the maxim that the Infidel was the enemy of God, and therefore the enemy of every true servant of God. The war, first undertaken for a specific object, the rescue of the Saviour's sepulchre, that indefeasible property of Christ and Christendom long usurped by lawless force, from the profane and sacrilegious hands of the Mohammedan idolaters (as they were absurdly called), had now become a general war of the Cross against the Crescent, of every Christian against every believer in the Korân. Christian and unbeliever were born foes, foes unto death. They might hold the chivalrous gallantry, the loyalty, and the virtue, each of the other, in respect: absolute necessity might compel them to make treaties which would partake in the general sanctity of such covenants; yet to these irreconcilable antagonists war was the state of nature; each considered it a sacred duty, if not a positive obligation, to extirpate the hostile faith. And in most Mohammedan countries the Christian had the claim of old possession; he fought for the recovery of his own. Mohammedanism had begun in unprovoked conquest; conquest was its sole tenure; and conquest might seem at least a part of its religion, for

Crusade against heretics.

with each successive race which rose to power among the Mohammedans the career of invasion began again; the frontiers of Christendom were invested or driven in. All warfare, therefore, even carried into the heart of Mohammedanism, was in some degree defensive, as precautionary and preventive of future aggression; as aspiring to crush, before it became too formidable, a power which inevitably, when again matured, would be restrained by no treaty. Foreign subjugation, subjugation of Christian countries, was at once a part of the creed, and of the national manners. The Nomad races, organized by a fanatic faith, were arrayed in eternal warfare against more settled and peaceful civilization. The Crusades in the North of Germany against the tribes of Teutonic or Sclavonian race might claim, though in less degree, the character of defensive wars: those races too were mostly warlike and aggressive. The Teutonic knights were the religious and chivalrous descendants of the Templars and the Hospitallers.[1]

But according to the theory of the Church, the erring believer was as declared an enemy to God as the Pagan or the Islamite, in one respect more inexcusable and odious, as obstinately resisting or repudiating the truth. The heretic appeared to the severely orthodox Christian as worse than the unbeliever; he was a revolted subject, not a foreign enemy.[2] Civil wars are always the most ferocious. Excommunication from the Christian

[1] The Teutonic order was as yet in its infancy; it obtained what may be called an European existence (till then it was a brotherhood of charity in the Holy Land) under Herman de Salza, the loyal friend of Frederick II.

[2] The Troubadour who sings of the Albigensian war expresses the common sentiment: "Car les Français de France, et ceux d'Italie . . . et le monde entier leur court sus, et leur porte haine, plus qu'à Sarrasins." — Fauriel, p. 77.

Church implied outlawry from Christian society; the heretic forfeited not only all dignities, rights, privileges, immunities, even all property, all protection by law; he was to be pursued, taken,[1] despoiled, put to death, either by the ordinary course of justice (the temporal authority was bound to execute, even to blood, the sentence of the ecclesiastical court), or if he dared to resist, by any means whatever: however peaceful, he was an insurgent, against whom the whole of Christendom might, or rather was bound at the summons of the spiritual power to declare war; his estates, even his dominions if a sovereign, were not merely liable to forfeiture, but the Church assumed the power of awarding the forfeiture, as it might seem best to her wisdom.[2] The army which should execute the mandate of the Church was the army of the Church, and the banner of that army was the Cross of Christ. So began Crusades, not on the contested borders of Christendom, not in Mohammedan or heathen lands, in Palestine, on the shores of the Nile, among the Livonian forests or the sands of the Baltic, but in the very bosom of Christendom; not among the implacable partisans of an antagonistic creed, but among those who still called themselves by the name of Christians.

Apparent religious quiet of reign of Innocent III.

The world, at least the Christian world, might seem to repose in unresisting and unrepining subjection under the religious autocracy of the Pope, now at the zenith of his power. How-

[1] Pierre de Vaux Cernay considers every crime to be centred in heresy. The heretic is a wild beast to be remorselessly slain wherever he is found. — Passim.

[2] Even the Emperor Henry IV. almost admitted that, if guilty of heresy, he would have justly incurred dethronement. His argument against the injustice of Hildebrand is, that he is convicted of no heresy.

ever Innocent III., in his ostentatious claim of complete temporal supremacy as a branch of his spiritual power, as directly flowing from the established principles of his religious despotism, might have to encounter the stern opposition of the temporal sovereigns Philip of Swabia, Otho IV., Philip Augustus, or the Barons of England; yet within its clear and distinct limits that supremacy was uncontested. No Emperor or King, however he might assert his right to his crown in defiance of the Pope, would fail at the same time to profess himself a dutiful son and subject of the Church. Where the contest arose out of matters more closely connected with religion, it was against the alleged abuse of the power, not against the power itself, which he appealed when he took up arms. But there was a secret working in the depths of society, which, at the very moment when it was most boastful of its unity, broke forth in direct spiritual rebellion in almost every quarter of Christendom. Nor was it the more watchful and all-pervading administration of Innocent III. which detected latent and slumbering heresies; they were open and undisguised, and carried on the work of proselytism, each in its separate sphere, with dauntless activity. From almost every part of Latin Christendom a cry of indignation and distress is raised by the clergy against the teachers or the sects, which are withdrawing the people from their control. It is almost simultaneously heard in England, in Northern France, in Belgium, in Bretagne, in the whole diocese of Rheims, in Orleans, in Paris, in Germany, at Goslar, Cologne, Trèves, Metz, Strasburg. Throughout the whole South of France, and it should seem in Hungary, this sectarianism is the dominant religion.

Even in Italy these opinions had made alarming progress. Innocent himself calls on the cities of Verona, Bologna, Florence, Milan, Placentia, Treviso, Bergamo, Mantua, Ferrara, Faenza, to cast out these multiplying sectaries. Even within or on the very borders of the Papal territory Viterbo is the principal seat of the revolt.

In one great principle alone the heresiarchs of this age, and their countless sects, conspired with dangerous unity. It was a great anti-sacerdotal movement; it was a convulsive effort to throw off what had become to many the intolerable yoke of a clergy which assumed something beyond Apostolic power, and seemed to have departed so entirely from Apostolic poverty and humility. It was impossible that the glaring contrast between the simple religion of the Gospel, and the vast hierarchical Christianity which had been growing up since the time of Constantine, should not, even in the darkest and most ignorant age, awaken the astonishment of some, and rouse the spirit of inquiry in others. But for centuries, from this embarrassing or distressing contrast between Apostolic and hierarchical Christianity, almost all who had felt it had sought and found refuge in monachism. And monachism, having for its main object the perfection of the individual, was content to withdraw itself out of worldly Christianity into safe seclusion; being founded on a rule, an universal rule, of passive submission, it did not of necessity feel called upon, or seem to itself justified in more than protesting against, or condemning by its own austere indigence, the inordinate wealth, power, or splendor of the clergy, still less in organizing revolutionary resistance. Yet

Principle of union amongst Sectaries.

unquestionably this oppugnancy was the most active element in the jealous hostility between the seculars and the regulars, which may be traced in almost every country and in every century. We have heard the controversy between Peter Damiani and Hildebrand, each of whom may be accepted as the great champion of his class, which though it did not quench their mutual respect, even their friendship, shows the irreconcilability of the conflict. Yet each form of monasticism had in a generation or two become itself hierarchical; the rich and lordly abbot could not reproach the haughty and wealthy bishop as an unworthy successor of the Apostles. Clugny, which by its stern austerities had put to shame the older cloisters, by the time of St. Bernard is become the seat of unevangelic luxury and ease. Moreover, a solemn and rigid ritual devotion was an essential part of monachism. Each rule was more punctilious, more minute, more strict, than the ordinary ceremonial of the Church; and this rigid servitude to religious usage no doubt kept down multitudes, who might otherwise have raised or followed the standard of revolt. There were no rebellions to any extent in the monastic orders, so long as they were confined in their cloisters; it was not till much later, that among the Begging Friars, who wandered freely abroad, arose a formidable mutiny, even in the very camp of the Papacy.

The hierarchy, too, might seem to repose securely in its conscious strength; to look back with quiescent pride on its unbroken career of victory. The intellectual insurrection of Abélard against the dominant philosophy and against the metaphysic groundwork, if not against the doctrines of the dominant Christianity, had

been crushed, for a time at least, by his own calamities and by the superior authority of St. Bernard. The republican religion of Arnold of Brescia had met its doom at the stake; the temporal and spiritual power had combined to trample down the perilous demagogue rather than heresiarch. But doctrines expire not with their teachers. Abélard left even in high places, if not disciples, men disposed to follow out his bold speculations. But these were solitary abstruse thinkers, like Gilbert de la Porée, or minds which formed a close esoteric school; no philosophizing Christian ever organized or perpetuated a sect. Arnold no doubt left behind him a more deep and dangerous influence. In many minds there lingered from his teaching, if no very definite notions, a secret traditionary repugnance to the established opinions, an unconscious aversion to the rule of the sacerdotal order.

Security of the hierarchy.

The Papacy, the whole hierarchy, might seem, in the wantonness of its despotism, almost deliberately to drive Christendom to insurrection. It was impossible that the long, seemingly interminable conflict with the imperial power, even though it might end in triumph, should not leave deep and rankling and inextinguishable animosities. The interdicts uttered, not against monarchs, but against kingdoms like France and England; the sudden and total cessation of all religious rites; the remorseless abandonment, as it were, of whole nations to everlasting perdition for the sins or alleged sins of their sovereigns, could not but awaken doubts; deaden in many cases religious fears — madden to religious desperation. In France it has been seen that satire began to aim its contemptuous sarcasms at the Pope and the Papal power. In the

reign of John, the political songs, not merely in the vernacular tongue but in priestly or monastic Latin, assume a boldness and vehemence which show how much the old awe is dropping off; and these songs, spread from convent to convent, and chanted by monks, it should seem, to holy tunes, are at once the expression and the nutriment of brooding and sullen discontent: discontent, if as yet shuddering at aught approaching to heresy, at least preparing men's minds for doctrinal license.[1]

[1] See Mr. Wright's Political songs and poems of Walter de Mapes, among the most curious volumes published by the Camden Society. In the Carmina Burana (from the monastery of Benedict Buren, published by the Literary Union of Stuttgard, 1847) we find the same pieces, some no doubt of English origin. This strange collection of amatory as well as satirical pieces shows that the license, even occasionally the grace and beauty of the Troubadour, as well as his bitter tone against the clergy, were not confined to the South of France, or to the Provençal tongue: —

"Cum ad papam veneris, habe pro constanti
Non est locus pauperi, soli favet danti;
Vel si munus præstitum non est aliquanti.
Respondit, hæc tibia non est michi tanti.

"Papa, si rem tangimus nomen habet a re;
Quicquid habent alii, solus vult palpare;
Vel si verbum gallicum vis apocopare,
*Paez, puez dit le mot*, si vis impetrare.

"Papa quærit, chartula quærit, bulla quærit,
Porta quærit, cardinalis quærit, cursor quærit,
Omnes quærunt; et si quod des, uni deerit.
Totum mare salsum est, tota causa perit." — p. 14, 18.

Here is another, out of many such passages: —

"Roma, turpitudinis jacens in profundis,
Virtutes præposterat opibus immundis;
Vacillantis animi fluctuans sub undis,
Diruit, ædificat, mutat quadrata rotundis.

"Roma cunctos erudit, ut ad opes transvolent,
Plus quam Deo, Mammonæ, cor et manus immolent;
Sic nimirum palmites malâ stirpe redolent:
Cui caput infirmum, cetera membra dolent."

Nor were the highest churchmen aware how by their own unsparing and honest denunciations of the abuses of the Church, they must shake the authority of the Church. The trumpet of sedition was blown from the thrones of bishops and archbishops, of holy abbots and preachers of the severest orthodoxy; and was it to be expected that the popular mind would nicely discriminate between the abuses of the hierarchical system and the system itself? The flagrant, acknowledged venality of Rome could not be denounced without impairing the majesty of Rome; the avarice of Legates and Cardinals could not pass into a proverb and obtain currency from the most unsuspicious authorities, without bringing Legates, Cardinals, the whole hierarchy into contempt. We have heard Becket declaim, if not against the Pope himself (yet even the Pope is not spared), against the court and council of the Pope as bought and sold. The King, he says, boasts that he has in his pay the whole college of cardinals; he could buy the Papacy itself, if vacant. And, if Becket brands the impiety, he does not question on this point the truth of the King. Becket's friend, John of Salisbury, not only in the freedom of epistolary writing, but in his grave philosophic works, dwells, if with trembling reverence yet with no less force, on this indelible sin of

From another publication of Mr. Wright's, "Early Mysteries," p. xxv.: —

> "Quicquid male, Roma, vales,
> Per immundos cardinales,
> Perque nugas Decretales;
> Quicquid cancellarii
> Peccant vel notarii,
> Totum camerarii
> Superant Papales."

— Compare Hist. Littér. de la France, vol. xxii. 147, 8. I had selected the same quotations.

Rome and of the legates of Rome.[1] We have heard Innocent compelled to defend himself from the imputed design of fraudulently alienating for his own use contributions raised for the hallowed purposes of the Crusade.

Movement anti-Sacerdotalist

All these conspiring causes account for the popularity of this movement; its popularity, not on account of the numbers of its votaries, but the class in which it chiefly spread: the lower or middle orders of the cities, in many cases the burghers, now also striving after civil liberties, and forming the free municipalities in the cities; and in those cities not merely opposing the authority of the nobles, but that not less oppressive of the bishops and the chapters.

This wide-spread, it might seem almost simultaneous revolt throughout Latin Christianity (though in fact it had been long growing up, and, beat down in one place, had ever risen in another); this insurrection against the dominion of the clergy and of the Pope, more or less against the vital doctrines of the faith, but universally against the sacerdotal system, comprehended three classes. These, distinct in certain principles and tenets, would of necessity intermingle incessantly, melt into, and absorb each other. Once broken loose from the authority of the clergy, once convinced that the clergy possessed not the sure, at all events, not the exclusive power over their salvation; awe and reverence for the churches, for the sacraments, for the confessional, once thrown aside; they would welcome any

[1] "Sed Legati sedis Apostolicæ manus suas excutiant ab omni munere, qui interdum in provincias ita debacchantur ac si ad ecclesiam flagellandam egressus sit Sathan a facie domini." He adds, "Non de *omnibus* sermo est." — Polycratic. v. 15.

new excitement; be the willing and eager hearers of any teacher who denounced the hierarchy. The followers of Peter de Brueys, or of Henry the Deacon, in the South of France, would be ready to listen without terror to the zealous and eloquent Manichean; the first bold step was already taken; they would go onward without fear, without doubt, wherever conviction seemed to flash upon their minds or inthrall their hearts. In most of them probably the thirst was awakened, rather than fully allayed; they were searchers after truth, rather than men fully satisfied with their new creed.

These three classes were — I. The simple Anti-Sacerdotalists, those who rejected the rites and repudiated the authority of the clergy, but did not depart, or departed but in a slight degree, from the established creeds; heretics in manners and in forms of worship rather than in articles of belief. These were chiefly single teachers, who rose in different countries, without connection, without organization, each dependent for his success on his own eloquence or influence. They were insurgents, who shook the established government, but did not attempt to replace it by any new form or system of opinions and discipline. Three classes.

II. The Waldenses, under whom I am disposed, after much deliberation, to rank the Poor Men of Lyons. These may be called the Biblical Anti-Sacerdotalists. The appeal to the Scriptures and to the Scriptures alone from the vast system of traditional religion, was their vital fundamental tenet.

III. The Manicheans, characterized not only by some of the leading doctrines of the old Oriental system, not probably clearly defined or understood, by a

severe asceticism, and a hatred or contempt of all union between the sexes, but also by a peculiar organization, a severe probation, a gradual and difficult ascent into the chosen ranks of the Perfect, with something approaching to a hierarchy of their own.

Peter de Brueys. The Petrobussians.

I. Not long after the commencement of the twelfth century, Peter de Brueys preached in the south of France for above twenty years.[1] At length he expiated his rebellion in the flames at St. Gilles in Languedoc. Peter de Brueys had been a clerk; he is taunted as having deserted the Church on account of the poverty of his benefice. He denied infant baptism, it is said, because the parents brought not their children with offerings; he annulled the sacrifice of the altar, because men came not with their hands and bosoms loaded with gifts and with wax-lights.

Peter de Brueys is arraigned by Peter the Venerable, as denying — I. Infant baptism. II. Respect for churches. III. The worship of the cross. The cross on which the Redeemer was so cruelly tortured, ought rather to be an object of horror than of veneration. IV. Transubstantiation and the Real Presence. It is asserted, but not proved, that he rejected the Eucharist altogether: he probably retained it as a memorial rite. V. Prayers, alms, and oblations for the dead. To these errors was added an aversion to the chanting and psalmody of the Church; he would perhaps re-

[1] The date is doubtful. Peter the Venerable wrote his confutation after the death of Peter de Brueys: he asserts that Peter had disseminated his heresy in the dioceses of Arles, Embrun, Die, and Gap: he afterwards went into the province of Narbonne. Baronius dated this work of Peter the Venerable in 1146. Clemencet in 1135. Fuesslin, a more modern authority, with whom Gieseler agrees, in 1126 or 1127.

place it by a more simple and passionate hymnology.[1] How did each of these heretical tenets strike at the power, the wealth, the influence of the clergy! What terrible doubts did they throw into men's minds! How hateful must they have appeared to the religious, as to the irreligious! "What!" says the indignant Peter the Venerable, on the first of these tenets (we follow not out his curious, at times strange refutation of the rest), "have all the saints been baptized in infancy, yet, if infant baptism be null, have perished unbaptized, perished therefore eternally? Is there no Christian, not one to be saved in all Spain, Gaul, Germany, Italy, Europe?" In another respect, the followers of Peter de Brueys rejected the usages of the Church, but in no rigid or ascetic, and therefore no Manichean spirit. They ate meat on fast days, even on Good Friday. They even summoned their people to feast on those days. This was among the most revolting acts of their wickedness; as bad as acts of persecution and cruelty, of which they are accused; it shows at once their daring and the great power which they had attained. "The people are rebaptized, altars thrown down, crosses burned, meat publicly eaten on the day of the Lord's Passion, priests scourged, monks imprisoned, or compelled to marry by terror or by torture."[2]

But the fire which burned Peter de Brueys neither discouraged nor silenced a more powerful and more daring heresiarch. To the five errors of de Brueys, his heir, Henry the Deacon, added

Henry the Deacon.

[1] Compare Flathe, Vorlaufer der Reformation, Hahn, Manichaïsche Ketzer, i. p. 408, *et seq.*

[2] Peter Venerab., in Max. Biblioth. Patr., p. 1034. This refutation is the chief authority about Peter de Brueys, and his followers, called Petrobussians.

many more.[1] The description of the person, the habits, the eloquence of Henry, as it appeared to the incensed clergy, is more distinct than that of his doctrines. Henry had been a monk of Clugny, and was in deacon's orders. He is first heard of at Lausanne (though according to some reports his career began in Italy), but his influence over the popular mind and his hostility to the clergy first broke forth in its fulness at Le Mans. The Bishop of that see, Hildebert, incautiously gave him permission to preach, and then departed himself on a visit to Rome. The rapid changes in Henry's countenance are likened to a stormy sea: his hair was cropped, his beard long; he was tall of stature, quick in step, barefooted in the midst of winter, rapid in address, in voice terrible. In years he was but a youth; yet his deep tones seemed, according to the appalled clergy of Le Mans, like the roar of legions of devils; but he was wonderfully eloquent. He went to the very hearts of men, and maddened them to a deep implacable hatred of the clergy. Yet at first some even of the clergy sat at the feet of the persuasive teacher and melted into tears. But as he rose to the stern denunciation of their vices, they saw their alienated flocks gradually look on them with apathy, with contempt, with aversion. Some who attempted to meet the preacher in argument were beaten, rolled in the mire, hardly escaped with their lives, were only protected, and in secret hiding-places, by the magistrates. They attempted a gentle remonstrance: they had received Henry with brotherly love, and opened their pulpits to him; he had returned peace with

[1] Acta Episcoporum Cenomansium (in Mabillon, Vet. Analect. iii. 312). Henry began in 1116.

enmity, sowed deadly hatred between the clergy and the people, and betrayed them with a Judas kiss. To the messenger who read this expostulation Henry sternly and briefly replied, "Thou liest." But for the officers of the Count who accompanied him the man had been stoned to death.

Henry was no Manichean; he was rather an apostle of marriage. His influence, like that of many of the popular preachers, was greatest among the loose women. That unhappy race, of strong passions, oppressed with shame and misery at their outcast and forlorn condition, are ever prone to throw themselves into wild paroxysms of penitence. They stripped themselves, if we are to believe the accounts, naked; threw their costly robes, their bright tresses, into the fire. Henry declared that no one should receive a dowry, gold, silver, land, or bridal gifts. All rushed to marriage, the poorest with the poorest, *even within the prohibited degrees*. Henry himself is said to have looked with too curious and admiring eyes on the beauty of his adoring proselytes. Young men of rank and station wedded these reclaimed harlots in coarse robes which cost the meanest price. These inauspicious marriages ended but ill. The passion of self-sacrifice soon burned out in the youths; they grew weary, and deserted their once contaminated wives. The passion of virtue with the women, too, died away; they fell back to their old courses.

Bishop Hildebert, on his return from Rome, was met by no procession, no rejoicing at the gates. The people mocked his blessing: "We have a father, a bishop, far above thee in dignity, wisdom, and holiness." The mild bishop bore the affront: he forced an interview

on Henry, and put him under examination. Henry knew not how — probably refused — to repeat the Morning Hymn. The Bishop declared him a poor ignorant man, but took no harsher measure than expulsion from his diocese.

Henry retired to the South of France, and joined Peter de Brueys as his scholar or fellow-apostle. After A.D. 1134. Brueys was burned, he retired into Gascony, fell into the hands of the Archbishop of Arles, and was sent to the Council of Pisa. Innocent II. condemned him to silence, and placed him under the custody of St. Bernard. He escaped and returned to Languedoc. Desertion of churches, total contempt of the clergy, followed the eloquent heresiarch wherever he went. The Cardinal Bishop of Ostia was sent by Eugene III. to subdue the revolt; the Cardinal Alberic demanded the aid of no less a colleague than St. Bernard: "Henry is an antagonist who can only be put down by the conqueror of Abélard and of Arnold of Brescia." Bernard's progress in Languedoc might seem an uncontested ovation: from all quarters crowds gathered; Toulouse opened her gates; he is said by his powerful discourses to have disinfected the whole city from heresy. He found, so he writes, "the churches without people, the people without priests, the priests without respect, the Christians without Christ, the churches are deemed synagogues, the holy places of God denied to be holy, the sacraments are no longer sacred, the holy days without their solemnities." Bernard left Toulouse, as he hoped, as his admirers boasted, restored to peace and orthodoxy.[1]

Yet Bernard's victory was but seeming or but tran-

[1] Epist. 241, vol. i. p. 237.

sient. Peter de Brueys and Henry the Deacon had only sowed the dragon seed of worse heresies, which sprung up with astonishing rapidity. Before fifty years had passed the whole South of France was swarming with Manicheans, who took their name from the centre of their influence, the city of Albi. Toulouse is become, in the words of its delegated visitors, (the Cardinal of S. Chrysogonus, the Abbot of Clairvaux, the Bishops of Poitiers and Bath), the abomination of desolation; the heretics have the chief power over the people, they lord it among the clergy: as the people, so the priest.[1]

The Anti-Sacerdotalists had at the same time,[2] or even earlier, found in the north a formidable head in Tanchelin of Antwerp, a layman, with his disciple, a renegade priest named Erwacher. Tanchelin appears more like one of the later German Anabaptists. He rejected Pope, archbishops, bishops, the whole priesthood. His sect was the one true Church. The Sacraments (he denied transubstantiation) depended for their validity on the holiness of him that administered them. He declared war against tithes and the possessions of the Church. He was encircled by a body-guard of three thousand armed men; he was worshipped by the people as an angel, or something higher: they drank the water in which he had bathed. He is accused of the grossest license. A woman within the third degree of relationship was his concubine. Tanchelin.

[1] "Ita hæretici principabantur in populo, dominabantur in clero; eo quod populus, sic sacerdos." *et seq.* Epist. Henric. Abbat. Clairv. apud Mansi, A. D. 1178; and in Maitland, Facts and Documents.

[2] From 1122 to 1125. Script. apud Bouquet, xiii. 108, *et seq.* Epist. Frag. Ecclesiæ. Sigebert, apud Pertz, viii. Vita Norberti, apud Bolland, Jun. 1. Hahn, p. 458.

Tanchelin began his career in the cities on the coast of Flanders; he then fixed himself at Utrecht. The bishops and clergy raised a cry of terror. Yet Tanchelin, with the renegade Erwacher, dared to visit Rome. On his return he was seized and imprisoned in Cologne by the Archbishop, escaped, first fixed himself in Bruges, finally in Antwerp, where he ruled with the power and state of a king. He was at length struck dead by a priest, but his followers survived; no less a man than St. Norbert, the friend, almost the equal of St. Bernard, was compelled to accept the bishopric of Utrecht, to quell the brooding and dangerous revolt.

Another wild teacher, Eudo de Stella, an illiterate rustic, half revolutionized Bretagne. He gave himself out "as he that should come," was followed by multitudes, and assumed almost kingly power. He was with difficulty seized; his life was spared; he was cast into prison under the charge of Suger, Abbot of St. Denys. He died in prison; his only known tenet is implacable hostility to churches and monasteries.[1]

These, though the most famous, or best recorded Anti-Sacerdotalists, who called forth the Bernards and the Norberts to subdue them, were not the only teachers of these rebellious doctrines. In many other cities nothing is known, but that fires were kindled and heretics burned, in Oxford, in Rheims, in Arras, in Besançon, in Cologne, in Trèves, in Vezelay.[2] In this latter

[1] Gul. Neubrig. sub ann. 1197. Continuat. Sigebert, apud Pertz, viii.

[2] Some of these may have been Manicheans, or held opinions bordering on Manicheanism. On *Oxford*, Gul. Neubrig. ii. c. 13. *Arras*, in 1183, perhaps 1083. *Besançon*, 1200. Cæsar Heisterbac, v. 15. *Cologne*, God. Monach. ad ann. 1163. *Trèves*, Gesta Trevir. i. 186. They passed under the general name of Cathari; in France they were often called tisserands (weavers).

stately monastery, probably a year or two before the excommunication of King Henry by Becket, that awful triumph of the sacerdotal power, the Archbishops of Lyons and Narbonne, the Bishops of Nevers and Laon, and many abbots and great theologians, sat in solemn judgment on some, it should seem, poor ignorant men, called Publicans.[1] They denied all but God; they absolutely rejected all the Sacraments, infant baptism, the Eucharist, the sign of the cross, holy-water, the efficacy of tithes and oblations, marriages, monkhood, the power and functions of the priesthood. Two were disposed to recant. They were examined at the solemn festival of Easter, article by article; they could not explain their own tenets. They were allowed the water ordeal. One passed through safe; the other case was more doubtful, the man was plunged again, and condemned, to the general satisfaction. But the Abbot having some doubt, he was put to a more merciful death. Appeal was made to the whole assembly: "What shall be done with the rest?" "Let them be burned! let them be burned!" And burned they were, to the number of seven, in the valley of Ecouan.[2]

II. In Northern France these adversaries of the Church seem to have been less inclined to speculative than to practical innovations. It

Biblical Anti Sacerdotalists

[1] Ilonii or popolicolæ.

[2] Historia Vezeliac. sub fine, in Guizot, Collection des Mémoires, vii. p. 335. All these burnings were by the civil power, to which the heretics, having been excommunicated, were given up. Yet Eichhorn observes that neither the law of the Church nor the Roman law had any general penalty against heretics beyond confiscation of goods. "Obschon weder ein Kirchengesetz noch das Römische Recht etwas anderes als Confiscation ihres Vermögens *allgemein* gebot." Two statutes of Frederick II. (A. D. 1222) made the punishment, which had become practice, law. "Welche allgemeine Praxis wurden, in Verbrennen bestehen sollte." — T. ii. p. 521.

was an hostility to the clergy, and to all those ritual and sacramental institutions in which dwelt the power and authority of the clergy. In Southern France Manicheism almost suddenly swallowed up the followers of the simple Anti-Sacerdotalists, Peter de Brueys and Henry the Deacon. In Italy, perhaps, the political element, introduced by Arnold of Brescia, mingled with the Paulician Manicheism which stole in after the Crusades, and appeared almost simultaneously in many parts of Europe. In the valleys of the Alps it was a pure religious movement. Peter Waldo was the St. Francis of heresy, the Poor Men of Lyons were the Minorites — the lowest of the low. Some of them resembled more the later Fraticelli in their levelling doctrines, in their assertion of the kingdom of the Spirit; in some respects the wilder Anabaptists of the Church of Rome.

The simplicity of the Alpine peasants was naturally averse to the wealth of the monastic establishments which began to arise among them; there might survive some vague tradition of the iconoclasm and holiness of Claudius of Turin, or of the later residence of Arnold of Brescia in Zurich. But whether the spiritual par- Peter Waldo. ents, the brethren, the offspring of Peter Waldo[1] — whether his teachers or his disciples — these

[1] The date of Waldo is doubtful from 1160 to 1170. Stephanus de Borbone de VII. Donis Spiritus, iv. c. 30, professes to have heard the origin of the sect from persons living at the time. The passage is quoted in the Dissertation of Recchinius, prefixed to Moneta, c. xxxvii. The two famous lines in the noble Leyczion appear to assign a proximate date to the Biblical Anti-Sacerdotalists of the Valleys: —

"Ben ha mil e cent anez compli entierament,
Que fo scripta l'ora, car son al denier temp."

I see no reason for, every reason against, reckoning these 1100 years from

Hameless sectaries, in their retired valleys of Piedmont, clung with unconquerable fidelity to their purer, less imaginative faith. But whencesoever this humbler Biblical Christianity derived its origin, it received a powerful impulse from Peter Waldo. Waldo was a rich merchant of Lyons; his religious impressions, naturally strong, were quickened by one of those appalling incidents which often work so lastingly on the life of religious men. In a meeting for devotion a man fell dead, some say struck by lightning. From that time religion was the sole thought of Peter. He dedicated himself to poverty and the instruction of the people.[1] His lavish alms gathered the poor around him in grateful devotion. He was by no means learned, but he paid a poor scholar to translate the Gospels and some other books of Scripture.[2] Another grammarian rendered into his native tongue some selected sentences from the Fathers. Disciples gathered around him; he sent them, after the manner of the seventy, two by two, into the neighboring villages to preach the Gospel. They called themselves the Humbled; others called them the Poor Men of Lyons.[3]

the delivery of the Apocalypse, a critical question far beyond the age, or from any period but the ordinary date of our Lord. All it seems to assert is that the 1100 years are fully passed, and that the "latter days" are begun. This in the usual religious language would admit, at least, any part of the twelfth century. The authenticity of these lines is asserted and argued to my mind in a conclusive manner by the highest authority, Mons. Raynouard, Poésies des Troubadours, vol. ii. p. cxlii. Compare, for similar dates especially, Dante Paradiso, xi.; Gilly, Introduction, p. xxxviii.

[1] On Waldo, Reinerius Saccho, c. iv. v.; Alanus de Insulis; Stephan. de Borbone de VII. Don. Spirit. S.

[2] Chronicle of Laon, apud Bouquet, xiii.; Gilly, p. xciv.

[3] The name Insabatati is derived by Spanheim (Hist. Christ. Sæc. xii.) from their religious observance of the Sabbath, in opposition to the holidays of the Church. It is more probably from the word *sabot*, a wooden shoe

Two of Waldo's followers found their way to Rome. They presented a book, written in the Gallo-Roman language; it contained a text and a gloss on the Psalter, and several books of the Old and New Testament. The Papal See was not so wise as afterwards, when Innocent III., having superciliously spurned the beggarly Francis of Assisi, was suddenly enlightened as to the danger of estranging, the advantage of attaching, such men to the service of the Church. The example of Waldo may have acted as a monition. The two were received in the Lateran Council by Alexander III. The Pope condescended to approve of their poverty, but they were condemned for presuming to interfere with the sacred functions of the priesthood.[1] When they implored permission to preach, they were either met by a hard refusal, with derision, or ungraciously required to obtain the consent of the jealous clergy. Their knowledge of Scripture seems to have perplexed John of Salisbury, who writes of them with the bitterness of a discomfited theologian.

As yet it is clear they contemplated no secession from the Church; they were not included under the condemnation of heretics in the Council, but they persisted in preaching without authority. They were interdicted by the Archbishop of Lyons. Waldo resolutely replied with that great axiom, so often misapplied, and for the right application of which the conscience must be enlightened with more than ordinary wisdom, "That he must obey God rather than man."

From that time the Poor Men of Lyons were involved

[1] The accounts of these proceedings at the Council of the Lateran appear to me to be thus reconcilable with no great difficulty. — De Mapes; Chronic. Laon; Stephen Borbone; Moneta.

in the common hatred which branded all opponents of the clergy with obloquy and contempt. They were now comprehended among the heretics, condemned by Lucius III. at the Council of Verona.[1] Their hostility to the Church grew up with the hostility of the Church to them. They threw aside the whole hierarchical and ritual system, at least as far as the conviction of its value and efficacy, along with the priesthood. The sanctity of the priest was not in his priesthood, but in his life. The virtuous layman was a priest (they had aspired to reach that lofty doctrine of the Gospel), and could therefore administer with equal validity all the rites; even women, it is said, according to their view, might officiate. The prayers and offerings of a wicked priest were altogether of no avail.[2] Their doctrine was a full, minute, rigid protest against the wealth of the Church, the power of the Church.[3] The Church of Rome they denied to be the true Church: they inexorably condemned the homicidal engagements of popes and prelates in war. They

Poor Men of Lyons.

[1] Mansi, Concil. Veronens. 1184. Their preaching without license was the avowed cause of their condemnation. "Catharos et Paterinos et eos, qui se humiliatos vel pauperes de Lugduno falso nomine mentiuntur, Passaginos, Josepinos, Arnaldistas, perpetuo decernimus anathemate subjacere. Et quoniam nonnulli sub specie pietatis virtutem ejus, juxta quod ait apostolus, denegantes, auctoritatem sibi vindicant prædicandi: cum idem apostolus dicat, *quomodo prædicabunt nisi mittantur*. Rom. x. 15. Omnes, qui vel prohibiti, vel non missi, præter auctoritatem ab apostolicâ sede vel episcopo loci susceptam, publicè vel privatim prædicare præsumpserint, pari vinculo perpetui anathematis innodamus."

[2] Alani de Insulis, ii. 1.

[3] They seem to have anticipated a doctrine, afterwards widely adopted by the followers of the Abbot Joachim and the Fraticelli, that the Church was pure till the days of Silvester. Its apostasy then began. "In eo (Silvestro) defecit quousque ipsi eam restaurarent: tamen dicunt quod semper fuerint aliqui, qui Deum tenebunt et salvabantur." — See also Noble Leyczion, l. 409 Reinerii Summa. Martene. v. 1775.

rejected the seven Sacraments, except Baptism and the Eucharist. In baptism they denied all effect of the ablution by the sanctity of the water. A priest in mortal sin cannot consecrate the Eucharist. The transubstantiation takes place not in the hand of the priest, but in the soul of the believer. They rejected prayers for the dead, festivals, lights, purgatory, and indulgences. The only approach towards Manicheism, and that is scarcely an approach, is that married persons must not come together but with the hope of having children. In no instance are the morals of Peter Waldo and the Alpine Biblicists arraigned by their worst enemies. There is a compulsory distinction, an enforced reverence, a speaking silence. They who denounce most copiously the immoralities, the incredible immoralities of other sects in revolt against the hierarchy, acknowledge the modesty, frugality, honest industry, chastity, and temperance of the Poor Men of Lyons. Their language was simple and modest. They denied the legality of capital punishments.[1]

The great strength of the followers of Peter Waldo was no doubt their possession of the sacred Scriptures in their own language. They read the Gospels, they preached, and they prayed in the vulgar tongue.[2]

[1] It is much to have extorted a milder damnation from Peter de Vaux Cernay. He derives the Waldenses from Waldo of Lyons. "They were bad, but much less perverse than other heretics." He describes them almost as a sort of Quakers. They wore sandals, like the apostles. They were on no account to swear, or to kill any one. They denied the necessity of episcopal ordination to consecrate the eucharist. — c. ii. apud Bouquet; or in Guizot, Collection des Mémoires.

[2] The third cause assigned by Reinerius Sacchio for their rapid progress is "Veteris et Novi Testamenti in vulgarem linguam ab ipsis facta translatio quæ quidem edita est in urbe Metensi." They were strong in Metz. Alberic. Chronic. ad ann. 1200. But was the Romaunt version understood in Metz? There was more than one popular version. — See Preface by Le

They rejected the mystical sense of the Scriptures. But besides the sacred Scriptures, they possessed other works in that Provençal dialect, in other parts of Southern France almost entirely devoted to amatory or to satiric songs. With them alone it spoke with deep religious fervor. The "Noble Lesson" is a remarkable work, from its calm, almost unimpassioned simplicity; it is a brief, spirited statement of the Biblical history of man, with nothing of fanatic exaggeration, nothing even of rude vehemence; it is the perfect, clear, morality of the Gospel. The close, which arraigns the clergy, has nothing of angry violence; it calmly expostulates against their persecutions, reproves the practice of death-bed absolution, and the composition for a life of wickedness by a gift to the priest. Its strongest sentence is an emphatic assertion that the power of absolving from mortal sin is in neither cardinal, bishop, abbot, pope, but in God alone.[1]

It is singular to find these teachers, whose whole theory was built on strict adherence to the letter of the

Roux de Lincy to the iv. Livres des Rois, Documents Inédits. — Compare the letter of Innocent III. (ii. 141) on this subject. Two of the other causes assigned are the ignorance and irreverence of some of the clergy.

Dr. Gilly has rendered the valuable service of printing the Romaunt version of the Gospel according to St. John. Dr. Gilly thinks that he has proved this version to be older, as quoted in it, than the Noble Leyczion. The quotations do not seem to me to be conclusive; they are like in many words, unlike in others. It is a very curious fact, if it will bear rigid critical investigation, that the Romaunt Version sometimes follows the old Versio Itala (as printed by Sabatier) rather than the Vulgate. — Dr. Gilly's Preface.

1 "Ma yo aus o dire, car se troba el ver,
Que tuit li Papa, que foron de Silvestre entiro en aquest,
E tuit li cardinal li vesque e tuit li aba,
Tuit aqueste ensemp non han tan de potesta
Que ilh poissan perdonar un sol pecca mortal;
Solamente Dio perdona; que autre non ho po far." — 408–412.
Raynouard, p. 97.

Bible, mingled up with those whose vital principle was the rejection of the Old Testament and some part of the New. It might seem to require almost more than the fierce blindness of polemic hatred to confound them together. But it is not in the simplicity of the "Noble Lesson" alone, as contrasted with the whole system of traditional, legendary, mythic religion; the secret is in that last fatal sentence — the absolute denial of Papal, of priestly absolution.[1]

Manichean heretics.

III. To these Anti-Sacerdotal tenets of the more speculative teachers, and the more practical antagonism of the disciples of Waldo, a wide-spread family of sects added doctrinal opinions, either strongly colored by, or the actual revival and perpetuation of the ancient Eastern heresies. Nothing is more curious in Christian history than the vitality of the Manichean opinions. That wild, half poetic, half rationalistic theory of Christianity, with its mythic machinery and stern asceticism (like all asceticism liable to break forth into intolerable license), which might seem congenial only to the Oriental mind; and if it had not expired, might be supposed only to linger beyond the limits of Christendom in the East, appears almost suddenly in the twelfth century, in living, almost irresistible power, first in its intermediate settlement in Bulgaria, and on the borders of the Greek Empire, then in Italy, in France, in Germany, in the remoter West, at the foot of the Pyrenees.[2]

[1] The doctrinal differences could not but be discerned. "Et illi quidem Valdenses contra alios (Arianos et Manicheos) acutissime disputabant." So writes one of their most ardent adversaries, the Abbot of Puy Laurens. — In prologo.

[2] On the Albigensian wars the chief authorities, besides the papal letters and documents, are the Chronicle of Peter de Vaux Cernay (I sometimes

The tradition of Western Manicheism breaks off about the sixth century; if it subsisted, it was in such obscurity as to escape even the jealous vigilance of the Church.[1] But in the East its descent is marked by the rise of a new, powerful, and enduring sect, the Paulicians. The history of Latin Christianity may content itself with but a brief and rapid summary of the settlements, migrations, conquests, calamities of the Paulicians; till they pass the frontier of the Greek Empire, and invade in the very centre the dominions of the Latin Church.[2] Their name implies that with the broader principles of Manicheism, they combined some peculiar reverence for the doctrine, writings, and person of St. Paul. In an Eastern mind it is not difficult to suppose

quote him in Latin from Bouquet, sometimes in French from Guizot, Collection des Mémoires; the Abbot de Pay Laurens (ibid.); the Guerre des Albigeois; and the Gestes Glorieuses, in Guizot: and the very curious Romaunt poem, Guerre des Albigeois, published by Mons. Fauriel (Documents Historiques). I cite him as the Troubadour. The Troubadour attributes his song (canson, chanson) to Master William of Tudela, a very learned man, greatly admired by clerks and laymen, endowed with the gift of geomancy, by which he predicted the destruction of the land. This personage was at first, erroneously as M. Fauriel shows, supposed to have been the poet. The poet says that he wrote it at Montauban, and denounces the niggardly nobles, who had neither given him vest nor mantle of silk, nor Breton palfrey to amble through the land. "But as they will not give a button, I will not ask them for a coal from their hearth. . . . The Lord God, who made the sky and the air, confound them, and his holy mother Mary." — p. 17. On the change in the Troubadour's politics, see forward. The Histoire de Languedoc, by Dom. Vaissette, is an invaluable and honorably impartial work.

[1] Mr. Maitland has been unable to discover any notice of Manicheism in Europe for more than 400 years; from the sixth century to the burning of the Canons at Orleans in 1017 or 1022. Gieseler has one or two very doubtful references. I doubt, with Mr Maitland, the Manicheism of these Canons. — Facts and Documents, p. 405. The account of the Canons is in Adhemar apud Bouquet, x. 35, and Rodulf Glaber. Those of Arras (Acta Synod. Atrab. apud Mansi, sub ann. 1025) are far more suspicious.

[2] The history of the Paulicians has been drawn with such vigor, rapidity, fulness, and exactness by Gibbon, that I feel glad of this excuse. — c. liv.

a fusion between the impersonated, deified, and oppugnant powers of good and evil, and St. Paul's high moral antagonism of sin and grace in the soul of man, the inborn and hereditary evil and the infused and imparted righteousness. The war within the man is but a perpetuation of the eternal war throughout the worlds.

The Paulicians burst suddenly into being, in the neighborhood of Samosata. Their first apostle, Constantine, is said to have wrought his simpler system out of the New Testament, accidentally bestowed upon him, especially from the writings of St. Paul. His disciples rejected alike the vast fabric of traditionary belief, which in the Greek and Latin Churches had grown up around the Gospel; and the cumbrous and fantastical mythology of the older Manicheism.[1] The Paulicians spread over all the adjacent regions, Asia Minor, Pontus, to the borders of Armenia and the shores of the Euphrates. Persecution gave them martyrs, the first of these was their primitive teacher. The blood of martyrs, as with Christianity itself, seemed but to multiply their numbers and strength. They bore, during many successive reigns, in Christian patience the intolerant wrath of Justinian II., of Nicephorus, of Michael I., of Theodora. Their numbers may be estimated by the report that during A.D 842. the short reign of that Empress perished 100,000 victims. Persecution at length from a sect condensed them into a tribe of rebels. They rose in revolt. Their city Tephrice, near Trebisond, became the capital of an independent people. They leagued

The Paulicians.

[1] The Paulicians disclaimed Manes. Προθύμως ἀναθεματίζουσι Σκυθιανὸν Βουδδᾶν τε καὶ Μανέντα. — Petr. Sicul. p. 42.

with the Mohammedans: they wasted Asia Minor. Constantine Copronymus, with their own consent, transported a great body of Paulicians into Thrace, as an outpost to the Byzantine Empire. John Zimisces conducted another great migration to the valleys of Mount Hæmus. From their Bulgarian settlements (they had mingled apparently to a considerable extent with the Bulgarians), the Crusades, the commerce which arose out of the Crusades, opened their way into Western Europe. Manicheism, under this form, is found in almost every great city of Italy. The name of Bulgarian (in its coarsest form) is one of the appellations of hatred, which clings to them in all quarters. At the accession of Innocent III. Manicheism is almost undisputed master of Southern France.[1]

Western Manicheism. Western Manicheism, however, though it adhered only to the broader principles of Orientalism, the two coequal conflicting principles of good and evil, the eternity of matter and its implacable hostility to spirit, aversion to the Old Testament as the work of the wicked Demiurge, the unreality of the suffering Christ, was or became more Manichean than its Grecian parent Paulicianism. The test which distinguishes the Manichean from the other Anti-Sacerdotalists is the assertion, more or less obscure, of those Eastern doctrines; the more visible signs, asceticism, the proscription, or hard and reluctant concession of marriage, or of any connection between the sexes; and

[1] Some of the Catholic writers assert distinctly their Greek descent. 'Illi vero qui combusti sunt [those at Cologne] *dixerunt nobis in defensione suâ* hanc hæresin usque ad hæc tempora occultatam fuisse a temporibus martyrum in Græciâ, et quibusdam aliis terris." See also Reiner apud Martene, Thes. v. 1767, who mentions the "Bulgarian community." — Muratori, Antiq. Ital. v. 83.

the strong distinction between the Perfect and the common disciples. They were called in disdain the Puritans (Cathari), an appellation which perhaps they did not disdain; and it is singular that the opprobrious term applied by the married clergy to the Monastics (Paterines), is now the common designation of the Manichean haters of marriage. Western Manicheism is but dimly to be detected in the eleventh century. The Canons of Orleans were, if their accusers speak true, profligates rather than sectarians. Those burned by Heribert, Archbishop of Milan, were accused of two strangely discordant delinquencies, both irreconcilable with Manicheism — Judaism and Paganism. These heretics held the castle of Montforte, in the diocese of Asti. They were questioned: they declared themselves prepared to endure any sufferings. They honored virginity, lived in chastity even with their wives: never touched meat, fasted, and so distributed their prayers that in no hour of the day were orisons not offered to the Lord. They had their goods in common. They believed in the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, *in the power of binding and loosing; in the Old and New Testament.* Their castle stood a siege. It was taken at length by the resistless arms of the Archbishop. All endeavors were made to convert the obstinate sectarians. At length in the market-place, were raised, here a cross, there a blazing pyre. They were brought forth, commanded to throw themselves before the cross, confess their sins, accept the Catholic faith, or to plunge into the flames; a few knelt before the cross; the greater number covered their faces, rushed into the fire and were consumed.[1]

[1] Sub ann. 1031. Landulph. Sen. ii. c. 27, apud Muratori, R. It. S. iv.

But in the twelfth century Manicheism is rampant, bold, undisguised. Everywhere are Puritans, Paterines, Populars, suspected or convicted or confessed Manicheans. The desperate Church is compelled to resort to the irrefragable argument of the sword and the stake. Woe to the prince or to the magistrate who refused to be the executioner of the stern law. During the last century, Wazon, Bishop of Liège, had lifted up his voice, his solitary voice, against this unchristian means of conversion;[1] no such sound is now heard; if uttered, it is overborne by the imperious concord of prelates in Council, by the authoritative voice of the Pope. The Crusade begins its home mission. Cologne. In Cologne, the ready populace throw the heretics into the flames.[2] The clergy, the Archbishop at Nicea, desired a more deliberate and solemn judgment. The calmness of the heretics in the fire amazed, almost appalled, their judges.

The chief seat of these opinions was the South of France. Innocent III., on his accession, found not only these daring insurgents scattered in the cities of Italy, even, as it were, at his own gates (among his first acts was to subdue the Paterines of Vi- Languedoc. terbo), he found a whole province, a realm, in some

If the human race, said one, would abstain from fleshly connection, men would breed like bees, without conjunction. Did they know that they were quoting an ancient orthodox Father? They said they had a Supreme Pontiff — not the Bishop of Rome — probably, the Holy Spirit.

[1] Gesta Episcop. Leodens. c. 59. Gieseler, note, p. 413.

[2] 1146. Evervini Epist. ad Bernard. in Mabillon. With these, though in their condemnation of marriage (which they did not explain), and in their organization (the Perfect and the hearers) Manichean, the dominant tenets were simply Anti-Sacerdotalist. Some said human souls were apostate spirits imprisoned in the flesh. — Ekberti, Sermon xiii. in Biblioth. P. P. Lugdun.

respects the richest and noblest of his spiritual domain, absolutely dissevered from his Empire, in almost universal revolt from Latin Christianity. This beautiful region, before the fatal crusade against the Albigensians, had advanced far more rapidly towards civilization than any other part of Europe; but this civilization was entirely independent of or rather hostile to ecclesiastical influence. Languedoc (as also Provence), the land of that melodious tongue first attuned to modern poetry, was one of the great fiefs of the realm of France, but a fief which paid only remote and doubtful fealty; it was almost an independent kingdom. The Count of Toulouse[1] was suzerain of five great subordinate fiefs. I. Narbonne, whose Count possessed the most ample feudal privileges. II. Beziers, under which Viscounty held the Counts of Albi and Carcassonne. III. The Countship of Foix, with six territorial vassalages. IV. The Countship of Montpellier, now devolved on Pedro, King of Arragon. V. The Countship of Quercy and Rhodez. The courts of these petty sovereigns vied with each other in splendor and gallantry. Life was a perpetual tournament or feast. The Count of Toulouse and his vassals had been amongst the most distinguished of the Crusaders; they had brought home many usages of Oriental luxury. Their intercourse with the polished Mussulman Courts of Spain, if war was not actually raging, or even when it was, had become courteous, almost friendly. Their religion was chivalry, but chivalry becoming less and less religious; the mistress had become the saint, the casuistry of the Court of Love superseded that of the confessional. There had grown up a gay license of manners, not adverse

[1] Capefigue, Philippe Auguste, iii. 1.

only to the austerity of monkish Christianity, but to pure Christian morals.

The cities had risen in opulence and splendor. Many of them had preserved their Roman municipal institutions: their Consuls held the supreme power in defiance of temporal and spiritual lords. In the cities the Jews were numerous and wealthy; against them the religious prejudices had worn away and mitigated into social intercourse. Literature, at least poetry, had begun to speak to the prince and to the people. But if the Romaunt among the peasants of the Alpine valleys confined itself to grave and holy lessons, in Languedoc it was the amatory or satiric song of the Troubadour. Notwithstanding the lofty homage of Dante,[1] the exquisite flattery of Petrarch's emulation, it may be doubted whether the Provençal poetry so prematurely refined, subtle, and effeminate, would, if uncrushed with the rest of the Provençal civilization by the revengeful Church, ever have risen to an honorable height. The Troubadour (though he might occasionally urge the pious glory of adventure in the Holy Land) was in general content with being the Poet Laureate of the Courts of Love. The war hymn seemed to have expired on the lips of the fierce Bertrand de Born.

Provençal Poetry.

[1] See on Arnold Daniel, Dante Purgatorio, xxvi. 118. Petrarch. Triunfo d'Amore, Petrarch's general imitation of the Provençal poets. Whoever will read the Florilegium in the second volume of M. Raynouard will hardly deny the Provençal poets the praise of grace and delicacy. The Epic on the war of the Albigenses, infinitely curious as history, as poetry is stone dead; Girart de Rousillon appears not very hopeful; if Ferabras be indeed Provençal, not northern, "that strain is of a higher mood." See the very interesting notices by the late M. Fauriel in his new volume (the 22d) of the Hist. Littéraire de la France, pp. 167, *et seq.*, and on Bertrand de Born, the friend and rival poet of Richard Cœur de Lion. Also Diez. Troubadours, p. 179.

It has ceased to be passionate, is become ingenious; it is over refined in word and thought, often coarse in matter. But this was the song and the music in the castle hall, at the perpetual banquet. The chant in the castle chapel was silent, or unheard. The priest was either pining in neglect, or listening, as gay as the rest, to the lively troubadour.[1] Nor was the Troubadour without his welcome song in the city; it was there the bitter satire on the clergy, the invective against the vices, the venality of Rome, against the pilgrimage to Rome, against the morose bishop, if such bishop there were, or against the Legate himself.

Low state of the clergy.

In no European country had the clergy so entirely, or it should seem so deservedly forfeited its authority. In none had the Church more absolutely ceased to perform its proper functions. If heresy was the cause of the degradation of the Church, the self-degradation of the Church had given its strength to heresy; the profession which was the object of ambition, of awe if not of reverence, of hatred if not of love, in other parts of Christendom, had here fallen into contempt. Instead of the old proverb for the lowest abasement, "I had rather my son were a Jew," the Provençals said, "I had rather he were a priest."[2]

The knights rarely allowed their sons to enter into orders, but, to secure the tithes to themselves, presented the sons of low-born vassals to the Churches, whom the bishops were obliged to ordain for want of others. The heretics had public burial-grounds of their own,

[1] Raynouard.

[2] William de Puy Laurens. I quote either the Latin from Bouquet or the French from Guizot's Collection des Mémoires.

and received larger legacies than the Church. This was not the work of Peter de Brueys, or of Henry the Deacon. That work must have been half done for the heresiarchs by the wealthy, indolent, luxurious clergy. Men, in a religious age, will have religion; and it can hardly be supposed that the Provençal mind had generally outgrown the ancient ritualistic faith, if that faith had been administered with dignity, with gentleness, with decency.

St. Bernard's conquest had passed away with his presence. Not many years after, a council at Lombères[1] (near Albi) arraigns a number of A.D. 1165. persons of Manichean opinions, rejection of the Old Testament, erroneous tenets on baptism and the Eucharist, repudiation of marriage. They extort an unwilling, seemingly an insincere assent to the orthodox creed. Thirteen years after, the Count of Toulouse himself (Raymond V.) raises a cry of dis- A.D. 1178. tress. Five distinguished prelates, with the sanction of the Kings of England and of France, the Cardinal Peter Chrysogonus at their head, find the whole country almost in possession of the heretics.[2]

So basked the pleasant land in its sunshine; voluptuousness and chivalrous prodigality in its castles,[3] luxury

[1] Acta in Mansi, sub ann. Compare for all this period Vaissette, Hist. de Languedoc, iii. in init.

[2] "This heresy, which the Lord curse (says the devout Troubadour), had in its power the whole Albigeois, Carcassonne, and Lauragais, from Beziers to Bordeaux." — Fauriel, p. 5; Vaissette, sub ann. "Churches were in ruins, baptism refused, the eucharist in execration, penance despised. Sacrements anéantis — on introduisit les deux principes." — p. 47. Raymond V. died in 1194. He had burned many heretics.

[3] "Dans la fameuse fête de Beaucaire, où se réunirent une multitude de chevaliers des pays Provençaux, d'Aquitaine, d'Aragon, et de Catalogne, les princes Provençaux semblèrent vouloir rivaliser de faste extravagant avec les despotes Asiatiques; le comte de Toulouse gratifia de cent mille

and ease in its cities: the thunder-cloud was far off in the horizon. The devout found their religious excitement in the new and forbidden opinions. There was for the more hard and zealous an asceticism which put to shame the feeble monkery of those days; for the more simply pious, the biblical doctrines; and what seems to have been held in the deepest reverence, the Consolation in death, which, administered by the Perfect alone (men of tried and known holiness), had all the blessing, none of the doubtful value of absolution bestowed by the carnal, wicked, worldly, as well as by the most sanctified, priest.

Apr. 20, 1198. First measures of Pope Innocent.

Innocent had hardly ascended the Pontifical throne, when he wrote, first, a strong letter to the Archbishop of Auch; in a few months after, a mandate, addressed to all the great prelates in the south of France; the Archbishops of Aix, Narbonne, Auch, Vienne, Arles, Embrun, Tarragona, Lyons, with their suffragans: to all the princes, barons, counts, and all Christian people. This Papal Manifesto broadly asserted the civil as well as religious outlawry of all heretics;[1] the right to banish them, to confiscate their property, to coerce, or to put them to death. The

sous d'argent le Seigneur Raymond d'Argent, qui les distribua entre tous les chevaliers présents. Bertrand Raimbaud, Comte d'Orange, fit labourer tous les environs du château et y fit semer jusqu'à trente mille sous en deniers. Raymond de Venous fit brûler, par ostentation, trente de ses plus beaux chevaux devant l'assemblée." — Hist. de Languedoc, iii. 37. "Le Midi délirait à la veille de sa ruine." — Michelet, and also H. Martin, Histoire de France, iv. p. 189.

[1] Innocent names as the obnoxious heretics the Valdenses, the Cathari, and the Paterini. He acknowledges their works of love; but with the charity of a churchman of that age, ascribes these to dissembling artifice, in order to obtain proselytes. "Justitiæ vultum prætendunt, et studentes simulatis operibus caritatis, eos amplius circumveniunt, quos ad religionis propositum viderint ardentius aspirare." — Apud Baluz., i. 94.

temporal sovereigns were, at the summons of the two Legates, Rainer and Guy (Cistercian monks), to carry these penalties submissively into effect,[1] they were offered the strong worldly temptation of all the confiscated estates, and indulgences the same as they would have obtained by visiting the churches of St. Peter and St. James of Compostella.

But these first measures only aggravated the evil. The mission of these Cistercian brethren as Papal Legates, and that of the Cardinal John, were alike without effect.[2] To the honor of the Sovereigns of the great fiefs they were not moved by the temporal or spiritual boons. Nor could this refusal of the nobles to perform the rigorous behest of the Pope be attributed altogether to humanity. Their wives and families, if not themselves, were deeply implicated in the religious insurrection. In one assembly, held in the year 1204,[3] five of the most distinguished ladies of Provence, among them Esclarmonde, widow of Jordan Lord of Lisle Jourdain, and sister of the Count of Foix,[4] were admitted into the heretical community. At the public reception of these ladies by one of the Perfect, they gave themselves up to God and his Gospel, promised for the future to eat neither meat, eggs, nor cheese, to allow themselves only vegetables and fish.

Cistercian brethren. 1206.

1 "Postquam per præfectum fratrem Rainerum fuerint excommunicationis sententiâ innodati, eorum bona confiscent, et de terra suâ proscribant." The further "animadversion" is indicated by a significant allusion to the stoning of Achan, the son of Carmi.

2 "Mais (Dieu me bénisse! je ne puis autrement dire) si non que les hérétiques ne font pas plus de cas des sermons que d'une pomme gâtée." — Fauriel, p. 7. This preaching lasted five years,

3 Vaissette, Hist. de Languedoc, iii. p. 133. Preuves, p. 437.

4 The other sister and the wife of the Count of Foix were Waldensians. — Petr. V. C. vi. 10.

They pledged themselves further neither to swear nor to lie, to abstain from all carnal intercourse, and to be faithful to the sect even unto death.

New powers were demanded; sterner and more active agents required to combat the deepening danger. The Pope looked still to the monastic orders, to the spiritual descendants of St. Bernard. Peter of Castelnau and Raoul, of that Order, were now charged with the desperate enterprise. These first Inquisitors were invested with extraordinary powers; to them was transferred the whole episcopal authority; the ordinary jurisdiction was superseded at their will; the Archbishop of Narbonne accuses them of extending the powers with which they were endowed for the suppression of heresy, to punish the excesses even of the clergy.[1] They retorted by laying informations in Rome against the Archbishop; they deposed the Bishop of Viviers; suspended the Bishop of Beziers; he had refused to excommunicate the consuls of his city infected with heresy. The Legates assembled the bailiffs, the Count of Toulouse, and the Consuls of the city, and extorted an oath to expel the "good men" from the land. The oath had no effect; Toulouse, the deceitful,[2] went on in its calm tolerance. To these Papal Legates, to Peter of Castelnau, and to Raoul, was associated Arnold d'Amauri, the Abbot of Citeaux, the Abbot of Abbots, a man whose heart was sheathed with the triple iron of pride, cruelty, bigotry. The sermons

New Legates.

A.D. 1203.

[1] "Deinde cum pro hæreticis expellendis solummodo legatio prima vobis injuncta fuisset, vos ad ampliandam vestræ legationis potestatem, clericorum excessus hæresim esse interpretantes, multa contra formam mandati, et in detrimentum ecclesiæ Narbonensis egistis." — Epist. ad Innocent III apud Vaissette, Preuves, May 29, 1204.

[2] "Tolosa, tota dolosa." — Petr. de V. C.

of Arnold were met with derision.[1] The Papal Legates traveled through the land from city to city, in the utmost hierarchical pomp, with their retinue in rich attire, and a vast cavalcade of horses and sumpter mules. It was on their second circuit that they encountered, near Montpellier (in Montpellier alone the King of Arragon had attempted to enforce the expulsion of the heretics), the Spanish Bishop of Osma, on his way to the north, with (the future saint) Dominic. The dejected Legates bitterly mourned their want of success. "How expect success with this secular pomp?" replied the severer Spaniards. "Sow the good seed as the heretics sow the bad. Cast off these sumptuous robes, renounce those richly-caparisoned palfreys, go bare foot, without purse and scrip, like the Apostles; out-labor, out-fast, out-discipline these false teachers." The Spaniards were not content with these stern admonitions; the Bishop of Osma and his faithful Dominic sent back their own horses, stripped themselves to the rudest monkish dress, and led the way on the spiritual campaign. The Legates were constrained to follow. Yet, notwithstanding their boasted triumphs in all the conferences, which were held at Verfeil, Caraman, Beziers, at Carcassonne, Montreal, Pamiers; notwithstanding their wise compliance with the counsel of Dominic, notwithstanding the exertions of that eloquent and indefatigable man and the preachers whom he had already begun to organize, their barefoot pilgrimage, their emulous or surpassing austerities, Heresy bowed not its head; it was deaf to the voice of the charmer. The temporal power must be commanded to do the work

[1] Of Arnold writes the Troubadour: "Ce saint homme s'en alla avec les autres par la terre des hérétiques, leur prêchant de se convertir, mais plus il les priait, plus ils se raillaient de lui et le tenaient pour sot." — p. 7.

which the spiritual cannot do. Already the Legates had wrung the unwilling sentence of expulsion of the heretics from the municipal authorities of Toulouse. Yet it was a concession of fear, not of persuasion. The assemblies were still held, if with less ostentation, hardly with disguise.[1]

Toulouse must have a Bishop at least of energetic character. In the time of Bishop Fontevraud the episcopal authority had sunk so low that he could not exact even his lawful revenues, and when he went on his visitation he was obliged to demand a guard from the Count for his personal safety. He was succeeded by Raymond de Rabenstein, who passed the three years of his episcopate, which he had gained by simony, in war with one of his vassals, by which he had so utterly ruined his finances, that he submitted quietly to be deposed at the will of the Pope. His successor, Fulk of Marseilles,[2] was of a different, even less Chris-

[1] "Tandem illæ duæ *olivæ!* illa duo candelabra lucentia ante Dominum servis servilem incutientes timorem, minantes eis rerum dilapidationem, regum ac principum dedignationem intimantes, hæresium objurationem, hæreticorum expulsionem eis persuaserunt; sicque ipsi non virtutis amore sed, secundum poetas 'cessabant peccare mali formidine pœnæ,' quod manifestis maliciis demonstrarunt. Nam statim perjuri effecti, et miseriæ suæ recidium patientes, in conventiculis suis, ipso noctis medio, prædicantes hæreticos occultabant." — Petr. V. C. apud Bouquet. See also Gul. de Pod. Laurent., apud Bouquet, and Vit. S. Dominic. apud Bolland.

[2] The songs of Fulk of Marseilles may be found in Raynouard, vol. ii. See also Fauriel, Hist. de la Poésie Provençale, vol. ii. Life of Fulk, Hist. Littéraire de la France, xviii. p. 586, &c. "Après avoir donné la moitié de sa vie à la galanterie, il livra sans retenue l'autre moitié à la cause de tyrannie, du meurtre et de spoliation, et malheureusement il en profita." He had a remarkable talent for poetry: — "Amant passionné des dames, apôtre fougueux de l'Inquisition, il ne cessa de composer des vers qui portèrent l'empreinte de ses passions successives." Compare his verses to the Lady of Marseilles and his Hymn to the Virgin. He was at the court of Cœur de Lion at Poitiers; of Raymond V.; of Alphonso II. of Arragon; of Alphonso IX., king of Castile. Dante places him in Paradise.

tian character. There is no act of treachery or cruelty throughout the war in which the Bishop of Toulouse was not the most forward, sanguinary, unscrupulous. Fulk in his youth had been a gay Troubadour. The son of a rich Genoese, settled at Marseilles, he despised trade, wandered about to the courts of the more accomplished princes of the day, Richard of England, Alphonso of Arragon, and the elder Raymond of Toulouse. Fulk delighted the nobles with his amorous songs (still to be read in their unchastened warmth) and aspired to the favor of high-born ladies. The wife and both the sisters of Barral, Viscount of Marseilles, were the objects of his lyric adoration. Repulsed by Viscountess Adelheid, he was seized with a poetic passion for Eudoxia, wife of William of Montpellier. On the death of this prince, by which he was greatly shocked, he threw himself into a cloister; the passion of devotion succeeded to worldly passions. The monastic discipline scourged all tenderness out of his heart, and by unchristian cruelty to himself, he trained himself to far more unchristian cruelty towards others.

Eight years had now passed of ineffective preaching, menace, fulmination. The Sovereign of the land must be summoned to be the Lictor of the Papal Mandate, the executioner on his own subjects of the awful sentence of blood, by shedding which, with hypocrisy which only aggravates cruelty, the Church held itself sullied; such sentence here, indeed, it wanted the power to accomplish without the civil aid.

Count Raymond of Toulouse.

Raymond VI. Count of Toulouse is darkly colored by the hatred of the sterner among the writers of the Church of Rome as a concealed heretic, as a fautor of heretics, as a man of deep dis-

simulation and consummate treachery. He appears to have been a gay, voluptuous, generous man, without strength of character enough to be either heretic or bigot. Loose in his life, he had had five wives, three living at the same time, the sister of the Viscount of Beziers, the daughter of the King of Cyprus, the sister of Richard of England; on the death of the last he married the sister of King Pedro of Arragon. The two latter were his kindred within the prohibited degrees. This man was no Manichean! Yet Raymond, even though his wives were thus uncanonically wed, is subject to no high moral reproof from the Pope; it is only as refusing to execute the Papal commands against his subjects (towards him at least unoffending), that he is the victim of excommunication, is despoiled of realm, of honor, of salvation.[1]

Raymond had succeeded to the sovereignty four years[2] before the accession of Innocent III. The first event of his reign was his excommunication for usurpation (as it was called) on the rights of the clergy of A.D. 1198. St. Gilles. This excommunication it was one of Innocent's first acts to remove. The position of the Count of Toulouse and of his nobles had been

[1] Compare on Raymond Petr. V. C. c. iv. The Abbot had heard from a Bishop a speech of Raymond's: "Quod monachi Cistercienses non potęrant salvari, quia tenebant oves, quæ luxuriam exercebant. O hæresis inaudita!" All his stories he relates on the authority of the Abbot Arnold, Raymond's deadly enemy. Many irreverent speeches were attributed to him, some implying heresy. "I see the devil made this world; nothing turns out as I wish." Playing at chess with his chaplain, he said, "The God of Moses, in whom you believe, will not help you." The following are still more improbable. He said of a heretic of Castres, who had been mutilated, and dragged out a miserable life, "I had rather be he than king or emperor." "I know that I shall lose my realm for the 'good men:' I will bear the loss of my realm, even of my life, in their cause."

[2] A. D. 1194. Vaissette, p. 101.

strange and trying for the most courageous and wisest of men. They knew that they could not persuade, they could hardly hope to defend, they were called upon to persecute their subjects, their peaceful, perhaps attached subjects, for a crime of which at least they did not feel the atrocity. They were commanded to be the obeisant executioners of punishments not awarded by themselves, of which they did not admit the justice, of which they could not but see the inhumanity. They were summoned by the Church, which was itself, by its negligence, its dissoluteness, its long-continued worldliness, its want of Christianity, at least a main cause of the evil.[1] They were peremptorily ordered to desolate their country; to expel, or worse, to pursue to death a large part, and that the most industrious, most prosperous of their subjects; thus to repay the obedience and love of those among whom they had been born and had lived, who had followed their banner, rendered loyal allegiance to their lawful demands. They were to leave their towns in ruins, their fields uncultivated, or to people their land with strangers; to incur the odious suspicion of aiding the Church in order to profit by the plunder of their vassals, to enrich themselves out of confiscations: and all these hard measures were to be taken perhaps against the friends of youth, against kindred, against men whose blameless lives won respect and admiration.[2]

[1] "Cujus rei culpa forte pro magnâ parte refundi poterat in prælatos, utpote qui saltem latrare potuerant, reprehendere et mordere." Such is the ingenuous confession of a writer on the side of the Church. — Gul. de Pod. Laur. apud Bouquet, xix. p. 199.

[2] Compare the pathetic sentence in the same author: "Quare ergo de terra, dixit episcopus, eos non expellitis et fugatis? At ait ille, non possumus; sumus enim nutriti cum eis, et habemus de nostris consanguineis apud ipsos, et eos honeste vivere contemplamur." — Ibid., p. 200.

Peter de Castelnau.

Peter de Castelnau, the Legate, determined at length on extreme proceedings; the times, he thought, gave him an auspicious occasion. Private wars had broken out, in which Count Raymond and some of the other nobles were engaged. In these wars the property of the Church was not religiously respected; in the sieges of towns their fields and vineyards suffered waste; some of the nobles at war with Raymond alleged as their excuse the hostilities in which they were involved. The Legates peremptorily called on all the belligerent parties to make peace, in order to combine their forces against those worse enemies the heretics. Raymond did not at once obey this imperious dictation. Peter of Castelnau uttered the sentence of excommunication, and placed his whole territory under an interdict. Instead of repressing this bold assumption of power on the part of his Legate, Innocent addressed a letter to Raymond, perhaps unexampled in the furious vehemence of its language. It had no superscription, for it was to a man under sentence of excommunication. No epithet of scorn was spared: — "If with the Prophet (it began) I could break through the wall of thy heart, I would show thee all its abominations." It threatened him with the immediate vengeance of God, with every temporal calamity, with everlasting fire. "Who art thou, that when the illustrious King of Arragon and the other nobles, at the exhortation of our Legates, have consented to terms of peace, alone looking for advantage in war, like a carrion bird preying on carcases, refusest all treaties?" It charged him with violating his repeated oaths to prosecute all heretics in his dominions, with rejecting the appeal of the Archbishop

of Arles in the course of war to spare all monasteries, and to abstain from arms on Sundays and holidays.[1] "Impious, cruel, and direful tyrant, thou art so far gone in heretical pravity, that when reproved for thy defence of heretics, thou saidest that thou wouldest find a bishop of the heretics who would prove his faith to be better than that of the Catholics." It charged him with bestowing offices of trust and honor on Jews; with seizing and fortifying churches. Innocent ended with the menace of depriving him of his territory, which he declared that he held of the Church of Rome;[2] of arraying all the neighboring princes against him as an enemy of Christ, and a persecutor of the Church; and of offering his realm as a prize to the conqueror who might subdue it, in order that it might escape the disgrace of being ruled by a heretic.[3]

The denunciation of the victim was immediately followed by the summons to the executioner. A Papal letter was addressed to the King, to all the counts, barons, nobles, and to all faithful Christians in France; to the Counts of Vermandois and Blois, the Count of Bar, the Duke of Burgundy, the Count of Nevers, commanding them to take up arms for the suppression of the heretics in the South of France. Their own territories in the mean time were

Letter of Innocent. Nov 17, 1207.

[1] It might be inquired whether these provisions were afterwards enforced on the Crusaders.

[2] "Terram quam noscis ab Ecclesiâ Romanâ tenere, tibi faciemus auferri."

[3] "Telle est cette lettre fulminante du Pape Innocent III. à Raymond VI., Comte de Toulouse, dont le principal motif est le refus que ce Prince avait fait de conclure la paix avec ses vassaux du Marquisat de Provence, avec lesquels il étoit en guerre, afin de joindre ses armes aux leurs pour exterminer les hérétiques." — Vaissette, iii. 151. Innocent. Epist. x. 61 May 29, 1207.

placed under the protection of St. Peter and the Pope; all who dared to violate them were exposed to ecclesiastical censure.[1] All the estates and the goods of the heretics were to be confiscated and divided among those who should engage in this holy enterprise, and the same indulgences granted as for a Crusade in the Holy Land, so soon as war should be declared against Raymond of Toulouse, the disobedient vassal of the Church, the protector and abettor of heretics.

In the mean time Peter of Castelnau was not inactive; he secretly stirred up the lords of Languedoc against Raymond. Raymond made peace, and thereby fondly supposed himself delivered from the excommunication. But the inexorable Peter stood before him, reproached him to his face with cowardice, accused him of perjury, and of abetting heresy. He renewed the excommunication in all its plenitude.

Murder of Peter de Castelnau.

Conceive, at this instant, a Pontiff like Innocent, with all his lofty notions of the sanctity, the inviolability of every ecclesiastic, confirmed by the consciousness of his yet irresistible power, receiving the intelligence of the barbarous murder of his Legate; another Becket fallen before a meaner sovereign; the sacred person of his Legate transfixed by the lance of an assassin.[2] That the terror and hatred of the clergy in Languedoc should instantly and obstinately ascribe the crime to Raymond himself, that Innocent in his eager indignation should adopt

[1] Epist. x. 149.

[2] "Quand le Pape sut, quand lui fut dite la nouvelle, que son légat avait été tué, sachez qu'elle lui fut dure; de la colère qu'il en eût, il se tint la machoire, et se mit à prier Saint Jacques, celui de Compostella, et Saint Pierre, qui est enséveli dans la Chapelle de Rome. Quand il eut fait son oraison, il éteignit le cierge, 15 Jan. 1208." — Apud Fauriel, p. 9.

their version of the death of Peter, excites no wonder. Their report publicly countenanced by the Pope was this, that the Legates had been invited to a conference at St. Gilles, that the Count had sternly refused to ratify the satisfaction which he had promised, that he had uttered dark menaces against the Legates. The Legates had passed the night under an armed guard on the shores of the Rhône; in the morning, when they were crossing the river, Peter of Castelnau was transfixed with a lance by one of the emissaries of Count Raymond. He only lived Jan. 15, 1208. long enough to breathe out, "God pardon them, as I pardon them."[1] Raymond was afterwards charged with having admitted the assassin into his intimate intercourse.

Strong contemporary evidence, as well as all the probabilities of the case, absolutely acquit the Count of Toulouse of any concern in this crime. It may have been done by some rash partisan who thought that he was fulfilling his master's wishes; but one writer states that Raymond was never known to be so moved to anger as by this event. He was not of that passionate temperament which might be hurried into such a deed. He could not but see at once its danger, its impolicy, and its uselessness. The enemy of Raymond was not the individual monk, but the whole hierarchy, and the Pope himself; and he must have known too that of his own partisans all the superstitious, all the timid, all the religious would

[1] Innocent, Epist. xi. 26. The Troubadour says, "Un des écuyers (du Comte) qui en avait grande rancune, et voulait se rendre désormais agréable à son Seigneur, tua le Légat en trahison." "He fled to Beaucaire, where his relations lived." — p. 9.

be estranged by an awful crime perpetrated on the sacred person of a legate of the Pope.[1]

The dying prayer of the Legate may have been accepted in heaven; on earth it received barren admiration, but touched no heart with mercy.

Innocent at once assumed the guilt of Raymond. He proclaimed it in letters to the Archbishops of Narbonne, Arles, Embrun, Aix, Vienne, and their suffragans; to the Archbishop of Lyons and his suffragans. Every Sunday and every holy day was to be published the excommunication of Raymond of Toulouse the murderer, and all his accomplices: no faith was to be kept with those who had kept no faith;[2] all his subjects were absolved from their oath of allegiance: every one was at liberty to assault his person, and (only reserving the right of his suzerain the King of France) to seize and take possession of his lands, especially for the holy purpose of purging them of heresy. The only terms on which Raymond could be admitted to repentance were the previous absolute expulsion of all heretics from his dominions.

Innocent condemns Count Raymond.

But the blood of the martyr[3] (as he at once be-

[1] Raymond, according to the Hist. des Albigeois, would have punished the assassin (he had fled to Beaucaire), if he could have caught him, to the satisfaction of the Legates. "Le dit Comte Raimond étoit si courroucé et fâché de ce meurtre, comme ayant été fait par un homme à lui, que jamais il ne fut si courroucé de chose au monde." — Hist. de la Guerre des Albigeois; Guizot, Coll. des Mémoires, xv. 4. All modern writers, D. Vaissette, Capefigue, Hahn, even Hurter more doubtfully, exculpate Raymond.

[2] "Cum juxta sanctorum patrum canonicas sanctiones, qui Deo fidem non servat, fides servanda non est." — Epist. Innocent, xi. 26.

[3] Peter of Castelnau's body *would have* wrought wonderful miracles, but for the obstinate incredulity of the people. "Claris jam, ut credimus, miraculis coruscasset, nisi hoc illorum incredulitas impediret." And the passage of St. Luke is adduced without hesitation.

came) called for more active vengeance. Innocent seized the instant of indignation at this almost unprecedented and terrible crime, to awaken the tardy zeal, to inflame the ambition and rapacity of those, who at the same time might win to themselves, by the favor of the Church, a place in heaven and a goodly inheritance upon earth. "Up," he writes to Philip Augustus of France; "up, soldiers of Christ! Up, most Christian King! Hear the cry of blood; aid us in wreaking vengeance on these malefactors." With strange perverted quotations from the sacred Scriptures, he makes Moses and St. Peter, the Fathers, as he calls them, of the Old and New Testaments, predict this amicable union of the royal and sacerdotal powers, and the two swords (one of which his gentle master afterwards commanded the rash disciple to put away) authorize the united Crusade of the kingdom of France and the Church of Rome against the inhabitants of Languedoc. "Up," in the same tone, cried the Pope to all the adventurous nobles and knights of France, and offered to their valor the rich and sunny lands of the South.[1] Crusade.

The Crusade was thus not merely an outburst of religious zeal, it took into closer alliance strong motives of political ambition, perhaps the hostility of rival races.

[1] "Attende per Moisem et Petrum, patres videlicet utriusque Testamenti, signatam inter regnum et sacerdotium unitatem, cum alter regnum sacerdotale prædixit et reliquus regale sacerdotium appellavit; ad quod signandum Rex Regum et Dominus dominantium Jesus Christus, secundum ordinem Melchisedek sacerdotis et regis, de utraque voluit stirpe nasci, sacerdotali videlicet et regali. Et princeps Apostolorum, '*Ecce gladii duo hic*,' id est simul, dicenti Domino, '*satis est*,' legitur respondisse, et materiali et spirituali gladiis sibi invicem assistentibus, alter per alterum adjuvetur." — Epist. ibid. And the world heard with awe this sanguinary and impious nonsense!

Philip Augustus, who had almost expelled the King of England from the continent, aspired to raise the feudal sovereignty of the crown over the great fiefs of the South to actual dominion. Instead of an almost independent prince, the Count of Toulouse, with his princely nobles, must become an obedient vassal and subject. The French of the North up to this period had vainly endeavored to extend their rule over the Gallo-Roman, or Gothic Roman population of the South. The language divided and defined the two yet unmingled races. A religious crusade was a glorious opportunity to break the power of these rival sovereigns rather than dependent vassals. Throughout the war the Crusaders are described as the Franks, as a foreign nation invading a separate territory. While there was little of the sympathy of kindred or of order to prevent the princes and nobles of Northern France from wreaking the vengeance of the Church upon the rebellious Princes of Languedoc, the great warlike prelates of France were bound by a still stronger tie to the endangered cause of their brother prelates of the South. There had been quite enough of heresy threatening the peace of almost every diocese of France to awaken their jealous vigilance. The less they possessed the virtues of churchmen the more fierce their warlike zeal for the Church. So in the first ranks of the Crusade appear the Archbishops of Rheims, Sens, Rouen. The wealth and prosperity of the Southern provinces, the hope of plunder, was of itself sufficient incentive to the baser adventurers; to the nobler there was the chivalrous passion for war and enterprise; while the easier mode of obtaining pardon for sins, without the long, and toilsome, and perilous and costly journey to

the Holy Land, brought the superstitions of all ranks in throngs under the consecrated banners. The clergy everywhere preached with indefatigable activity this new way of attaining everlasting life; the Cistercian convents threw open their gates, the land was covered with monks haranguing on the same stirring topic. From all parts of France they assembled in countless numbers at Lyons; a second not less formidable host was gathering in the West; the number is stated at 500,000, 200,000, at least 50,000 men of arms.[1]

Raymond, as he well might, stood aghast; he had done all in his power to obtain peace from Rome. He rejected the gallant proposal of his nephew the Viscount of Beaucaire, to summon their vassals and kindred, garrison their castles, and stand boldly on their defence.[2] He sent an embassy to Rome, the Archbishop of Auch, the Abbot of Condom, de Rabenstein the ex-Bishop of Toulouse, the Prior of the Hospitallers (he had yet some ecclesiastics on his side, hated with proportionate intensity by his enemies).[3] The demands of Innocent were hard, and those, it is said with something of old Troubadour malice, gained by many presents;[4] the surrender of

Conduct of Raymond.

[1] "Il s'y croisa tant de gens que personne ne les saurait nombrer ni estimer, et elle a cause des grands pardons et des absolutions, que le Legat avait donnés a tous ceux qui se croiseroient pour aller contre les hérétiques." — Hist. de la Guerre, Guizot, xv. 5. "Cependant aussi loin que s'etend la sainte Chrétiente, en France et en tous les autres royaumes . . . les peuples se croisent, des qu'ils apprennent le pardon de leurs péchés, et jamais je pense, ne fut fait si grand host, que celui fait alors contre les hérétiques." — Fauriel, p. 15. Petr. V. C. adds that to obtain the indulgence they were to be "contriti et confessi."

[2] Histoire des Guerres.

[3] "Execrabiles et malignos Archepiscopum Auxitanum," &c. — Petr. V C. c. ix.

[4] "Ils disent si bonnes paroles et font tant de présents." — p. 19.

seven of his chief castles as guarantees for the Count's submission.

A new Legate had been named, Milo the Notary of the Papal Court, a man of milder views, of whom Raymond, under the fond delusion of hope, said that he was a Legate after his own heart. But this was only craft on the part of the Pope; it was not yet his object to drive Count Raymond, before his great vassals were subdued, to desperation. Milo was accompanied by Theodisc, a canon of Genoa, of less yielding character; and no measure was to be taken without the approbation of Arnold, the Cistercian Abbot.[1] The Bishop of Conferans was added to the legatine commission. Milo was enjoined to use all wise dissimulation; everything was to be done to lull and delude Count Raymond.[2] The Legates appeared in Languedoc; it was of no auspicious omen that they had first visited France.[3]

From religious awe, from conscious inability to resist, perhaps from some generous hope of obtaining gentler terms for his devoted subjects, Raymond of Toulouse submitted at once in the amplest manner to the demands of his inexorable enemies, to the personal abasement inflicted by the Church. The scene of his humiliation may not be passed over. At

Penance of Raymond. June 18, 1209.

[1] The Pope says expressly to Milo: "Abbas Cistercii totum faciet, et tu organum ejus eris: Comes enim Tolosanus *eum habet suspectum; tu non eris ei suspectus.*"

[2] Epist. xi. 232. "Cum talis dolus prudentia sit dicendus." Such are Innocent's own damning words. The whole letter is in the same tone.

[3] Raymond had endeavored to obtain the protection of Philip Augustus, his liege lord for Languedoc; of the Emperor Otho, of whom he held the Marquisate of Provence. The King and Emperor were at war (Philip therefore did not join the Crusade); each refused to interpose, unless on condition of breaking with his enemy.

a Council at Montelimart he was cited to appear before the Legates at Valence. There he first surrendered, as security for his absolute submission, his seven strong castles — Oppede, Montferrand, Balmas, Mornac, Roquemaure, Fourgues, Faujaux.[1] He was then led, naked to the girdle, to the porch of the abbey church, and in the presence of the Legates, and not less than twenty bishops, before the holy Eucharist, before certain relics, and the wood of the true cross, with his hand upon the holy Gospels, he acknowledged the justice of his excommunication, and swore full allegiance to the Pope and to his Legate. He swore to give ample satisfaction, according to the Pope's orders, on all the charges made against him, now recapitulated with terrible exactness — his refusal to make peace, his protection of heretics, his violations of ecclesiastical property. If he did not fulfil his oath his seven castles were at once escheated to the Church of Rome: the county of Melgueil, which he held of the Church of Rome, reverted to its liege lord: himself fell under excommunication, his lands under interdict; his compurgators, the Consuls of the towns in his dominions, were absolved from their allegiance, that allegiance passed to the Church of Rome. He swore further to respect the rights of all the churches in the provinces of Narbonne, Arles, Vienne, Auch, Bordeaux, Bourges. The Consuls of Avignon, Nismes, and St. Gilles took their compurgatorial oath to his fulfilment of all these stipulations; the governors of the seven castles not to restore them to the Count of Toulouse without the consent of the Pope. These ceremonies ended, the Count, with a rope round his neck, and scourged, as

[1] See in Vaissette, p. 162, the situation and strength of these castles.

he went, on his naked shoulders, was led up to the high altar: there after a solemn recapitulation of the Pope's commands before it, and a reiteration of the same commands after it, he received the absolution.[1] But his humiliation was not complete; by a well-contrived accident, the crowd was so great that they were obliged to lead him close by the tomb of the murdered Peter of Castelnau; naked, bleeding, broken-spirited, he was forced to show his profound respect to that spot.[2]

But he has not yet drunk the dregs of humiliation: new difficulties arise; new demands are made: the Count himself must take up the cross against his own loyal subjects; he must appear at the head, he must actually seem to direct the operations of the invading army. Two only of his knights follow his example. His deadly enemy assigns one nobler motive for this act, that he might avert the Crusade from his own subjects, another (the vulgar suggestion of hatred) hypocrisy.[3] He did not leave the army till after the fall of Carcassonne.

Raymond joins the Crusade.

The war was inevitable; not even the Pope could now have arrested it; and the Pope himself is self-convicted of the most cunning dissimulation. This vast army must have its reward in plunder and massacre.[4] The subtle distinction is at hand, it is not

[1] Petr. V. C. c. 12.

[2] "O justum Dei judicium! quem enim contempserat vivum, ei reverentiam compulsus est exhibere et defuncto." — Petr. V. C. apud Bouquet, xix. 80.

[3] "Ut sic terram suam a cruce signatorum infestatione tueretur . . . O falsum et perfidissimum crucesignatum! Comitem Tolosanum dico, qui crucem assumpsit, non ad vindicandam injuriam crucifixi, sed ut ad tempus celare possit suam et tegere pravitatem." — Ibid.

[4] "Man wollte," writes Hurter, who would apologize for the Crusade, "so grosse Rüstungen nicht vergeblich unternommen haben!" The army of

waged against the Count of Toulouse, against the Count of Languedoc, but against the heretics.

Never in the history of man were the great eternal principles of justice, the faith of treaties, common humanity so trampled under foot as in the Albigensian war. Never was war waged in which ambition, the consciousness of strength, rapacity, implacable hatred, and pitiless cruelty played a greater part. And throughout the war it cannot be disguised that it was not merely the army of the Church, but the Church itself in arms. Papal legates and the greatest prelates headed the host, and mingled in all the horrors of the battle and the siege. In no instance did they interfere to arrest the massacre, in some cases urged it on. "Slay all, God will know his own," was the boasted saying of Abbot Arnold, Legate of the Pope, before Beziers. Arnold was the captain-general of the army.[1] Hardly one of the great prelates of France [illegible]. With the first army were, at the head of their troops, the Archbishops of Rheims, Sens, Rouen; their suffragans of Autun, Clermont, Nevers, Bayeux, Lisieux, Chartres. The Western host was led by the Archbishop of Bordeaux, the Bishops of Limoges, Basas, Cahors, Agen. A third force moved under the Bishop of Puy. The great engineer was the Archdeacon of Paris. Fulk Bishop of Toulouse has been described as the ecclesiastical De Montfort of the Crusade.[2] We have the

the faith (the faith of Jesus Christ!) must not disperse without blood and plunder!

1 Vaissette.

2 Fulk had now altogether forgotten all the favors of Raymond, of the kings of Castile and Arragon. "Il ne vit dans Raymond VI., et dans Pierre II., roi d'Arragon, leur fils, que des princes qui se refusaient à l'extermination des heretiques, que des rebelles, qui ne se soumettaient pas implicitement à la domination du clergé, et il devint le plus acharné de leurs ennemis." — Hist. Littér. xix. p. 596.

melancholy advantage of hearing the actual voice of one of the churchmen, who joined the army at an early period; and whose language may be taken as the expression of the concentred hatred and bigotry, which was the soul of the enterprise. The Historian Peter, Monk of Vaux Cernay, attendant on his uncle, the Abbot of that monastery, is the boastful witness to all these unexampled cruelties. Monkish fanaticism could not speak more naturally, more forcibly. With him all wickedness is centred in heresy. The heretic is a beast of prey to be slain wherever he may be found.[1] And if there might be some palliation for the clergy of Languedoc, who had been neglected, treated with contumely, perhaps with insult, had seen their churches not only deserted, perhaps sacrilegiously violated, the Monk of Vaux Cernay was a stranger to that part of France.[2]

Advance of Crusade.

The army which moved from Lyons along the Rhône came from every province of France. Its numbers were never known. The Troubadour declares that God never made the clerk who could have written the muster-roll in two months, or even in three. He reckons twenty thousand knights, two hun-

[1] *e. g.* "Les Notres passèrent au fil d'épée ceux qu'ils purent trouver, mettant tout à feu et à sang. Pour quoi soit en toutes choses beni le Seigneur qui nous livre quelques impies, bien que non pas tous!" — Coll. des Mémoires, p. 303.

[2] Peter (who dedicates his work to Innocent III.) seems to have been as ignorant, as cruel and fanatic. His notions of the opinions of the heretics are a strange wild jumble. They were not only Manicheans, denying the Old Testament, and Docetæ: they held the most horrible doctrines concerning John the Baptist, "one of the worst of devils;" and our Lord himself, who was spiritually in the person of Paul. (Is this Paulicianism?) The Good God had two wives, Collent and Collebent, by whom he had sons and daughters. Another sect said "God had two sons, Christ and the Devil." Peter's history is in Bouquet, t. xix., and in M. Guizot's Collection of Mémoires, t. xv.

dred thousand common soldiers, not reckoning the townsmen and the clerks.[1] The chief secular leaders were Eudes Duke of Burgundy, Hervé Count of Nevers, the Count of St. Pol, and Simon de Montfort Count of Leicester. The army advanced along the Rhône, joined as it proceeded by the vast contingents of the Archbishop of Bordeaux and the Bishop of Puy. At Montpellier, they were met by the young and gallant Viscount of Beziers,[2] who having urged his uncle Count Raymond to resistance, now endeavored to avert the storm from his two cities, Beziers and Carcassonne. But his ruin was determined. The army appeared before Beziers, which in the strength of its walls and the courage of its inhabitants[3] (the Catholics made common cause with the rest) ventured on bold defiance.[4] The Bishop Reginald of Montpellier demanded the surrender of all whom he might designate as hereties. On their refusal of these terms, the city was stormed.[5] A general massacre followed;

Siege of Beziers July 22, 1209

1 "Dieu ne fit jamais latiniste ou clerc si lettré — qui (de tout cela) pût raconter la moitié ni le tiers [of their crosses, banners, and barded horses] ou écrire les noms des (seuls) prêtres et abbés." The Archbishop of Bourges was alone prevented from serving by death. — Fauriel, 15.

2 According to the Troubadour, the Viscount was "bon Catholique; je vous donne pour garanti maint clerc et maint chanoine (mangeant) en réfectoire." — p. 27.

3 "Der Legat ergrimmte ob solcher Hartnäckigkeit, wohl an denn rief er, so soll auch kein Stein auf dem andern, kein Leben geschont werden." — Hurter, p. 309.

4 "Fortis enim et nimium locuples, populosaque valde — urbs erat, armatisque viris et milite multo — freta." — Gul. Brito.

5 The Troubadour relates a singular circumstance: the first attack was made by the "Roi des Ribauds," with 15,000 truands, in shirts and breeches, but without chaussures. They climbed the walls, and swarmed in the trenches. They got all the plunder, which they were obliged to give up to the Barons. — p. 35. Was this wild route a common part of a crusading army? — See the Geste of Jerusalem, where the Roi des Ribauds plays the

neither age nor sex were spared; even priests fell in the remorseless carnage. Then was uttered the frightful command, become almost a proverb, "Slay them all, God will know his own." In the church of St. Mary Magdalene were killed seven thousand by the defenders of the sanctity of the Church. The account of the slain is variously estimated from twenty thousand even up to fifty thousand. The city was set on fire, even the Cathedral perished in the flames.[1]

Of Carcassonne.

The next was Carcassonne. The Viscount of Beziers, in his despair, had thrown himself into the city with a strong body of troops. The monk relates with special indignation that these worst of heretics and infidels destroyed the refectory and the cellars of the Canons of Carcassonne, and even (more execrable!) the stalls of their church to strengthen their defences. Pedro King of Arragon appeared as mediator in the camp of the Crusaders. Carcassonne was held as a fief of the King. He pleaded the youth of the Viscount; asserted his Catholic belief, his aversion to heresy: it was not his fault if his subjects had fallen away: he was ready to submit to the Legate. The only terms they would offer were, that he might retire with twelve knights; the city must surrender at discretion. The proud and gallant youth declared that nothing should induce him (he had rather be flayed

same part in the taking of Antioch and Jerusalem. — Hist. Lit. de la France, t. xxii. p. 363–377.

[1] "O justissima divinæ dispensationis mensura! Fuit enim capta civitas sæpe dicta in festo S. Mariæ Magdalenæ." The monk howls out his delight at this judgment of God on account of a tenet, which he absurdly ascribes to the heretics, "S. Mariam Magdalenam fuisse concubinam Christi." The Viscount of Beziers had left the town (probably to defend Carcassonne); as did the Jews: "Les Juifs l'ont suivi de près." The Jews had no vocation to wait and be massacred.

alive) to desert the least of his subjects.[1] The first assaults, though on one occasion the bishops and abbots and all the clergy went forth chanting "Veni Creator Spiritus,"[2] on another were lavish in their promises of absolution,[3] ended in failure.

Carcassonne, if equal care had been taken to provision as to fortify the city, might have resisted for a year that disorderly host. But multitudes from all quarters had found refuge within its walls. The wells began to fail; infectious diseases broke out. Ere eight days the Viscount accepted a free conduct from an officer of the Legate: he hoped to obtain moderate terms for his subjects. Most of the troops made their escape by subterranean passages, and the defenceless August 15. city came into the power of the crusaders.[4] The people were allowed to leave the town, but almost naked;[5] they were pillaged to the utmost. But the Legate would not allow his soldiers, under pain of excommunication, to share the plunder. It was to be reserved for a powerful baron, who was to rule the land and extirpate the heretics forever. The Viscount had given himself up as a hostage;[6]

Death of Viscount Beziers, Nov. 15, 1209

[1] "Cela (dit alors le roi entre ses dents) se fera tout aussitôt qu'un âne volera dans le ciel." — Fauriel, p. 51.

[2] Peter V. C. xvi.

[3] "Les évêques, les prieurs, les moines, et les abbés . . . s'en vont criant, vite au pardon (croisés) que faisez vous?" — Fauriel, p. 51.

[4] The modern historians of this war have wrought up a Walter Scott scene of treachery, on slender foundations. — Baron et Darragon, Croisades contre les Albigeois.

[5] "Egressi sunt ergo omnes nudi de civitate, nihil secum præter *peccatum* portantes." Peter V. C. — "on ne leur avait pas laissé en sus (chose) qui valût un bouton." — Fauriel, p. 55.

[6] "Et chose grandement folle, fit-il, à mon avis." This historian paints the treachery of the Legate very darkly. Vaissette says that he was seized during a conference. I have followed the account least unfavorable to the perfidious Legate-Abbot.

he was treated as a prisoner, cast into a dungeon, where he died in a few months, not without suspicion of poison administered by Simon de Montfort. But a broken spirit and foul dungeon air may relieve Simon from a charge always asserted, rarely to be proved or disproved. The Viscount died at the age of twenty-four.[1]

The law of conquest was now to be put in force. The lands of a heretic were as the lands of a Saracen. The question was to which of the orthodox army should be assigned the first fruits of the victory. The French nobles, the Dukes of Burgundy, the Counts of Nevers, and St. Pol, with disdainful indignation refused the reward of a mercenary: they had land enough of their own; nor would they set the perilous example of setting up the fiefs of France to the hazard of the sword. The zeal of Simon de Montfort was not so noble nor so disinterested.[2] He was invested, on the Pope's authority, with all the lands conquered or to be conquered during the Crusade. This was of fearful omen to Raymond of Toulouse. Only a sovereign of the whole land, of unimpeachable devotion to the Holy See, of indefatigable activity, dauntless courage, inflexible resolution, an iron heart, could subdue the realm to ecclesiastical obedience.

The submission of Raymond had been complete; it might be suspected of insincerity, it assuredly was compulsory; yet he had accepted the hard terms, had surrendered his castles, had undergone the basest per-

[1] Innocent's letter has *miserabiliter interfectus*. This was the accusation of the King of Arragon.

[2] Peter ascribes to him a show of repugnance. The historian briefly says that Simon, "qui le désirait, le prit."

sonal humiliation.[1] The Pope had even expressed his approbation, and welcomed him back into the bosom of the Church. Up to the taking of Carcassonne, it might be with a bleeding heart, he had remained in the Crusaders' army. He had even attempted to conciliate Simon de Montfort, by the demand of De Montfort's daughter in marriage for his son.

But Raymond had been too deeply injured to be forgiven; and nothing less than the whole South could fully repay the zeal and valor of the Crusaders. The treachery of the Count rests on suspicion; that of the Legate, and it must be sadly confessed, of the Pope himself, on his own words. Treachery was his deliberate, avowed design. Innocent had enjoined, and now only followed out his policy of deceiving Count Raymond by feigned reconciliation, so to separate him from the rest of the Languedocian nobles, and to destroy them, one by one, with the greater ease. And to justify this, the Vicar of Christ abuses the words of an Apostle of Christ.[2]

The Legates were apt disciples of their master. It

[1] Epist. xii. 90. The monk relates this story: — Two heretics were condemned to be burned. One offered to recant. A great altercation arose whether he was to be spared. The Count decided that he should be burned. "If he is a true convert, the fire will be an expiation for his sins. If not, it will be a just penalty for his sins." The man was saved by something like a miracle. — c. xxii. Can this be true?

[2] "Quia vero a nobis sollicite est requisitum, qualiter procedendum sit circa comitatum eundem fideli exercitui (cruce) signatorum, quatenus ad apostoli dicentis, '*Cum essem astutus, dolo vos cepi*,' magisterium recurrentes, cum talis dolus prudentia potius sit dicendus, cum eorundem signatorum prudentioribus opportuno consilio, divisos ab ecclesiæ unitate divisum capere studentes, dummodo videritis quod ex hoc idem comes vel aliis minus assistere, vel per se ipsum minus debeat insanire, non statim incipientes ab ipso, sed eo primitus *arte prudentis dissimulationis eluso*, ad extirpandos alios hæreticos transeatis." — Epist. 232.

was easy to demand impossible things, to assume the breach of the stipulations on which the Count had received absolution, and to claim the forfeiture. The Legates seem to have dreaded the influence of Raymond's agents at Rome; they suspected even the Pope of weak lenity. The Count had boasted that the Emperor Otho, and even the King of France, had interceded in his behalf. Instead, therefore, of immediately renewing the excommunication and the interdict on account of fifteen articles, on which they charged him with not having fulfilled his promises, they allowed him a certain time to give full satisfaction. The seven castles they significantly hinted, of which he prayed the restitution, were strong enough to resist any attack, and had already escheated to the See of Rome.[1]

Continued persecution of Raymond.

Raymond had hardly returned to Toulouse, when an embassy arrived from the Legate Arnold and Simon de Montfort, demanding the instant surrender of all heretics and all abettors of heresy within his dominions to the ecclesiastical power, and of all their property to be at the disposal of the Crusaders. In vain it was pleaded by some of the designated fautors of heresy that they were of orthodox belief, and had been already reconciled to the Church by the Legate himself. In vain Count Raymond declared that he appealed to the Pope. At Valence the excommunication was again hurled against his person, the interdict laid on his dominions. Raymond seized the desperate measure of going himself to Rome, and throwing himself on the justice, he might fondly hope the mercy, of the

Sept. 1209.

[1] Compare the two letters of Milo, the Legate, to the Pope. — xii. 106, 107.

Pope. Innocent, in the mean time, had committed himself to a triumphant approbation of all the exploits of the Crusaders; he had invested Simon de Montfort in the conquered territories, and exhorted him, for the remission of his sins, as he had extirpated, so to keep his new realm free from the contagion of heresy.[1] Simon de Montfort is his beloved son, the acknowledged hero of the Holy War.[2]

Raymond visited the Court of France before he went to Rome. His reception by the Pope was not promising. The Pope, by one account, heaped on him so many reproaches as almost to reduce him to despair.[3] According to others, he was received with courtesy by the Pope and by the Cardinals. Innocent spoke with fairness on the restitution of the seven castles: it did not become the Church of Rome to enrich itself with such spoils: the right of the Count was by no means annulled by the cession. The Pope condescended to hear the confession of Count Raymond; showed him the Veronica, and allowed him to touch the holy face of the Lord; he gave him absolution; bestowed on him a costly mantle and a precious

Raymond in Rome.

[1] "In remissionem tibi peccaminum injungentes quatenus attendendo prudenter quod non minor est virtus quam quærere, parta tueri." — Epist. xii. 123.

[2] The Pope wrote to the Archbishops of Arles, Besançon, Vienne, Aix, Narbonne, Lyons, and others, to compel by ecclesiastical censures all who had lent money to the Crusaders, especially the Jews — there must have been more than censures against the Jews — not to exact interest (it passed under the odious name of usury) for their loans. — xii. 136.

[3] "Quem Dominus Papa tot conviciis lacessivit, contumeliis tot confudit, quod quasi in desperatione positus, quid ageret, ignorabat. Ipsum siquidem dicebat incredulum, crucis persecutorem, fidei inimicum, et vere sic erat." — Petr. V. C. c. 33. The monk may have given to the Pope some of his own bitter passion. The historian says Raymond was received with honor.

ring from his own fingers. The harshness would perhaps be hardly less Papal than these specious courtesies. From Innocent's words and acts, it is clear that these outward honors were cautiously, jealously, if not deceptively bestowed. Notwithstanding the absolution, Count Raymond was to appear in three months before a council to be assembled by the Legates, to purge himself from all charge of countenancing heretics, and all concern in the murder of Peter of Castelnau. What may be called the secret instructions to the Legate (Milo was dead), to the Abbot Arnold, recommended him to consult on all points the Canon Theodise, who was alone in possession of his real sentiments. But Theodise was to act only under the orders of Arnold, to be his instrument of deception, under the bait of feigned gentleness to conceal the iron hook of severity, and so delude again the devoted Count.[1] It was Innocent's object not to goad him to despair. Raymond must not be driven to head the strong reaction which had already begun against the usurpation and tyranny of De Montfort.[2]

Progress of Crusade.

The success of the Crusade had been beyond expectation; the two strong cities, Beziers and Carcassonne, had fallen in little more than two months. From the panic, and from force, five hundred castles and towns had surrendered or yielded

[1] "In hamo sagacitatis tuæ positus quasi esca, ut per eam piscem capias fluctuantem, cui tanquam saluberrimam tuæ piscatationis abhorrenti doctrinam quodam prudenti mansuetudinis artificio severitatis ferrum necessarium est abscondi." And Innocent again makes his favorite quotation: "Cum essem astutus dolo vos cepi."

[2] "Veruntamen cogitans Dominus Papa, ne in desperationem versus ecclesiam, quæ in Narbonensi provincia erat, impugnaret acrius et manifestius dictus comes, indixit ei." He orders him to clear himself of the crime of heresy, and that of the murder. — Petr. V. C. c. 33.

after a short siege.[1] The Count of Toulouse, the King of Arragon, had issued decrees against the heretics. The Count of Foix (De Montfort had entered Castres), with Albi, Pamiers, Mirepois, offered terms. Simon de Montfort had now a kingdom. But on the approach of winter, far the larger part of the French barons, bishops, and knights returned home; De Montfort remained with the few troops whom he could afford to pay. The Pope, indeed, commanded the archbishops to give up to Simon, for the maintenance of his army, large sums which the heretics, or those accused of heresy, had deposited in their hands for safe custody. But many towns had already raised the standard of revolt; the King of Arragon resolutely refused his homage for the parts of the territory which were his fiefs. But with the spring new crusaders crowded around De Montfort's banner, the Bishops of Chartres and Beauvais. Many towns and castles, Alyonne, Bram, Alairac, Ventalon, Montreal, Constassa, Puyvert, Castres, Lomberes, fell. Minerve, a fortress of great strength at the border of the Cevennes, on a high rock girded by deep ravines, made a long and vigorous resistance. Provisions failed; the lord of the castle proposed to surrender. Now appeared the darkening atrocity of the war.[2] Even De

Siege of Minerve. A.D. 1210.

[1] "Captisque fere quingentis tum castellis, quæ per possessos suos diabolus habitabat." — Petr. V. C.

[2] According to the monk of Vaux Cernay, Gerald de Pepieux had betrayed Simon de Montfort: he was a cruel enemy of the faith, and had barbarously mutilated some of his soldiers. — c. 27. Mutilation became a common practice. The monk, of course, lays the blame of commencing it on the heretics, for Simon was the gentlest (mitissimus) of mankind. — c. 34. Montfort, in fact, had put to the sword the garrisons of several castles belonging to Pepieux. The whole garrison of Montlaur was hanged. A hundred of that of Bram had their eyes put out: one eye was left to the

Montfort would have accepted the capitulation; but the fiercer Cistercian Abbot, unwilling that the enemies of God should escape, sought even fraudulent means of baffling or eluding the treaty. De Montfort left it to the decision of the Abbot, who as a churchman could not openly urge the rejection of pacific terms.[1] Arnold decided that of the heretics all *believers* who should absolutely submit to the mandates of the Church, should have their lives spared: even the Perfect, of whom there were multitudes, might escape if they would recant. A fierce knight, Robert de Molesme, the agent of De Montfort with the Pope, protested against this ill-timed leniency. "Fear not," said the Abbot, "few will there be whose lives will be spared." Minerve surrendered. The cross was placed on the keep of the castle, the banner of De Montfort waved below it. Arnold was right.[2] The Abbot of Vaux Cernay preached in vain to the heretics; the women were more obstinate than the men. A hundred and forty of the
July 23. Perfect spared their persecutors the trouble of casting them on the vast pile; they rushed headlong of their own accord into the flames.

The castle of Termes was of still greater strength;
Of Termes. it might defy with a prudent and resolute

captain, in order to conduct his soldiers to Cabaret. — Vaissette, iii. p. 191. A priest, who had revolted from De Montfort, was taken to Carcassonne, degraded, dragged at the tail of a horse through the town, then hanged.

[1] Histoire de la Guerre, Petr. V. C. I quote the French: "A ces paroles l'Abbé fut grandement marri pour le désir qu'il avait que les ennemis du Christ fussent mis à mort, et n'osant cependant les y condamner vu qu'il était moine et prêtre." — In Collection des Mémoires.

[2] Petr. V. C. c. 36, 37. Miracles followed the capture of Minerve, "et fils brûlaient maint félon d'hérétique (fils) de pute chienne, et mainte folle mécreante, qui brait dans le feu." Such is the brief merciless account of the Troubadour, p. 79. Compare the Histoire, c. xviii.

commander (an obstinate heretic) any attack. The siege lasted four months: the Bishops of Beauvais and Chartres, as well as the Count Robert and the Count of Poitou, retired in despair.[1] The great engineer, the Archdeacon of Paris, adhered to the army to the last. The garrison broke away at length through subterranean passages. The Governor was taken, Nov. 23. 1210. and shut up in a dungeon for life; the town given up to plunder; the heretics burned; their shrieks were mocked by their persecutors.[2]

The Count of Toulouse now urged the fulfilment of the Pope's decree. He offered to appear before a Council to justify himself concerning the charges on which he was arraigned. But the crafty churchmen, the Genoese Canon Theodise (the depositor of the Pope's secret views), and the Abbot Arnold (with whom was now joined the Bishop of Riez) had other intentions. They contrived delays; they made demands, and insisted that such demands should be rigidly accomplished before they would admit him to compurgation.[3] A council was at length held at St. Gilles. When the Count found

Sept. 1210. New demands on Count Raymond.

[1] The French knights were so disposed to gain the advantages of Indulgences on the easiest terms, that the Legate was obliged to order that no one should receive an Indulgence without forty days' service. Petr. V. C. c. 43.

[2] In this fearful civil war the Bishop of Carcassonne was among the Crusaders. His brother, William of Rochfort, as the monk says, one of the worst and most cruel enemies of the Church, was with Raymond, who commanded in Termes.

[3] "Cum intrâsset magister Theodiscus Tholosam, habuit secretum colloquium cum Abbate Cisterciensi super admittendâ purgatione Comitis Tholosani. Magister vero Theodiscus, utpote circumspectus et providus, ad hoc omnimodis aspirabat, ut possit de jure repellere ab indicandâ ei purgatione comitem memoratum." They charitably averred "facillime, immo lubentissime, per se et suos complices pejeraret."—c. 39.

his adversaries so utterly implacable, he was moved, it is said, to tears. The stony-hearted churchman scoffed in Scriptural language at his hypocritical weeping.[1] He left St. Gilles burdened with a new anathema. Another conference at Narbonne was equally without effect, and still another at Montpellier. At length, at a council in Arles, the Legates boldly threw off all concealment of their inflexible hatred. They summoned the Count before their tribunal, and haughtily commanded him not to leave the city without their permission.[2] Their terms were these: I. That Count Raymond should lay down his arms, dismiss his troops, not retaining a single follower. II. That he should be obedient to the Church, pay all the expenses which they might charge on him, and during his whole life submit himself without contradiction. III. In the whole kingdom no one should eat of more than two kinds of meat. IV. That he should expel all heretics and their abettors from his dominions. V. That before the end of the year he should deliver up to the Legate and to Count de Montfort every person whom they might demand, to be dealt with according to their arbitrament. VI. No one in his dominions, either noble or serf, was to wear costly garments, only dark and coarse mantles. VII. He was to raze all fortresses

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[1] "In diluvio aquarum multarum ad Deum non approximatis." So the Vulgate. Our version is, "Surely in the floods of great waters they shall not come nigh him." Ps. xxxii. 6. The canon spake thus: "Sciens quod lacrymæ illæ non erant lacrymæ devotionis et pœnitentiæ sed nequitiæ et doloris — doli?" — Ibid.

[2] The Legates were greatly offended that Count Raymond had left Montpellier abruptly, without even the courtesy of taking leave. He had seen an evil omen (says the monk), the St. Mark's bird. "Ipse enim more *Saracenorum* in volatu et cantu avium et cæteris auguriis spem habebat." — Petr. V. C.

and castles in his dominions. VIII. No one of his men, unless a noble, was to live within any walled town. IX. No taxes to be levied in the land, except the ancient and statutable payments. X. Every head of a family was to pay yearly fourpence to the Legate, to be collected by the Legate's agents. XI. All tithe to be restored to the Church, and all arrears of tithe. XII. When the Legate travelled through the land, he was to be entertained without cost: his meanest follower was not to pay for anything. XIII. When he had executed all these conditions, Count Raymond was to set out on a crusade against the infidel Turks, and not return without permission of the Legate. XIV. All these terms duly fulfilled, his lands would be restored to him by the Legate and the Count de Montfort.[1]

These terms were dictated, it was thought, by the Count's irreconcilable enemy, the Bishop of Toulouse. The King of Arragon was in Arles. He had been jealously watching the course of events.[2] At Montpellier he had reluctantly received the homage of Simon de Montfort for Carcassonne. At the same time he had strengthened his connection with the House of Toulouse by the marriage of his daughter Sancha with the young Count Raymond. At these extravagant demands, Raymond broke out into bitter laughter. "You are well paid," said the King of Arragon. The ban of excommunication was again pronounced, with more than usual solemnity.

Raymond hastened to Toulouse; he summoned the

[1] Histoire de la Guerre, xx. Vaissette, iii. note xvi. Chroniques apud Bouquet, p. 136.

[2] Compare the long and striking account of the Troubadour, p. 99.

Council of the city. The Toulousans declared that they would submit to the worst extremity rather than accept such shameful conditions. There was the same enthusiasm throughout his dominions. "They would all die. They would eat their own children ere they would abandon their injured sovereign." [1]

Raymond takes up arms.

War was now declared, but war on what unequal terms! Here stood De Montfort, the resistless conqueror, the absolute model of a crusading chieftain; of noble birth, Lord of Amauri in France, of Evreux in Normandy, Count of Leicester in England. We have seen De Montfort stand majestically alone in the army before Zara, the one knight loyal to the Pope. Faithful to the cause of the Cross, he was unsurpassed in valor as in military skill; beloved by his army, and not alone from their perfect reliance on his unbroken success; his soldierlike gentleness to the true servants of Christ vied with his remorseless hatred of the unbeliever. Which of these virtues did not secure him the most profound adoration from the hierarchy of which he was the champion? A holy monk of the Abbot Arnold's own Cistercian house was interrupted, it was told, in his prayers for the Count of Leicester by a voice from Heaven: "Why pray for him? for him so many pray incessantly, there is no need for thy orisons." And now De Montfort's three ruling passions — religion, ambition, interest, conspired to his grandeur. On the other hand, was the irresolute Count Raymond, only goaded

[1] "Lés hommes du pays, chevaliers et bourgeois, quand ils entendirent la charte qui leur fut lue . . . dirent qu'ils aimaient mieux être tous tués ou pris, que de souffrir, ou de faire rien au monde (une chose) qui ferait d'eux tous des serfs, des vilains, ou des paysans." — Fauriel, 102.

into valor by intolerable fraud and wrong; who without bigotry had betrayed and persecuted the religion of his subjects; now debased by the most miserable humiliation; without military skill, with no fame for prowess in battle; mistrusted by all, as mistrusting himself.

Yet the war has in some degree changed its character: it has still all the blackening ferocity of a religious war; but it is also the revolt of a high-spirited nation against a foreign invader; a noble determination to cast off a cruel and usurping tyranny. The Troubadour, the poet of the war, for above three thousand verses has dwelt on the glory of the temporal and spiritual champions of the faith, Simon de Montfort and the Bishop Fulk of Toulouse. He has revelled in the sufferings of the heretics, mocked the shrieks of the burning women.[1] There is a sudden change. The Crusade is now a work of savage iniquity, outraging humanity and religion; Count Raymond is the noblest, most injured of men. But the high Provençal patriotism of the Troubadour is only the love of his country, attachment to the ancient house of the Counts of Toulouse: he has no sympathy for heretic or Albigensian.

In Toulouse the Count and the Bishop could not but come into collision. There was civil war in the city. The Count had foolishly yielded up the strong citadel, "The Narbonnaise." In the city the zealous Catholics prevailed. The Bishop organized a strong confraternity to root out with armed force the heretics, usurers, and Jews. They attacked, Bishop of Toulouse.

1 "Mainte folle hérétique beugle dans le feu." This is of the females burned at Mireux. — Compare Fauriel's preface.

and in their religious zeal, pillaged and demolished houses. The borough, on the other side, was inhabited by the nobles. There the heretics had the chief power. Against the White Brethren of the Bishop were arrayed the Black Brethren of the citizens. The Bishop refused to celebrate, to permit the celebration, of any divine office, so long as the city was infected by the presence of an excommunicated person. He had the modesty to request the Count to retire, on the pretence of an excursion, in order that he might perform at least one uncontaminated and undisturbed function.[1] The Count sent word by some of his soldiers that the Bishop himself must leave the city. "I was not elected to my see by a temporal prince, but by ecclesiastical authority. Let him come if he dare; I will encounter his sword with the holy chalice." Yet the Bishop thought himself more safe in the camp of De Montfort, now engaged in the siege of Lavaur.[2]

Siege of Lavaur.

Lavaur belonged to Roger Bernard, Count of Foix, of all the Provençal princes the most powerful and most detested by the Church, as, if not a heretic, a favorer of heretics. In this case the charge was an honor rather than a calumny. The Count of Foix is claimed by the Waldensians, if not as one of themselves, as having encouraged his son in freedom of faith.[3] A man of profound religion, the

[1] The Bishop, says the Troubadour, had been established "pour Seigneur dans la ville, avec grande solemnité, comme un empereur." — p. 103.

[2] Petr. V. C. c. 51.

[3] According to the life of Roger Bernard, son of the Count by Holagarai, quoted in Perrin, Histoire des Chrétiens Albigens (Genève, 1615), p. 140, the Count of Foix, on his submission in 1222, answered the Legate — "Certes je vous dirai que je n'ai jamais désiré que de maintenir ma liberté: car je suis dans le maillot de franchise. . . . Pour le Pape, je ne l'ai point offensé: car il ne m'a rien demandé comme Prince que je ne lui aye

Count of Foix had been the first to raise the native standard against De Montfort; he was a knight of valor as of Christian faith. Before Lavaur, the besieging engines were surmounted with a cross; and it was held sacrilegious impiety, when the besieged, having battered down one limb of the cross, presumed to scoff. One day the besiegers attempted to storm the city; the engines were driven to the walls, the besieged hurled burning wood and fat upon them; amid all this horrible tumult, the Bishops and the Legates, as before, stood chanting, "Come Holy Ghost!" At the fall of Lavaur Simon had been irritated by the surprise of a detachment of five thousand German crusaders, who had been cut to pieces by the Count de Foix. The barbarity at Lavaur passed all precedent even in this fearful war. A general massacre was permitted; men, women, children were cut to pieces, till there remained nothing to kill except some of the garrison and others reserved for a more cruel fate. Four hundred were burned in one great pile, which made a wonderful blaze, and caused universal rejoicing in the camp.[1] Aymeric of Montreal, the commander, was brought with eighty nobles (Lavaur seems to have been thought a safe place of refuge) before De Montfort. He ordered them all to be hanged;[2] the overloaded gibbets broke down; they were hewn in pieces. Giralda, the Lady of Lavaur, was thrown into a well, and May 5, 1211.

obéi. Il ne se doit mesler de ma religion, veu qu'un chacun la doit avoir libre. *Mon père m'a recommandé toujours* ceste liberté, afin qu'étant en cette posture, quand le ciel croulerait je le puisse regarder d'un œil ferme et assuré, estimant qu'il ne me pourrait faire de mal," &c. I owe this citation to Gieseler, p. 592.

1 "Les envoyant ainsi brûler d'un feu éternel." — Gestes Glorieuses in Guizot, Coll. des Mémoires.

2 "Jamais (says the poet) dans la Chrétienté si haut baron ne fut je crois pendu, avec tant d'autres chevaliers à ses côtés." — p. 113.

huge stones rolled down upon her. She was pregnant: her merciless enemy would not even spare her fame; they reported that she accused herself of the most revolting incest.[1] The Troubadour, on the other hand, praises her virtue, her chastity: "no poor man ever left her without being fed." Soon after, Simon de Montfort surprised a camp of Count Raymond. The Bishops preached in vain to five hundred heretics, but converted not one; sixty, however, they burned with great joy.[2] From Lavaur De Montfort advanced to the siege of Toulouse. The Bishop was in his camp. At the Bishop's command, all the clergy, barefooted, and bearing the host, marched out of the city; they were followed by five hundred of the White Brethren. But want of supplies, and the bold sallies of the garrison, forced him to break up the siege; he revenged June 27, 1211. himself by wasting the gardens, vineyards, and meadows. At the end of the year, when the crusaders returned home, De Montfort himself was besieged in Castel Naudery: he revenged himself by a terrible defeat of the Count de Foix.

During the close of the year and the following one, the war raged, still to the advantage of De Montfort. The Archbishops of Rheims, Rouen, the Bishops of Paris, Laon, Toul were with him. At one time even Innocent, moved perhaps by the murmurs of Philip Augustus who began to be jealous of the growing power of De Montfort, seemed to waver into justice.[3] He commanded the restitution of the lands of the

[1] "De fratre et filio se concepisse dixit." — Chron. Turon. apud Fauriel, p. 113.

[2] The Toulousans did not wage the war with less ferocity: at the taking of Pajols, sixty knights were slain or hung.

[3] Petr. V. C. 70. The Pope was nimis credulus falsis suggestionibus dicti regis (of France); afterwards he acted, re melius cognitâ.

Counts of Foix and Comminges, and of Gaston de Bearn. He suspended his indulgences to the Crusaders. But he soon revoked again his own concessions, returned to his haughty and hostile tone, ordered the whole people to be raised by the offer of indulgences against the men of Toulouse and their allies. Nov. 1211. At a great parliament at Pamiers, De Montfort appeared as a Sovereign Prince; already the estates of the Languedocian nobles were awarded to the northern conquerors. It was enacted that noble women, heiresses of free fiefs, should only marry the nobles of France, those who spoke the langue d'oil. To win popularity against the nobles, the peasants and serfs were declared exempt from arbitrary payments. The churchmen must not be without their share of the spoil. The Legate Arnold obtained the Archbishopric of Narbonne. The successor of Stephen Harding and St. Bernard was not content with the metropolitan dignity; he assumed the proud feudal title, involving great secular rights, of Duke of Narbonne. The Abbot of Vaux Cernay had the Bishopric of Carcassonne; other Cistercian monks received wealthy benefices. The Archbishop of Auch, the Bishop of Beziers were deposed;[1] the engineer, the Archdeacon of Paris, declined the Bishopric of Beziers.

De Montfort Sovereign Prince.

Count Raymond, before the close of the year, had lost all but Toulouse and Montauban; he fled to the King of Arragon; the gallant Spaniard declared that he would support his cause (he was connected by a double tie) against the wicked race who would despoil

[1] The Archbishop of Auch, Bernard de la Barthe (a Troubadour poet), resisted his degradation till 1214: he still boldly adhered to the side of Raymond.

him of his heritage.[1] The Consuls of Toulouse addressed a supplication likewise to the King against their Bishop and against the Legate. They declared that they always gave proofs of their orthodoxy against convicted heretics; they had burned many, were ready to burn more.[2] They accused the Legate and the Bishop of excommunicating them, because they employed routiers (the soldiers of fortune) whom themselves did not scruple to buy off by higher pay, though guilty of the worst and most sacrilegious crimes. The very soldiers who had murdered certain priests (on this the monk of Vaux Cernay dwells, as the great crime of the Toulousans) had been enlisted among his own troops by the Legate.

King of Arragon.

The King of Arragon, before he engaged in the war, made an appeal to the Pope. Innocent was again shaken, and began to have some mistrust in the representations of his Legates. He had set in motion a terrible engine, he could not arrest or regulate its movements. The Pope wrote to the Archbishop of Narbonne (the Abbot Arnold) and to Simon de Montfort, recounting the charges made against them. "They had not only invaded lands infected with heresy, but stretched out their rapacious hands to seize those of Catholics;[3] while the King of Arragon was engaged against the Saracens, they had infringed on his rights, waged war on his vassals, and occupied his terri-

[1] "Il est mon beau frère, dit-il, il a épousé une de mes sœurs, et l'autre je l'ai donnée pour femme à son fils. J'irai donc les secourir contre cette méchante race, qui veut leur enlever leur héritage." — Fauriel, p. 199.

[2] "Unde multos combussimus, et adhuc cum invenimus, idem facere non cessamus." — See the petition in Bouquet, p. 206.

[3] "Ad illas nihilominus terras, quæ super hæresi nullâ notabantur infamiâ manus avidas extendistis." — Epist. xv. 212.

tories. Count Raymond had offered to surrender all his dominions to his son, against whom was no charge or suspicion of heresy. Raymond should be admitted (the Pope now urged, or had before urged) to compurgation." Simon de Montfort was accused of wantonly shedding Catholic blood, under the pretence of extirpating heresy;[1] he was commanded to restore the territories which he had unjustly usurped, to the King of Arragon. But even the all-powerful Innocent was powerless in the cause of justice and humanity: his compunctious visitings of mercy found no hearing even among the churchmen of the Crusade. The Council of Lavaur, attended by two archbishops as Legates, and by a great number of prelates, with one voice, determined to come to no terms with the "tyrant and heretic of Toulouse." If his dominions were restored to him heresy must triumph. All the representations of the King of Arragon in favor of the Counts of Toulouse, of Foix, and Comminges, and of Gaston de Bearn, were contemptuously rejected. Their letters were absolutely furious — "Arm yourself, my Lord Pope, with the zeal of Phineas; annihilate Toulouse, that Sodom, that Gomorrah, with all the wretches it contains; let not the tyrant, the heretic Raymond, nor even his young son, lift up his head; already more than half crushed, crush them to the very utmost." Inno-

[1] "Quod tu convertens in Catholicos manus tuas, quibus sufficisse debuerat in homines hæreticæ pravitatis extendi per crucesignatorum exercitum ad effusionem justi sanguinis et innocentium injuriam provocasti." — Epist. xv. 213. Simon is impaled on the horns of a pontifical dilemma. Either the inhabitants were Catholics or heretics: if Catholics, he had no right to invade their lands; if heretics, he ought not to let them live peaceably under his dominion.

cent was once more on their side; he threatened the King of Arragon with a new Crusade.[1]

Battle of Muret. Sept. 12, 1213.

The great victory of Muret, in which Simon de Montfort with very inferior forces (he had at most about 1000 men-at-arms, about 400 squires) totally defeated, with the loss of one knight and a few common soldiers, the combined forces of the King of Arragon and the Count of Toulouse, seemed to decide forever the fate of the devoted land.[2] Pedro of Arragon, the victor of Navas de Tolosa, was slain; his infant son, afterwards James I., fell into the hands of the conqueror at Carcassonne. The Counts of Toulouse, the father and son, fled.

April 18, 1214.

The Pope, on the occasion of his sending a new Legate, the Cardinal Deacon, Peter of Benevento, Cardinal of St. Mary in Aquirre, in strange apocalyptic language celebrates this triumph,[3] "The Red Horse (the Count of Toulouse) and his soldiers, conjoined with the Black Horse of heresy, had been discomfited. The sign which Innocent had

[1] Epist. xvi. 28, 40. Hurter, with whom all Innocent's acts must be saintly, is obliged to take refuge in the imperfect information of the Pope, and the abuse of his confidence by his agents: an excuse for a weak pontiff, but not for one whose sagacity and penetration are so highly colored by Hurter himself. "Wenn während dieses Krieges manches sich ereignete was mit Betrübniss erfüllen muss, oder wenn derselbe in Raum und Zeit weiter sich erforderte, als die Erreichung des Zwecks, wozu er unternommen worden, so fällt hiervon keine Schuld auf Innocenz, der nicht überall sehen, in vielem auf Berichte von Männern sich verlassen musste, die seinen Vertrauen zu ihnen nicht immermehr so ehrten, wie es dem Besten der Kirche wünschbar war." Vorrede — p. vi. Gestes Glorieuses.

[2] Guizot, xv. 343. While the battle was going on, the whole clergy, bishops, abbots, continued chanting, so that they seemed "plutôt hurler que prier." They chose the day of battle, that of the elevation of the cross. — Puy Laurent.

[3] Epist. xvi. 167, dated Jan. 17, 1214.

raised on the dark mountain had gathered the valiant and the holy of the Lord to his aid. They had trampled down the pride of the Chaldæans." The new Legate received the submission of the conquered princes, the Counts of Foix and Comminges and Rousillon, and the Viscount of Narbonne. They were sworn to renounce all heresy, all protection, all connivance with heretics; to surrender, if required, all their principal fortresses to the Church of Rome and her Legate, to give no succor to the city of Toulouse. If they fulfilled not these conditions, their castles escheated to the Pope: they were excommunicate, declared enemies and traitors to the Roman See. Even the Count of Toulouse was permitted to make his submission, but under harder conditions. Our compassion for the fate of Count Raymond is mitigated by the horror of his last act; he surprised his brother Baldwin, who had fallen off to De Montfort, and hung him on a walnut-tree.[1] Raymond now surrendered all his dominions, which he had before made over to his son, without reservation, to the See of Rome. He placed his person at his enemies' disposal, and offered to retire to England, if they should so decree, till he could make his peace. He promised to procure the submission of his son to the mercy of the Pope. Yet, if we are to believe the monk of Vaux Cernay, even mercy on these terms was but a fraud practised on the nobles, to give De Montfort time to subdue the still refractory cities, Agens, Cahors, Toulouse; a pious fraud suggested by God's Holy Spirit![2]

[1] It is even said, but by the Monk, that the Count of Foix and his son tied the rope.

[2] "Egit ergo misericorditer divina dispositio, ut dum Legatus hostes fidei

Simon de Montfort had strengthened himself by the marriage of his son with Beatrice, heiress of Dauphiny. At a council at Montpellier, held Jan. 8, 1215, the Legate demanded the advice of five archbishops, twenty-eight bishops, many abbots and dignitaries, as to the course to be pursued with regard to the conquered territory. With one assent they chose Simon de Montfort Prince and Sovereign of the whole land. Thus all the native and hereditary princes were deposed; the old ancestral house of Toulouse, erewhile the greatest territorial princedom in France without excepting even the King, connected by blood or marriage with all the Sovereigns of Europe, was despoiled of all: the whole of Languedoc, Catholic as well as heretical inhabitants, were transferred to a new master.[1]

Simon de Montfort chosen lord of the whole land

Toulouse submitted; Prince Louis, son of Philip Augustus, who had now joined the Crusade, the Cardinal, the Bishop Fulk, and Simon de Montfort, held secret councils, whether to pillage or burn the city, but De Montfort did not wish to ruin himself by destroying his own splendid and hard-won capital.[2] The

qui Narbonæ erant congregati, alliceret et compesceret fraude suâ, Comes Montisfortis et peregrini, qui venerunt a Franciâ, possent transire ad partes caturcenses et aginenses, et suos, immo Christi, impugnare inimicos. O Legati fraus pia! O pietas fraudulenta!" — Petr. V. C. c. 78.

[1] "C'est ainsi que Raymond VI., Comte de Toulouse, fut dépouillé de tous ses états, et que ce Prince, le plus grand terrier qui fut alors dans le royaume, sans en excepter le roi même, se vit enfin réduit à ne posséder plus une pouce de terre, sans que les liens de sang qui l'attachaient à presque tous les souverains de l'Europe fussent capables de le mettre à l'abri des entreprises de ceux qui en voulaient plus à ses dominions qu'à sa croyance." — Vaissette, p. 285.

[2] "Cependant le fils du Roi de France, qui consent à mal, Don Simon, le Cardinal, et Folquet tous ensemble proposent en secret de saccager (d'abord) toute la ville; puis d'y mettre le feu ardent (pour la brûler). Mais Don Simon refléchit, que s'il détruit la ville, ce sera à son dommage." — Fau-

Legate took possession of the strong castle, the Narbonnaise. The young Count withdrew to England, followed, after some time, by his father. The Crusade of Prince Louis of France was a triumphant procession — he met no resistance. The walls of Toulouse and Narbonne were thrown down. But if the pomp was with Prince Louis, the gain of the victory was with De Montfort. Philip Augustus had never approved of his son's Crusade; he beheld this new realm of De Montfort with no favorable eyes. When Louis appeared before him, on his return from the South, and described the wealth and power of Simon, the King gave no answer.[1]

The fourth Lateran Council,[2] one of the most numerous ever held in Christendom,[3] was called upon to decide the course to be taken against heretics, and especially the fate of Languedoc. It assumed the full power of deposing a Sovereign Prince, and awarding his dominions to a stranger. Count Raymond of Toulouse was forever excluded from the sovereignty of the land, condemned to pass the rest of his life in exile, in some place appointed for

Fourth Lateran Council. A.D. 1215. St. Martin's Day.

riel, 223. The advice of the Bishop in the Historian is even more atrocious.

[1] "Rex vero Franciæ audiens quod filius suus crucesignatus esset multum doluit, sed causam doloris ejus non est nostrum exponere." The monk's silence is significant. — Petr. V. C. c. 68.

[2] The Council of Lateran declared the unity of God who created of nothing both souls and bodies (the Aristotelian doctrines of the eternity of matter had begun to prevail) the unity of the Church, out of which none can be saved: it first authoritatively proclaimed Transubstantiation.

[3] So great was the concourse of people that the good bishop of Amalfi was suffocated in the throng. — Chron. Amalf. apud Murat. A. T. i. p. 246. There were the Patriarchs of Constantinople and Jerusalem, of Antioch and Alexandria (by deputy), 71 archbishops, 412 bishops, 860 abbots or priors.

him to do fit penance. A pension of 400 marks was reserved out of his revenues, which he would forfeit by any act of disobedience to the Church. To his wife, the sister of the King of Arragon, her dowry was secured on account of her virtue and piety. Provence and some other cantons, yet unconquered by the Crusaders, were to be reserved under the custody of trustworthy persons, as an inheritance for the young Count of Toulouse, if, when of age, he should have been obedient to the Church. As to the Counts of Foix and Comminges, nothing was enacted, but they were allowed some hopes of pardon.

Such were the acts of the Lateran Council. But the Troubadour[1] and the Historian describe the debates, which led at length to these imperious decrees. Passages in other writers leave no doubt that the decision was resisted by many of the most powerful and generous prelates;[2] and confirmed with reluctance by the Pope himself. The Lateran Council, according to this account, was a long conflict between the temporal princes who demanded the restoration of their estates, and were supported by some of the most distinguished churchmen, and the ecclesiastics of Languedoc, Arnold the Archbishop of Narbonne (though even he, from a personal quarrel about the rights of the Church of Narbonne, was somewhat mod-

Secret history.

[1] It is a curious question, whether the history is a prose version of the poem: if so, it is a free one, as it differs in many particulars. If the poem is the original, how far is it poetical? how far has the poet, who is usually unpoetically historical, here indulged invention? Poetically it is the best, the only part of the poem which is alive.

[2] "Verum quidem est quod fuerint aliqui, etiam quod est gravius, de Prælatis, qui nostræ fidei adversi, pro restitutione dictorum Comitum laborabant; sed non prævaluit consilium Ahitophel, frustratum et desiderium malignorum." — Petr. V. C. c. 83.

erated in his admiration of Simon de Montfort), and Fulk, the Bishop of Toulouse, the implacable enemy of Raymond. Innocent, the haughty Innocent, appears in the midst; mild, but wavering; seeing clearly that which was just, humane, merciful, and disposed to the better course; but overborne by the violence of the adverse party, and weakly yielding to that of which his mind and heart equally disapproved.[1] The whole scene is so characteristic as well as dramatic, that the chief points may be accepted (certainly they formed part of the popular belief) as to the proceedings of that great Council.

Raymond and his son, accompanied by the Counts of Foix and Comminges, and many other nobles of Languedoc, were admitted to the presence of the Pope, seated in full consistory among his cardinals and other prelates: they knelt before him; the young Raymond presented letters from the King of England (who had received hospitably and made splendid presents to his nephew). The King of England expressed his indignation at the usurpation of the inheritance of Raymond by Simon de Montfort. The Pope was moved by the beauty and graceful bearing of the young Prince, thought of his wrongs, and wept.[2]

Count Raymond began at length to represent the aggressions and injustice of the Legate and of De Mont-

[1] Hurter, solicitous to catch any gleams of equity and gentleness, which may soften the sterner characters of his hero and saint, follows without hesitation the history, not perceiving the humiliation of Innocent, thus reduced to be the tame instrument of the bigotry of others.

[2] "Le Pape considere l'enfant et son air, il connait sa noble race, il sait les torts . . . de l'Eglise et du clergé, ennemis (du Comte), et il a le cœur si troublé de pitié et de souci . . . qu'il en soupire, et en pleure de ses deux yeux." — Fauriel, p. 127. The Pope, says the poet, declared that Count Raymond was not mécréant, but catholique de fait et de propos.

fort, who, notwithstanding all his submission to the Pope, and all the treaties, had despoiled him of his territories. He was followed by the Counts of Foix and Comminges complaining of the pillage of their lands, and the lawless massacre of their subjects. "The Church not only should not sanction, it should prohibit such cruelties in a land which was absolutely free from all taint of heresy, and in every respect submissive to the Church."[1] The Pope having heard the depositions, and read the letters of the King of England, was in great wrath with the Legate and with De Montfort. First one of the Cardinals, then Berengar, Abbot of St. Tiberi, rose and supported the complaints of the appellants. Fulk, the Bishop of Toulouse, sternly denied all these asseverations. He defied the Count de Foix to deny that his dominions swarmed with heretics; in proof of this, the castle of Monsegur had been surprised, and all the inhabitants burned; "the sister of the Count de Foix had brought her husband to an evil end on account of these heretics; she had lived in Pamiers without daring to leave the city; the heretics had greatly increased through her influence. Count Raymond and the Count de Foix could not deny that they had surprised and put to the sword six thousand German Crusaders, on their way to join the army of the Legate." The Count de Foix fearlessly replied, that he was not responsible for the acts of his sister; the castle of Monsegur was hers, left to her by her father; she was its lawful Sovereign. The Germans were robbers, who were ravaging the country. "For the Bishop

[1] The speech of the Count de Foix in the poem is striking. — pp. 249-251 We hear nothing of the enormities charged against De Foix by the monk of Vaux Cernay. But did the Count renounce all heresy?

of Toulouse, your Holiness is greatly deceived in him; under the show of good faith and amity he is always concerting treachery: his actions are devilish: it is entirely through his malignity that the city of Toulouse has suffered ruin, waste, robbery: more than ten thousand men have perished through him. Thus the Legate and the Count de Montfort make common cause in their iniquity." The Baron of Vilamour deposed with great gravity[1] to the atrocities perpetrated by De Montfort; Raymond de Roquefeuille to the treachery by which the Viscount de Beziers, no heretic, had been betrayed into their power, and the manner of his death. The Pope listened in silence to these solemn charges; at their close he was heard to sigh deeply.

No sooner had the Pope withdrawn,[2] than he was beset by the prelates and cardinals in the party of the Legate and of De Montfort. They urged, that if they were compelled to surrender the territories and lordships which they had won, no one would embark in the cause of the Church, or run any hazard in her defence. The Pope took down a book (was it the Bible?), and showed them that if they did not make restitution of all the lands they had usurped, they would be guilty of great sin.[3] "Wherefore, I give leave to Raymond of Toulouse and his heirs to recover their lands and lordships from all who hold them unjustly." Then might be seen those prelates murmuring against the

[1] "Il ne s'effraye point, et parle fièrement, regardé, entendu, écouté de tous."

[2] Into a garden, says the poet, to dissipate his chagrin and divert his thoughts.

[3] "Et y trouve un *sort*," says the poet. Sortes Biblicæ were not uncommon.

Pope like men in desperation.[1] The Pope stood aghast at their violence. The Precentor of Lyons, one of the most learned clerks in the world, rose, with great dignity, and rebuked the insolence and contumacy of the prelates. "You know well, my Lords, the submission of Count Raymond, and the surrender of his castles. If you do not restore, and compel to be restored to him his lands, you will be justly reproached by God and man. Henceforth no one will have any reliance on you or your decrees; and that will be great disgrace and dishonor to the whole Church militant. And I say to you, Bishop of Toulouse, that you are greatly in fault; that you betray your want of charity to Count Raymond, and to the people of which you are the pastor; you have kindled a fire in Toulouse which will never be extinguished; you have caused the death of ten thousand men, and will of many more, if by your false representations you persist in your wrongful course. Through you the Court of Rome is defamed throughout the world; so many men should not be despoiled and destroyed to gratify the pride and violence of one."

The Pope seems to have been appalled; he gently exculpated himself, as innocent of these iniquities, into which he had been betrayed by ignorance of the real facts. Even the Archbishop of Narbonne, the Legate Arnold, alienated from De Montfort, supported the Precentor of Lyons. But the wily Genoese, Theodisc, who had been so much in the confidence of Innocent, adhered to De Montfort. He urged his valuable services, that he had swept the land of heretics, that he

[1] The poet says, "Folquet notre Evêque . . . parle au Pape, aussi doucement qu'il peut." — p. 243.

had been the champion of the Church and her rights. Innocent, having heard both parties, declared to Theodise, that the contrary of his statements was true. "The Legate had oppressed the good and just, and left the wicked without punishment: complaints had reached him from all quarters, against the Legate and De Montfort."

The prelates demanded that at least the territories of Bigorre, Carcassonne, Toulouse, Agen, Quercy, the Albigeois, Foix and Comminges (the whole conquests of the Crusaders), should be left to De Montfort. "If he be deprived of these lands," they boldly declared, "we swear that we will aid him in their maintenance against all and in defiance of all."[1] The Pope calmly answered that nothing should tempt him to injustice; "even if Raymond were guilty, his son was blameless; and the son was not to bear the iniquity of the father."

It is difficult to imagine Innocent III. thus confronted, compelled into injustice, by men who boasted themselves to be better churchmen than the Pope. But the decree of the Lateran Council, despoiling Raymond of Toulouse of all his land and awarding them to De Montfort, is an undeniable historic fact, rests on a decree of Innocent himself, addressed to all Christendom, and confirmed by his successor Honorius III.[2]

Yet, according to the historian, Innocent attempted a compromise. He offered the territory of the Venaisin to the younger Raymond, in compensation for the land of Toulouse, which could not be wrested from the

[1] "Et si cas es, que tu, senhor, ly vellas ostar le dit pays, et terre, nos te promenten et juran, que tots envers tots nos ly ayudaran et secouren." — Guerre des Albigeois, Bouquet, p. 159.

[2] Bouquet, pp. 598, 599; p. 722.

strong hand of De Montfort.[1] "If he has courage," the poet makes the Pope say, "the youth will recover his land;" and he then makes a prophet of the Pope, "The stone will at length be hurled, and all the world will say that it has fallen on the head of the sinner." Count Raymond retired to Viterbo, leaving his son under the protection of the Pope. Young Raymond at length departed with the benediction of the Pope.[2]

War in Languedoc.

There is war again in Languedoc, but no longer a Crusade for the extirpation of heresy, it is the iron hand of an usurping conqueror, determined to maintain his conquests; on the other side, no partial, but a general insurrection of the whole people in favor of their hereditary princes against a foreign invader, a gallant attempt again and forever to break the yoke of a tyrant, to return to the milder rule of their ancient Sovereigns. No sooner had the two Counts landed at Marseilles, than they were greeted by a burst of enthusiasm. Avignon, Tarascon, and other cities opened their gates. Young Raymond is soon at the head of a force which enables him to declare war against De Montfort, and to form the siege of Beaucaire. Now became more manifest every day the decline in the power of the clergy;[3] the Crusaders

[1] "Barons, reprend le Pape, puisque *je ne puis la lui ôter*, qu'il la garde bien s'il peut: et qu'il ne s'en laisse pas chasser, car jamais de mon vouloir il ne sera prêché pour lui." — Fauriel, p. 255.

[2] The parting between the Pope and young Raymond is touchingly told by the Troubadour. The Pope gives him good advice, and recommends him to wait for better times. "It is hard," says the youth, "that a man of Winchester is to share my land with me! All I ask is that I may be permitted to reconquer my dominions if I can." "God grant you," said the Pope, "a good beginning and a good ending."

[3] See the speech of Bertrand of Avignon in the poem: "Car nous avons éprouvé et senti avec douleur, que les clercs ont menti quand ils nous disaient, qu'en répandant le feu, qu'en frappant de glaive, qu'en forçant notre

themselves have misgivings in the holiness of their cause. De Montfort's most ardent admirers begin to discern the darker parts of his character, his inordinate ambition, his insatiable rapacity. Simon de Montfort is himself astonished that God should cease to confine exclusive favor to himself, and should seem disposed to the sinful youth.[1]

Risings in Toulouse.

Toulouse was eager to receive the heir of her ancient house. De Montfort was obliged to hasten to secure its wavering fidelity by the sternest measures. He treated it like a conquered city, exacted enormous sums. The Bishop had exhorted the noblest inhabitants to go out in procession to welcome the Count. But the plunder of the city by the Bishop and the Count were so shameless, that in a general rising, Guy de Montfort and the Bishop were driven out. De Montfort again forced his way within the walls, was again repelled, having set the city on fire in many places. But the citizens unwisely accepted the treacherous mediation of the Prelate. "I swear by God and the Holy Virgin, and the body of the Redeemer, by my whole order, the Abbot and other dignitaries, that I give you good counsel, better have I never given. If the Count inflict on you the least

vrai seigneur à s'en aller faiblit . . . nous obéirons tout bonnement à Jesus Christ." — p. 299.

[1] "Beau pere," says Guy de Montfort, in the poem, "il (Dieu) a vu et jugé votre conduite, pourvu que tout le bien et tout l'argent (du pays) soient à vous, vous prenez peu de soucie de la mort des hommes." — p. 345. Compare 445, Gul. de Pod. Laurent. c. xxvii. It is difficult to mark the precise turning point of the Troubadour into a flaming patriot. The restoration of "parage," chivalry, and courtesy is his delight. Yet Simon, in his own esteem, is still the champion of the Church. "Puisque l'Eglise m'a octroyée le pays: puisque je suis de l'Eglise les œuvres, les ordres et les discours: puisque je suis bien méritant et mon adversaire pêcheur, c'est pour moi, dis-je, grande merveille que Dieu favorise (cet enfant)."

wrong, bring your complaints before me, and God and I will see you righted." The citizens, on the persuasion of the Bishop, gave the hostages demanded (the citadel, the Narbonnaise, still in the power of De Montfort, was crowded with them), they restored the prisoners which they had taken, and, more strangely still, surrendered their arms.[1] The first act of De Montfort, who was hardly dissuaded by better counsel from totally destroying the city, was the demand of 30,000 marks of silver, the demolition of the walls, and every stronghold in the city, and the plunder of the inhabitants to the very last piece of cloth or measure of meal. "O noble city of Toulouse!" exclaims the poet, "thy very bones are broken!"

So closed the year 1216, during which Pope Innocent III. had died, and had been succeeded by Honorius III.

July 16, A.D. 1217.

During the ensuing year the war with the young Count Raymond continued to the advantage of De Montfort. On a sudden the old Count,[2] with a body of Spanish soldiers, appeared before Toulouse. The city received him with the utmost joy; new walls were hastily raised, new trenches dug. Many of the nobles levied troops and threw themselves into the city. First Guy de Montfort,[3] then Simon himself, who hurried to the spot, were ignominiously repulsed. The Bishop of Toulouse and the wife of

[1] Gul. de Pod. Laurent. gives a different view of this affair. — c. xxxix.

[2] The suddenness of the appearance of Count Raymond is indicated by a fine touch in the poem. The Countess de Montfort is told that she must fly at once. "La Comtesse, quand elle l'entend, bat ses deux mains l'une contre l'autre. Quoi, dit-elle, et j'etais si heureuse hier."

[3] In the poem Guy de Montfort is contrasted with Simon de Montfort, whom he calls "dur et tyran," and declares that God will punish his treacheries.

Montfort sought aid in France. A new Crusade was preached. Pope Honorius entered with ardor into the cause of De Montfort. It was again that of the whole clergy. Once more excommunications were menaced in some cases, uttered in others. The new King of Arragon was threatened with interdict; the consuls of Toulouse, Avignon, Marseilles, Tarascon, and other cities, the young Count Raymond, the Count de Foix were summoned under this penalty to renounce their alliance with rebellious Toulouse. For nine months the siege continued. If the sentiments attributed by the Troubadour to the Legate were either true, or supposed to be true by the inhabitants of Toulouse, it may account for the obstinacy of their defence. "The fire of hell has again kindled in this city, which is full of sin and crime. The old Lord is again within its walls, against whom whosoever will wage war will be saved before God. You are about to reconquer the city, to break into the houses, out of which no single soul, neither man nor woman, shall escape alive! not one shall be spared in church, in sanctuary, in hospital! It is decided in the secret councils of Rome, that the deadly and consuming fire shall pass over them."[1] But the counsels of Rome were not those of Divine Providence. At the close of the nine months Simon headed an attack; a stone from an engine struck the champion of Jesus Christ (as he was called by his admirers) on the head: he had just time to commend himself to the mercy of God and of the holy Virgin. God was re-

[1] Fauriel, 433. See before this the dialogue of the Cardinal and the Bishop, 429; and after, 455. "Et si quelques uns des vôtres y meurent en combattant, le Saint Pape et moi leurs sommes garants, qu'ils porteront (au ciel) la couronne des innocents."

proached with his death, the divine justice was arraigned. It is added by the monkish historian, still faithful to his fortunes, that he received likewise five wounds with arrows; and in this respect he is likened to the Redeemer in whose cause he died, and with whom "we trust he is in bliss and glory."[1]

The war did not end with the death of Simon de Montfort; but the religious character, which it had once more assumed, again died away.

A Crusade was headed by Louis of France; but that was only a bold and premature attempt of the sovereign to unite the great domain of Southern France to the crown. After the capture and atrocious massacre of Marmande, and a short and unsuccessful siege of Toulouse, Louis returned inglorious to his father's dominions. A truce was made between the young Count Raymond, and Amaury de Montfort.[2] It was said that Raymond proposed to marry the daughter of his rival. Two years after Amaury made over his dominions to Louis VIII., King of France.

Crusade of Prince Louis. Aug. 1, 1219.

A.D. 1224.

The vengeance of the Church followed the older

[1] "Vous entendez crier hautement — O Dieu, tu n'es pas juste — puisque tu as voulu la mort du comte et que tu as souffert (un tel) dommage. Bien fol est qui te defend, et se fait ton serviteur." — Fauriel, 573. In Toulouse the triumphant cry was that he died without confession. The Bishop's eulogy was this: "Jamais en ce monde ne faillit moins que lui; et depuis que Dieu endura le martyr et fut mis en croix, il ne voulut et ne souffrit jamais une aussi grande mort que celui du Comte." The Count of Soissons replied: "Je vous reprend à bon droit, pour que Sainte Eglise n'ait pas (de votre dire) mauvais renom; ne le nommez pas sanctissime, car nul ne mentit si fort que celui l'appelle saint, lui qui est mort sans confession." — p. 577. Compare the Poet's language, p. 587.

[2] It is a curious illustration of the manners. "Sub treugæ securitate comes Tolosanus entravit Carcassonam, et ibi cum comite Amalrico jacuit unâ nocte."

Raymond even after death. Dying excommunicate he could not be buried in holy ground. In vain his son adduced proofs that he had given manifest signs of penitence on his death-bed: notwithstanding a solemn inquest held by commissaries appointed by the Pope, and the examination of above one hundred witnesses, the inexorable sentence was still unrepealed;[1] the infected body was still unburied; it remained for three hundred years in the sacristy of the Knights Templars. To posterity the great crime of Raymond is the barbarous execution of his brother Baldwin. Baldwin, indeed, had deserted, betrayed, taken up arms against him; but there had never been fraternal love between them. Raymond, it was said, had withholden part of his brother's inheritance. And mercy, though it ought to be the virtue of the persecuted, rarely is so. Aug. 1222.

The vast army which descended on Languedoc under Louis, now King of France, was that of conquest rather than a Crusade. The cities were appalled, they opened their gates; Avignon alone made a noble resistance. Count Raymond bowed before the storm. On his return, after the seeming submission of almost the whole land, Louis died of exhaustion and fatigue at Montpensier in Auvergne. Nov. 8, 1226.

The treaty of Paris, after the accession of St. Louis, restored peace, for a time at least, to the afflicted land. The terms were dictated by the Papal Legate, approved by the King of France. Count Raymond VII. swore: — I. Fealty to his liege lord the King of France and to the Church. II. He swore to do immediate justice on all heretics, their abet- April 12, 1229. Treaty of Paris.

[1] Gul. Pod. Laurent. c. 34.

tors and partisans, even though his vassals, kindred or friends. III. To detect, in order to their punishment, all such heretics, according to the rules laid down by the Legate, and to pay for two years two marks, afterwards one mark, on the conviction of each heretic. IV. To maintain peace in his realm. Besides to maintain the rights of the Church; to respect, and cause to be respected, all sentences of excommunication, and to compel all persons excommunicate to reconcile themselves within a year to the Church, under pain of confiscation of their property. To restore all estates and immunities to the Church, to pay, and enforce the due payment of tithes; to pay to certain Cistercian abbeys, Clairvaux, and others, 10,000 marks of silver; to pay 5000 marks for the fortification of the citadel, the Narbonnaise, and those in other cities, to be held as securities by the King of France; to maintain certain professors of theology; to take the cross for five years in some Mohammedan country. On these, and other conditions relating to the boundaries of his dominions, of which he was obliged to abandon large portions (his daughter was to be married to the son of the French King), Raymond VII., never accused of heresy, received absolution. The same scene took place as with his father. With naked shoulders, bare feet, the son of Raymond of Toulouse was led up the Church of Notre Dame, scourged as he went by the Legate. "Count of Narbonne, by virtue of the powers intrusted to me by the Pope, I absolve thee from my excommunication." "Amen," answered the Count. He rose from his knees, no longer sovereign of the South of France, but a vassal of limited dominions.[1]

[1] Barran et Darragan. It is to be regretted that this work has preferred

His father on his penance renounced seven castles, the son seven provinces.[1]

But though the open war was at an end, the Church still pursued her exterminating warfare against her still rebellious subjects. The death of Simon de Montfort had given courage to the Albigensians. Bartholomew of Carcassonne, who had fled, it was said, to that land (the Bulgarian) where dwelt the Pope of the Manicheans, reappeared; he called himself the vicar of that mysterious pontiff, he reorganized the churches. Another teacher, William of Castries, was ordained, it was said, Bishop of Rases. The Inquisition continued its silent, but not less inhuman, hardly less destructive crusade. That tribunal, with all its peculiar statutes, its jurisdiction, its tremendous agency, was founded during this period. It is difficult to fix its precise date; but it is coincident with the establishment of a special court, legatine or charged with those peculiar functions which superseded the ordinary episcopal jurisdiction, and appropriated to itself the cognizance, punishment, suppression of heresy.

The statutes of the Council of Toulouse, framed after the successful termination of the war, in order absolutely to extirpate every lingering vestige of heresy, form the code of persecution, which not merely aimed at suppressing all public teaching, but

Council of Toulouse. A.D. 1229.

to be an historical romance rather than a history. The authors have failed in both; it is neither Walter Scott nor Livy or Tacitus.

[1] See in Vaissette the territories ceded to the King of France. "On voit par ce traité, que les principaux instigateurs de la guerre contre Raymond songeoient bien moins de sa catholicité, qu'à le déposséder de ses dominions et à s'enrichir de ses dépouilles. . . . Quant à sa propre personne il ne fut jamais suspect d'hérésie et il ne fut excommunié que parceque il ne voulait pas renoncer ses justes pretensions sur la patrimonie de ses ancêtres." — Hist. de Languedoc, iii. 374.

the more secluded and secret freedom of thought. It was a system which penetrated into the most intimate sanctuary of domestic life; and made delation not merely a merit and a duty, but an obligation also, enforced by tremendous penalties.

The Archbishops, bishops, and exempt abbots, were to appoint in every parish one priest, and three or more lay inquisitors, to search all houses and buildings, in order to detect heretics, and to denounce them to the archbishop or bishop, the lord, or his bailiff, so as to insure their apprehension. The lords were to make the same inquisition in every part of their estates. Whoever was convicted of harboring a heretic forfeited the land to his lord, and was reduced to personal slavery. If he was guilty of such concealment from negligence, not from intention, he received proportionate punishment. Every house in which a heretic was found was to be razed to the ground, the farm confiscated. The bailiff who should not be active in detecting heretics was to lose his office, and be incapacitated from holding it in future. Heretics, however, were not to be judged but by the bishop or some ecclesiastical person. Any one might seize a heretic on the lands of another. Heretics who recanted were to be removed from their homes, and settled in Catholic cities; to wear two crosses of a different color from their dress, one on the right side, one on the left. They were incapable of any public function unless reconciled by the Pope or by his Legate. Those who recanted from fear of death were to be immured forever. All persons, males of the age of fourteen, females of twelve, were to take an oath of abjuration of heresy, and of their Catholic faith; if absent, and not appearing within fifteen days,

they were held suspected of heresy. All persons were to confess, and communicate three times a year, or were in like manner under suspicion of heresy. No layman was permitted to have any book of the Old or New Testament, especially in a translation, unless *perhaps* the Psalter, with a breviary, or the Hours of the Virgin. No one suspected of heresy could practise as a physician. Care was to be taken that no heretic had access to sick or dying persons. All wills were to be made in the presence of a priest. No office of trust was to be held by one in evil fame as a heretic. Those were in evil fame, who were so by common report, or so declared by good and grave witnesses before the bishop.[1]

But statutes of persecution always require new statutes rising above each other in regular gradations of rigor and cruelty. The Legate found the canons of Toulouse to be eluded or inefficient. He summoned a council at Melun, attended by the Archbishop of Narbonne and other prelates. The unhappy Count of Toulouse was compelled to frame the edicts of this council into laws for his dominions.[2] The first provision showed that persecution had wrought despair. Council of Meaux.

[1] The statutes of Toulouse in Mansi, sub ann. Compare Limborch, Historia Inquisitionis. Among the other decrees of the Council was one which declared the absolute immunity of all clerks from taxation, unless they were merchants or married (mercatores vel uxorati). If one succeeded to the inheritance of a lay fief, he was answerable for its burdens. They were likewise free from tolls (péages). Every person was bound to attend church on Sundays and holidays. The statutes against private wars were in a more Christian spirit, only beyond the age. Every male above 14 was sworn to keep the peace; and heavy penalties denounced against all who should violate it. This was perhaps a law of Foreign conquerors in a subjugated land.

[2] Conventus Meldunensis. Statuta Raimondi, A. D. 1233. Labbe Concil. sub ann

It was directed against those who had murdered, or should murder, or conceal the murderers of persecutors of heretics. A reward of one mark was set on the head of every heretic, to be paid by the town, or village, or district to the captor. It was evident that the heretics had now begun to seek concealment in cabins, in caves, and rocks, and forests; not merely was every house in which one should be seized to be razed to the ground, but all suspected caves or hiding-places were to be blocked up; with a penalty of twenty-five livres of Toulouse to the lord on whose estate such houses or places of concealment of evil report should be found. Those who did not assist in the capture of heretics were liable to punishment. If any one was detected after death to have been a heretic his property was confiscated. Those who had made over their estates in trust, before they became heretics, nevertheless forfeited such estates. Those who attempted to elude the law by moving about under pretence of trade or pilgrimage, were ordered to render an account of their absence. A.D. 1233. A Council at Beziers enforced upon the clergy, under pain of suspension, or of deprivation, the denunciation of all who should not attend divine service in their churches on the appointed days, especially those suspected of heresy.

Yet heresy, even the Manichean heresy, was not yet extinguished. Many years, as will appear,[1] must intervene of the administration of the most atrocious code of procedure which has ever assumed the forms of justice; more than one formidable insurrection; the forcible expulsion of the terrible Inquisition; the assassination, the martyrdom as it was profanely called,

[1] See on for the proceedings of the Inquisition.

of more than one inquisitor, before the South of France collapsed into final spiritual subjection.

Yet, Latin Christianity might boast at length to have crushed out the life, at least in outward appearance, of this insurrection within her own borders. No language of Latin descent was permanently to speak in its religious services to the people, to form a Christian literature of its own, to have full command of the Scriptures in its vernacular dialect. The Crusade revenged itself on the poetry of the Troubadour, once the bold assailant of the clergy, by compelling it, if not to total silence, to but a feeble and uncertain sound.

## CHAPTER IX.

### NEW ORDERS. ST. DOMINIC.

The progress of the new opinions in all quarters, their obstinate resistance in Languedoc, opinions, if not yet rooted out, lopped by the sword and seared by the fire, had revealed the secret of the fatal weakness of Latin Christianity. Sacerdotal Christianity, by ascending a throne higher than all thrones of earthly sovereigns, by the power, the wealth, the magnificence of the higher ecclesiastics, had withdrawn the influence of the clergy from its natural and peculiar office. Even with the lower orders of the priesthood, that which in a certain degree separated them from the people, set them apart from the sympathies of the people. The Church might still seem to preach to all, but it preached in a tone of lofty condescension; it dictated rather than persuaded; but in general actual preaching had fallen into disuse; it was in theory the special privilege of the bishops, and the bishops were but few who had either the gift, the inclination, or the leisure from their secular, judicial, or warlike occupations to preach even in their cathedral cities; in the rest of their dioceses their presence was but occasional; a progress or visitation of pomp and form, rather than of popular instruction. The only general teaching of the people was the Ritual.

Preaching rare.

But the splendid ritual, admirably as it was constituted to impress by its words or symbolic forms the leading truths of Christianity upon the more intelligent, or in a vaguer way upon the more rude and uneducated, could be administered, and was administered, by a priesthood almost entirely ignorant, but which had just learned mechanically, not without decency, perhaps not without devotion, to go through the stated observances. Everywhere the bell summoned to the frequent service, the service was performed, and the obedient flock gathered to the chapel or the church, knelt, and either performed their orisons, or heard the customary chant and prayer. This, the only instruction which the mass of the priesthood could convey, might for a time be sufficient to maintain in the minds of the people a quiescent and submissive faith, nevertheless, in itself could not but awaken in some a desire of knowledge, which it could not satisfy. Auricular confession, now by Innocent III. raised to a necessary duty, and to be heard not only by the lofty bishop, but by the parochial priest, might have more effect in repressing the uneasy or daring doubts of those who began to reason; doubts which would startle and alarm the uneducated priest, and which he would endeavor to silence at once by all the terrors of his authority. Though the lower priesthood were from the people, they were not of the people; nor did they fully interpenetrate the whole mass of the people. The parochial divisions, where they existed, were arbitrary, accidental, often not clearly defined; they followed in general the bounds of royal or aristocratical domains. A church was founded by a pious king, noble, or knight, with a certain district around it; but in few countries was

The Ritual

there any approach to a systematic organization of the clergy in relation to the spiritual wants and care of the whole Christian community.

Celibacy of clergy.

The fatal question of the celibacy of the clergy worked in both ways to the prejudice of their authority. The married clergy, on the whole no doubt the more moral, were acting in violation of the rules of the Church, and were subject to the opprobrious accusation of living in concubinage. The validity of their ministrations was denied by the more austere; the doctrines of men charged with such grievous error lost their proper weight. The unmarried obeyed the outward rule, but by every account, not the bitter satire of enemies alone but the reluctant and melancholy admission of the most gentle and devout, in general so flagrantly violated the severer principles of the Church, that their teaching, if they attempted actual teaching, must have fallen dead on the minds of the people.

Monasticism.

The earlier monastic orders were still more deficient as instructors in Christianity. Their chief, if not their sole exclusive and avowed object, was the salvation, or, at the highest, the religious perfection of themselves and of their own votaries. Solitude, seclusion, the lonely cell, their own unapproached, or hardly approached, chapel, was their sphere; their communication with others was sternly cut off. The dominant, the absorbing thought of each hermit, of each cœnobite, was his own isolation or that of his brethren from the dangerous world. But to teach the world they must enter the world. Their influence, therefore, beyond their convent walls was but subordinate and accessory. The halo of their sanctity might awe.

attract others: the zeal of love might, as to their more immediate neighbors, struggle with the coercive and imprisoning discipline. But the admiration of their sanctity would act chiefly in alluring emulous votaries within, rather than in extending faith and holiness beyond their walls. Even their charities were to relieve their own souls, to lay up for themselves treasures of good works, rather than from any real sympathy for the people. The loftier notion of combining their own humiliation with the good of mankind first dawned upon the founders of the Mendicant orders. In the older monasteries beneficence was but a subsidiary and ancillary virtue. The cultivation of the soil was not to increase its fertility for the general advantage; it was to employ their own dangerous energies, to subdue their own bodies by the hard discipline of labor. At all events, the limit of their influence was that of their retainers, tenants, peasants, or serfs, bounded by their own near neighborhood. No sooner indeed had any one of the older Orders, or any single monastery attained to numbers, rank or influence, than it became more and more estranged from the humbler classes; the vows of poverty had been eluded, the severer rule gradually relaxed; the individual might remain poor, but the order or the convent became rich; narrow cells grew into stately cloisters, deserts into parks, hermits into princely abbots. It became a great religious aristocracy; it became worldly, without impregnating the world with its religious spirit; it was hardly less secluded from popular intercourse than before; even where learning was cultivated it was the high scholastic theology: theology which, in its pride, stood as much aloof from the popular mind as the feudal bishop, or the mitred abbot.

But just at this time that popular mind throughout Christendom seemed to demand instruction. There was a wide and vague wakening and yearning of the human intellect. It is impossible to suppose that the lower orders were not to a certain extent generally stirred by that movement which thronged the streets of the universities of Paris, Auxerre, Oxford, with countless hosts of indigent scholars, which led thousands to the feet of Abélard, and had raised logical disputations on the most barren metaphysical subjects to an interest like that of a tournament. An insatiate thirst of curiosity, of inquiry, at least for mental spiritual excitement, seemed almost suddenly to have pervaded society.

Intellectual movement.

Here that which was heresy, or accounted to be heresy, stepped in and seized upon the vacant mind. Preaching in public and in private was the strength of all the heresiarchs, of all the sects. Eloquence, popular eloquence became a new power, which the Church had comparatively neglected or disdained since the time of the Crusades; or had gone on wasting upon that worn-out, and now almost unstirring topic. The Petrobussians, the Henricians, the followers of Peter Waldo, and the wilder teachers at least tinged with the old Manichean tenets of the East, met on this common ground. They were poor and popular; they felt with the people, whether the lower burghers of the cities, the lower vassals, or even the peasants and serfs; they spoke the language of the people, they were of the people. If here and there one of the higher clergy, a priest or a canon, adopted their opinions and mode of teaching, he became an object of reverence and notoriety; and this profound

Heresy.

religious influence so obtained was a strong temptation to religious minds. But all these sects were bound together by their common revolutionary aversion to the clergy, not only the wealthy, worldly, immoral, tyrannical, but the decent but inert priesthood, who left the uninstructed souls of men to perish. In their turn, they were viewed with the most jealous hatred by the clergy, not merely on account of their heterodox and daring tenets, but as usurping their office, which themselves had almost let fall from their hands. We have seen the extent to which they prevailed; nothing less might be apprehended (unless coerced by the obedient temporal power, and no other measure seemed likely to succeed) than a general revolt of the lower orders from the doctrines and rule of the hierarchy.

New languages.

At this time, too, the rude dialects which had been slowly forming by the breaking up of the Roman Latin and its fusion with the Teutonic, were growing into regular and distinct languages. Latin, the language of the Church, became less and less the language of the people. In proportion as the Roman or foreign element predominated, the services of the Church, the speech in which all priests were supposed to be instructed, remained more or less clear and intelligible. It was more so where the Latin maintained its ascendency; but in the Teutonic or Sclavonian regions, even the priesthood had learned Latin imperfectly, if at all; and Latin had ceased to be the means of ordinary communication; it was a strange, obsolete, if still venerable language. Even in Italy, in Northern and Southern France, in England where the Norman French kept down to a certain extent the old free Anglo-Saxon (we must wait more

than a century for Wyclyffe and Chaucer), in Spain, Latin was a kindred, indistinctly significant tongue, but not that of common use, not that of the field, the street, the market, or the fair. But vernacular teaching was in all quarters coetaneous with the new opinions; versions of the sacred writings, or parts of the sacred writings, into the young languages were at once the sign of their birth, and the instrument of their propagation. These languages had begun to speak, at least in poetry, and not only to the knightly aristocracy. The first sounds of Italian poetry were already heard in the Sicilian court of the young Frederick II.: Dante was erelong to come. The Provençal had made the nearest approach perhaps to a regular language; and Provence, as has been seen, lent her Romaunt to the great anti-hierarchical movement. In France the Trouvères had in the last century begun their inexhaustible, immeasurable epopées; but these were as yet the luxuries of the court and the castle, heard no doubt by the people, but not what is fairly called popular poetry,[1] though here and there might even now be heard the tale or the fable. Germany, less poetical, was at once borrowing the knightly poems on Charlemagne, and King Arthur, and the Crusades; emulating France, reviving the old classical fables, among them the story of Alexander: while in Walter the Falconer[2] are heard tones more men-

[1] See in the 22d vol. of the Hist. Littéraire de la France the description and analysis of the innumerable Chansons de Geste, Poèmes d'Aventure. With all these were mingled up, both in Germany and France, as interminable hagiological romances, legends, and lives of saints, even the more modern Saints. See *e. g.*, the French poem on Thomas à Becket, edited in the Berlin Transactions by M. Bekker.

[2] Lachmann has edited the original Walter der Vogelweide with his usual industry; Simrock modernized him to the understanding of the less learned reader.

acing, more ominous of religious revolution, more daringly expressive of Teutonic independence.

But this gradual encroachment of the vernacular poetry on the Latin, the vain struggle of the Latin to maintain its mastery, the growth and influence of modern languages must be reserved for a later, more full, and consecutive inquiry.

Just at this juncture arose almost simultaneously, without concert, in different countries, two men wonderfully adapted to arrest and avert the danger which threatened the whole hierarchical system. One seized and, if he did not wrest from the hands of the enemy, turned against him with indefatigable force his own fatal arms, St. Dominic, the founder of the Friar Preachers. By him Christendom was at once overspread with a host of zealous, active, devoted men, whose function was popular instruction. They were gathered from every country, and spoke, therefore, every language and dialect. In a few years from the sierras of Spain to the steppes of Russia; from the Tiber to the Thames, the Trent, the Baltic Sea, the old faith, in its fullest mediæval, imaginative, inflexible rigor, was preached in almost every town and hamlet. The Dominicans did not confine themselves to popular teaching: the more dangerous, if as yet not absolutely disloyal seats of the new learning, of inquiry, of intellectual movement, the universities, Bologna, Paris, Oxford are invaded, and compelled to admit these stern apostles of unswerving orthodoxy; their zeal soon overleaped the pale of Christendom: they plunge fearlessly into the remote darkness of heathen and Mohammedan lands, from whence come back rumors, which are constantly stirring the minds of their votaries, of won-

St. Dominic and St. Francis.

derful conversions and not less wonderful martyrdoms.

The other, St. Francis of Assisi, was endowed with that fervor of mystic devotion, which spread like an epidemic with irresistible contagion among the lower orders throughout Christendom; it was a superstition, but a superstition which had such an earnestness, warmth, tenderness, as to raise the religious feeling to an intense but gentle passion; it supplied a never-failing counter excitement to rebellious reasoning, which gladly fell asleep again on its bosom. After the death of its author and example, it raised a new object of adoration, more near, more familiar, and second only, if second, to the Redeemer himself. Jesus was supposed to have lived again in St. Francis with at least as bright a halo of miracle around him, in absolute, almost surpassing perfection.

In one important respect the founders of these new orders absolutely agreed, in their entire identification with the lowest of mankind. At first amicable, afterwards emulous, eventually hostile, they, or rather their Orders, rivalled each other in sinking below poverty into beggary. They were to live upon alms; the coarsest imaginable dress, the hardest fare, the narrowest cell, was to keep them down to the level of the humblest. Though Dominic himself was of high birth, and many of his followers of noble blood, St. Francis of decent even wealthy parentage, according to the irrepealable constitution of both Orders they were still to be the poorest of mankind, instructing or consorting in religious fellowship with the very meanest outcasts of society. Both the new Orders differed in the same manner, and greatly to the advantage of the hierarchi

zal faith, from the old monkish institutions. Their primary object was not the salvation of the individual monk, but the salvation of others through him. Though, therefore, their rules within their monasteries were strictly and severely monastic, bound by the common vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience, seclusion was no part of their discipline. Their business was abroad rather than at home; their dwelling was not like that of the old Benedictines or others, in the uncultivated swamps and forests of the North, on the dreary Apennine, or the exhausted soil of Italy, in order to subdue their bodies, and occupy their dangerously unoccupied time, merely as a secondary consequence to compel the desert into fertile land. Their work was among their fellow-men; in the village, in the town, in the city, in the market, even in the camp. In every Dominican convent the Superior had the power to dispense even with the ordinary internal discipline, if he thought the brother might be more usefully employed in his special avocation of a Preacher. It might seem the ambition of these men, instead of cooping up a chosen few in high-walled and secure monasteries, to subdue the whole world into one vast cloister; monastic Christianity would no longer flee the world, it would subjugate it, or win it by gentle violence.

Dominic a Spaniard.

In Dominic Spain began to exercise that remarkable influence over Latin Christianity, to display that peculiar character which culminated as it were in Ignatius Loyola, in Philip II., and in Torquemada, of which the code of the Inquisition was the statutory law; of which Calderon was the poet. The life of every devout Spaniard was a perpetual crusade.

By temperament and by position he was in constant adventurous warfare against the enemies of the Cross: hatred of the Jew, of the Mohammedan, was the herrban under which he served; it was the oath of his chivalry: that hatred, in all its intensity, was soon and easily extended to the heretic. Hereafter it was to comprehend the heathen Mexican, the Peruvian. St. Dominic was, as it were, a Cortez, bound by his sense of duty, urged by an inward voice, to invade older Christendom. And Dominic was a man of as profound sagacity as of adventurous enthusiasm. He intuitively perceived, or the circumstances of his early career forced upon him, the necessities of the age, and showed him the arms in which himself and his forces must be arrayed to achieve their conquest.

Birth. St. Dominic was born in 1170, in the village of Calaroga, between Aranda and Osma, in Old Castile. His parents were of noble name, that of Guzman, if not of noble race.[1] Prophecies (we must not disdain legend, though manifest legend) proclaimed his birth. It was a tenet of his disciples that he was born without original sin, sanctified in his mother's womb. His mother dreamed that she bore a dog with a torch in his mouth, which set the world on fire. His votaries borrowed too the old classical fable; the bees settled on his lips, foreshowing his exquisite eloquence. Even in his infancy, his severe nature, among other wonders, began to betray itself. He crept from his soft couch to lie on the hard cold ground. The first part of his education Dominic received from his uncle, a churchman at Gamiel d'Izan. At fifteen years old he

[1] This point is contested. The Father Bremond wrote to confute the Bollandists, who had cast a profane doubt on the noble descent of Dominic.

was sent to the university of Palencia; he studied, chiefly theology, for ten years. He was laborious, devout, abstemious. Two stories are recorded which show the dawn of religious strength in his character During a famine, he sold his clothes to feed the poor: he offered in compassion to a woman who deplored the slavery of her brother to the Moors, to be sold for his redemption. He had not what may be strictly called a monastic training.[1] The Bishop of Osma had changed his chapter into regular canons, those who lived in common, and under a rule approaching to a monastic institute. Dominic became a canon in this rigorous house: there he soon excelled the others in austerity. This was in his twenty-fifth year: he remained in Osma, not much known, for nine years longer. Diego de Azevedo had succeeded to the Bishopric of Osma. He was a prelate of great ability, and of strong religious enthusiasm. He was sent to Denmark to negotiate the marriage of Alfonso VIII. of Castile with a princess of that kingdom. He chose the congenial Dominic as his companion. No sooner had they crossed the Pyrenees than they found themselves in the midst of the Albigensian heresy; they could not close their eyes on the contempt into which the clergy had fallen, or on the prosperity of the sectarians; their very host at Toulouse was an Albigensian; Dominic is said to have converted him before the morning.

In Languedoc. A.D. 1203.

The mission of the Bishop in Denmark was frus-

[1] The Chapter of his order was shocked by, and carefully erased from the authorized Legend of the Saint, a passage, "Ubi semetipsum asserit licet in integritate carnis divinâ gratiâ conservatum, nondum illam imperfectionem evadere potuisse, quia magis afficiebatur juvenculârum colloquiis quam affatibus vetularum." — Apud Bolland. c. 1.

trated by the unexpected death of the Princess. Before he returned to Spain, Azevedo, with his companion, resolved upon a pilgrimage to Rome. The character of the Bishop of Osma appears from his proposal to Pope Innocent. He wished to abandon his tranquil bishopric, and to devote himself to the perilous life of a missionary, among the Cumans and fierce people which occupied part of Hungary, or in some other infidel country. That Dominic would have been his companion in this adventurous spiritual enterprise none can doubt. Innocent commanded the Bishop to return to his diocese. On their way the Bishop and Dominic stopped at Montpellier. There, as has been said, they A.D. 1205. encountered in all their pomp the three Legates of the Pope, Abbot Arnold, the Brother Raoul, and Peter of Castelnau. The Legates were returning discomfited, and almost desperate, from their progress in Languedoc. Then it was that Dominic uttered his bold and memorable rebuke: "It is not by the display of power and pomp, cavalcades of retainers, and richly houseled palfreys, or by gorgeous apparel, that the heretics win proselytes; it is by zealous preaching, by apostolic humility, by austerity, by seeming, it is true, but yet seeming holiness. Zeal must be met by zeal, humility by humility, false sanctity by real sanctity; preaching falsehood by preaching truth." From that day Dominic devoted himself to preaching the religion which he believed. Even the Legates were for a time put to shame by his precept and example, dismissed their splendid equipages, and set forth with bare feet; yet if with some humility of dress and demeanor, with none of language or of heart. As the preacher of orthodoxy, Dominic is said in the pulpit, at the con-

ference, to have argued with irresistible force: but his mission at last seems to have made no profound impression on the obstinate unbelievers. Erelong the Bishop Azevedo retired to Osma and died. Dominic remained alone.

But now the murder of Peter of Castelnau roused other powers and other passions. That more irresistible preacher, the sword of the Crusader, was sent forth: it becomes impossible to discriminate between the successes of one and of the other. The voice of the Apostle is drowned in the din of war; even the conduct of Dominic himself, the manner in which he bore himself amidst these unevangelic allies, is clouded with doubt and uncertainty. His career is darkened too by the splendor of miracle, with which it Miracles. is invested. These miracles must not be passed by: they are largely borrowed from the life of the Saviour and those of the Saints; they sometimes sink into the ludicrous. A schedule, which he had written during one conference, of scriptural proofs, leaped out of the fire, while the discriminating flames consumed the writings of his adversaries. He exorcised the devil who possessed three noble matrons in the shape of a great black cat with large black eyes, who at last ran up the bell-rope and disappeared. A lady of extreme beauty wished to leave her monastery, and resisted all the preacher's arguments. She blew her nose, it remained in the handkerchief. Horror-stricken, she implored the prayers of Dominic: at his intercession the nose resumed its place; the lady remained in the convent. Dominic raised the dead, frequently fed his disciples in a manner even more wonderful than the Lord

in the desert.[1] His miracles equal, if not transcend those in the Gospel. It must indeed have been a stubborn generation, to need besides these wonders the sword of Simon de Montfort.

Throughout the Crusade Dominic is lost to the sight: he is hardly, if at all, noticed by historian or poet. It is not till the century after his death that his sterner followers boast of his presence, if not of his activity, in exciting the savage soldiery in the day of battle. He marches unarmed in the van of the army with the cross in his hands, and escapes unhurt. The cross was shown pierced everywhere with arrows or javelins, only the form of the Saviour himself uninjured. In modern times there comes another change over the history of St. Dominic; that, of which his contemporaries were silent, which the next generation blazoned forth as a boast, is now become a grave imputation. In later writings, his more prudent admirers assert, that he never appeared in the field of battle; he was but once with the armies, during the great victory of Simon de Montfort, at Muret; and then he remained within the city in fervent and uninterrupted prayer. All, perhaps, that is certainly known is that he showed no disapprobation of the character or of the deeds of Simon de Montfort. He obeyed his call to bless the marriage of his son, and the baptism of his daughter.

Dominic in war.

So, too, the presence of St. Dominic on the tribunals, where the unhappy heretics were tried for their lives, and the part which he took in

In the tribunals.

[1] All these and much more may be found in the lives of St. Dominic, in the Bollandists and elsewhere.

delivering them over to the secular arm to be burned by hundreds, is in the same manner, according to the date of the biographer, a cause of pride or shame, is boldly vaunted, or tenderly disguised and gently doubted. The more charitable silence at least of the earlier writers is sternly repudiated by the Bollandists, who will not allow the milder sense to be given to the title "Persecutor of Heretics," assigned to him by the Inquisition of Toulouse. They quote St. Thomas of Aquino as an irrefragable authority on the duty of burning heretics. They refute the more tolerant argument by a long line of glorious bishops who have urged or assisted at holocausts of victims. "What glory, splendor, and dignity (bursts forth Malvendia) belongs to the Order of Preachers, words cannot express! for the Holy Inquisition owes its origin to St. Dominic, and was propagated by his faithful followers. By them heretics of all kinds, the innovators and corruptors of sound doctrine, were destroyed, unless they would recant, by fire and sword, or at least awed, banished, put to the rout." The title of Dominic, in its fiercer sense, even rests on Papal authority, that of Sixtus V. in his bull for the canonization of Peter Martyr.[1] That indeed which in modern days is alleged in proof of his mercy, rather implies his habitual attendance on such scenes without showing the same mercy. Once he interfered to save a victim, in whom he saw some hopes of reconciliation, from the flames.[2] Calmer inquiry

[1] "Jam vero ne recrudesceret in posteris malum, aut impia hæresis repullularet ex cineribus suis salubberrimo consilio Romani Pontificis Sanctæ Inquisitionis officium austeri S. Dominici instituerunt, eidemque B. viro et Fratribus Prædicatoribus præcipue detulerunt." — Reichinius (a Dominican); Præf. in Monetam. p. xxxi.

[2] La Cordaire, S. Dominique.

must rob him of, or release him from, these questionable glories. His heroic acts, as moving in the van of bloody battles; his title of Founder of the Inquisition, belong to legend not to history. It is his Order which has thrown back its aggrandizing splendor on St. Dominic. So far was the Church from bowing down before the transcendent powers and holiness of the future saints, or discerning with instantaneous sagacity the value of these new allies, both the Father of the Friar Preachers and the Father of the Minorites were at first received with cold suspicion or neglect at Rome; the foundation of the two new Orders was extorted from the reluctant Innocent. The Third Lateran Council had prohibited the establishment of new orders. Well-timed and irresistible visions (the counsels of wiser and more far-sighted men) enlightened the Pope, and gently impelled him to open his eyes, and to yield to the revocation of his unwise judgment. Dominic returned from Rome, before the battle of Muret, armed with the Papal permission to enroll the Order of Friar Preachers.

Foundation of Preachers.

The earliest foundation of Dominic had been a convent of females. He had observed that the noble ladies of Languedoc listened, especially in early life, with too eager ears to the preachers of heretical doctrines. At Prouille, at the foot of the Pyrenees, between Fanjaux and Monreal, he opened his retreat, where their virgin minds might be safe from the dangerous contagion. The first monastery of the Order of Preachers was that of St. Ronain, near Toulouse. The brotherhood consisted but of sixteen, most of them natives of Languedoc, some Spaniards, one Englishman. It is remarkable, however, that the Order, founded for the suppression of heresy by preach-

ing in Languedoc, was hardly organized before it left the chosen scene of its labors. Instead of fixing on Toulouse or any of the cities of Provence as the centre of his operations, Dominic was seized with the ambition of converting the world. Rome, Bologna, Paris, were to be the seats of his power. Exactly four years after the battle of Muret he abandoned Languedoc forever. His sagacious mind might perhaps anticipate the unfavorable change, the fall if not the death of De Montfort, the return of Count Raymond as the deliverer to his patrimonial city. But even the stern Spanish mind might be revolted by the horrors of the Albigensian war; he may have been struck by the common grief for the fall of the noble Spanish King of Arragon. At all events, the preacher of the word in Languedoc could play but a secondary part to the preacher by the sword; and now that the aim was manifestly not conversion, but conquest, not the reëstablishment of the Church, but the destruction of the liberties of the land, not the subjugation of the heretical Count of Toulouse, but the expulsion from their ancestral throne of the old princely house and the substitution of a foreign usurper, the Castilian might feel shame and compunction, even the Christian might be reluctant to connect the Catholic faith which he would preach with all the deeds of a savage soldiery. The parting address ascribed to St. Dominic is not quite consistent Sept. 13, 1217. with this more generous and charitable view of his conduct. It is a terrible menace rather than gentle regret or mild reproof. At the convent of Prouille, after high mass, he thus spake: "For many years I have spoken to you with tenderness, with prayers, and tears; but according to the proverb of my country, where the

benediction has no effect, the rod may have much. Behold, now, we rouse up against you princes and prelates, nations and kingdoms! Many shall perish by the sword. The land shall be ravaged, walls thrown down; and you, alas! reduced to slavery. So shall the chastisement do that which the blessing and which mildness could not do."[1]

Dominic himself took up his residence in Rome.[2] His success as a preacher was unrivalled. His followers began to spread rumors of the miracles which he wrought. The Pope Honorius III. appointed him to the high office, since perpetuated among his spiritual descendants, Master of the Sacred Palace. He was held in the highest honor by the aged Cardinal Ugolino, the future Pope Gregory IX. For the propagation of his Order this residence in Rome was a masterstroke of policy. Of the devout pilgrims to Rome, men of all countries in Christendom, the most devout were most enraptured by the eloquence of Dominic. Few but must feel that it was a preaching Order which was wanted in every part of the Christian world. Dominic was gifted with that rare power, even in those times, of infusing a profound and enduring devotion to one object. Once within the magic circle, the inthralled disciple either lost all desire to leave it, or, if he struggled, Dominic seized him and dragged him back, now an unreluctant captive, by awe, by persuasion, by conviction, by what was believed to be miracle, which might be holy art, or the bold and ready use of

[1] M.S. de Prouille, published by Père Perrin: quoted by La Cordaire, Vie de S. Dominique, p. 404.

[2] He first established the monastery of San Sisto on the Cœlian Hill, afterward that of Santa Sabina

casual but natural circumstances. "God has never," as he revealed in secret (a secret not likely to be religiously kept) to the Abbot of Cassamare, "refused me anything that I have prayed for." When he prayed for the conversion of Conrad the Teutonic, was Conrad left ignorant that he had to resist the prayers of one whom God had thus endowed with irresistible efficacy of prayer?[1] Thus were preachers rapidly enlisted and dispersed throughout the world, speaking every language in Christendom. Two Poles, Hyacinth and Ceslas, carried the rules of the order to their own country. Dominican convents were founded at Cracow, even as far as Kiow.

Dominic had judged wisely and not too daringly in embracing the world as the scene of his labors. In the year 1220, seven years after he had left Languedoc, he stood, as the Master-General of his order, at the head of an assembly at Bologna. Italy, Spain, Provence, France, Germany, Poland, had now their Dominican convents; the voices of Dominican preachers had penetrated into every land. But the great question of holding property or dependence on the casual support of mendicancy was still undecided. Dominic had accepted landed endowments: in Languedoc he held a grant of tithes from Fulk Bishop of Toulouse. But the Order of St. Francis, of which absolute poverty was the vital rule, was now rising with simultaneous rapidity. Though both the founders of the new Orders and the brethren of the Orders had professed and displayed the most perfect mutual respect, and even amity (twice, it was said, they had met, with great marks of reverence and esteem),

Rapid progress of the Order A.D. 1220.

[1] La Cordaire, p. 539.

yet both true policy and devout ambition might reveal to the prudent as well as ardent Dominic that the vow of absolute poverty would give the Franciscans an immeasurable superiority in popular estimation. His followers must not be trammelled with worldly wealth, or be outdone in any point of austerity by those of St. Francis. The universal suffrage was for the vow of poverty in the strongest sense, the renunciation of all property by the Order as well as by the individual Brother. How long, how steadfastly, that vow was kept by either Order will appear in the course of our history.

The second great assembly of the Order was held A.D. 1221. shortly before the death of Dominic. The Order was now distributed into eight provinces, Spain, the first in rank, Provence, France, Lombardy, Rome, Germany, Hungary, and England. In England the Prior Gilbert had landed with fourteen friars. Gilbert preached before the Archbishop of Canterbury. The Primate, Stephen Langton, was so edified by his eloquence, that he at once gave full license to preach throughout the land. Monasteries rose at Canterbury, London, Oxford.

But the great strength of these two new Orders was, besides the communities of friars and nuns (each asso- Tertiaries. ciated with itself a kindred female Order), the establishment of a third, a wider and more secular community, who were bound to the two former by bonds of close association, by reverence and implicit obedience, and were thus always ready to maintain the interests, to admire and to propagate the wonders, to subserve in every way the advancement of the higher disciples of St. Dominic or St. Francis. They were

men or women, old or young, married or unmarried, bound by none of the monastic vows, but deeply imbued with the monastic, with the corporate spirit; taught to observe all holy days, fasts, vigils with the utmost rigor, inured to constant prayer and attendance on divine worship. They were organized, each under his own prior: they crowded as a duty, as a privilege, into the church wherever a Dominican ascended the pulpit, predisposed, almost compelled, if compulsion were necessary, to admire, to applaud at least by rapt attention. Thus the Order spread not merely by its own perpetual influence and unwearied activity; it had everywhere a vast host of votaries wedded to its interests, full to fanaticism of its corporate spirit, bound to receive hospitably or ostentatiously their wandering preachers, to announce, to trumpet abroad, to propagate the fame of their eloquence, to spread belief in their miracles, to lavish alms upon them, to fight in their cause. This lay coadjutory, these Tertiaries, as they were called, or among the Dominicans, the soldiers of Jesus Christ as not altogether secluded from the world, acted more widely and more subtly upon the world. Their rules were not rigidly laid down till by the seventh Master of the Order, Munion de Zamora; it was then approved by Popes.[1]

Dominic died August 6th, 1221. He was taken ill at Venice, removed with difficulty to Bo- Death.
logna, where he expired with saintly resignation.

His canonization followed rapidly on his death.

[1] Among the special privileges of the Order (in the bull of Honorius) was that in the time of interdict (so common were interdicts now become) the Order might still celebrate mass with low voices, without bells. Conceive the influence thus obtained in a religious land, everywhere else deprived of all its holy services

Gregory IX., who in his internecine war with the Canonization. Emperor Frederick II. had found the advantage of these faithful, restless, unscrupulous allies in the realm, in the camp, almost in the palace of his adversary, was not the man to pause or to hesitate in his grateful acknowledgments or prodigal reward. "I no more doubt," said the Pope, "the sanctity of Dominic than that of St. Peter or St. Paul." In the bull of canonization, Dominic is elaborately described as riding in the four-horsed chariot of the Gospel, as it were seated behind the four Evangelists, (or rather in the four chariots of Zechariah, long interpreted as signifying the four Evangelists,) holding in his hand the irresistible bow of the Divine Word.

The admiration of their founder, if it rose not with the Dominicans so absolutely into divine adoration as with the Franciscans, yet bordered close upon it. He, too, was so closely approximated to the Saviour as to be placed nearly on an equality. The Virgin Mother herself, the special protectress of the sons of Dominic,[1] might almost seem to sanction their bold raptures of spiritual adulation, from which our most fervent piety might shrink as wild profanation. Dominic was the adopted son of the Blessed Virgin.[2]

[1] There is a strange story of the especial protection extended over the Order by the Virgin. It might seem singularly ill-adapted for painting, but painting has nevertheless ventured, at least partially, to represent it. To this the modesty of more modern manners, perhaps not less real though more scrupulous respect (respect which falls far short of worship), proscribes more than an allusion: The Virgin is represented with the whole countless host of Dominicans crowded under her dress. In the vision of St. Brigitta, the virgin herself is made to sanction this awful confusion. Though in the vision there is an interpretation which softens away that which in the painting (which I have seen) becomes actual fact.

[2] More than this, of the Father himself. "Ego, dulcissima filia, istos duos filios genui, unum naturaliter generando, alium amabiliter et dulciter

And this was part of the creed maintained by an Order which under its fourth general, John of Wildeshausen (in Westphalia), in their Chapter-General at Bordeaux, reckoned its monasteries at the number of four hundred and seventy. In Spain thirty-five, in France fifty-two, in Germany fifty-two, in Tuscany thirty-two, in Lombardy forty-six, in Hungary thirty, in Poland thirty-six, in Denmark twenty-eight, in England forty. They were spreading into Asia, into heathen or Saracen lands, into Palestine, Greece, Crete, Abyssinia. Nor is it their number alone which grows with such wonderful fertility. They are not content with the popular mind. They invade the high places of human intellect: they are disputing the mastery in the Universities of Italy and Germany, in Cologne, Paris, and in Oxford. Before long they are to claim two of the greatest luminaries of the scholastic philosophy, Albert the Great and Thomas of Aquino.

adoptando . . . Sicut hic Filius a me naturaliter et *æternaliter* genitus, assumptâ naturâ humanâ, in omnibus fuit perfectissime obediens mihi, usque ad mortem, sic filius meus *adoptivus* Dominicus. Omnia, quæ operatus est ab infantiâ suâ usque ad terminum vitæ suæ, fuerunt angulata secundum obedientiam præceptorum meorum, nec unquam semel fuit transgressus quodcunque præceptum meum, quia virginitâtem corporis et animi illibatam servavit, et gratiam baptismi quo spiritualiter renatus est, semper conservavit." The parallel goes on between the apostles of the Lord and the brethren of St. Dominic. — Apud Bolland. xlv. p. 844. See also a passage about the Virgin in La Cordaire, p. 234. In another Vita S. Dominici, apud Bolland. Aug. 4, is this: — There was a prophetic picture at Venice, in which appear St. Paul and St. Dominic. Under the latter, "Facilius itur per istum." The comment of the biographer is: "Doctrina Pauli sicut et ceterorum apostolorum erat doctrina inducens ad fidem et observationem præceptorum, doctrina Dominici ad observantiam consiliorum, et ideo facilius per ipsum itur ad Christum." — c. vii.

## CHAPTER X.

### ST. FRANCIS.[1]

Birth and youth. A.D. 1182.

St. Francis was born in the romantic town of Assisi, of a family, the Bernardini, engaged in trade. His birth took place while his father was on a mercantile journey in France; on his return his new-born son was baptized by the name of Francis.[2] His mother, Picca, loved him with all a mother's tenderness for her first-born. He received the earliest rudiments of instruction from the clergy of the parish of St. George: he was soon taken to assist his father in his trade. The father, a hard, money-making man, was shocked at first by the vanity and prodigality of his son. The young Francis gave banquets to his juvenile friends, dressed splendidly, and the streets

[1] The vast annals of the Franciscan Order, by Lucas Wadding, in seventeen folio volumes, are the great authority: for St. Francis himself the life by S. Bonaventura. I have much used the Chronique de l'Ordre du Père S. François, in quaint old French (the original is in Portuguese, by Marco di Lisbona), Paris, 1623. I have an epic poem, in twenty-five cantos, a kind of religious plagiary of Tasso, San Francisco, ó Gierusalemme Celeste Acquistata, by Agostino Gallucci (1617). The author makes St. Francis subdue the Wickliffites. There is a modern life by M. Malan.

[2] When the disciples of St. Francis were fully possessed with the conformity of their founder with the Saviour, the legend grew up, assimilating his birth to that of the Lord. A prophetess foreshowed it; he was born by divine suggestion in a stable; angels rejoiced; even peace and good will were announced, though by a human voice. An angel, like old Simeon, bore him at the font. And all this is gravely related by a biographer of the 19th century, M. Malan.

of Assisi rang with the songs and revels of the joyous crew; but even then his bounty to the poor formed a large part of his generous wastefulness. He was taken captive in one of the petty wars which had broken out between Perugia and Assisi, and remained a year in prison. He was then seized with a violent illness: when he rose from his bed nature looked cold and dreary; he began to feel disgust to the world. The stirrings of some great but yet undefined purpose were already awake within him. He began to see visions, but as yet they were of war and glory: the soldier was not dead in his heart. He determined to follow the fortunes of a youthful poor knight who was setting out to fight under the banner of the "Gentle Count," Walter of Brienne, against the hated Germans. At Spoleto he again fell ill; his feverish visions took another turn. Francis now felt upon him that profound religious thraldom which he was never to break, never to desire to break. His whole soul became deliberately, calmly, ecstatic faith. He began to talk mysteriously of his future bride — that bride was Poverty. He resolved never to refuse alms to a poor person. He found his way to Rome, threw down all he possessed, no costly offering, on the altar of St. Peter. On his return he joined a troop of beggars, and exchanged his dress for the rags of the filthiest among them. His mother heard and beheld all his strange acts with a tender and prophetic admiration. To a steady trader like the father it was folly if not madness. He was sent with a valuable bale of goods to sell at Foligno. On his return he threw all the money down at the feet of the priest of St. Damian to rebuild his church, as well as the price of his horse,

which he likewise sold. The priest refused the gift. In the eyes of the father this was dishonesty as well as folly. Francis concealed himself in a cave, where he lay hid for a month in solitary prayer. He returned to Assisi, looking so wild and haggard that the rabble hooted him as he passed and pelted him with mire and stones. The gentle Francis appeared to rejoice in every persecution. The indignant father shut him up in a dark chamber, from which, after a time, he was released by the tender solicitude of his mother. Bernardini now despaired of his unprofitable and intractable son, whom he suspected of alienating other sums besides that which he had received for the cloth and the horse. He cited him before the magistrates to compel him to abandon all rights on his patrimony, which he was disposed to squander in this thriftless manner. Francis declared that he was a servant of God, and declined the jurisdiction of the civil magistrate. The cause came before the Bishop. The Bishop earnestly exhorted Francis to yield up to his father any money which he might possess, or to which he was entitled.

Gives up his inheritance. A.D. 1206. Ætat. 25.

"It might be ungodly gain, and so unfit to be applied to holy uses." "I will give up the very clothes I wear," replied the enthusiast, encouraged by the gentle demeanor of the Bishop. He stripped himself entirely naked.[1] "Peter Bernardini was my father; I have now but one father, he that is in heaven." The audience burst into tears; the Bishop threw his mantle over him and ordered an old coarse dress of an artisan to be brought: he then received Francis into his service.

Francis was now wedded to Poverty; but poverty

[1] According to S. Bonaventura, he had hair-cloth under his dress.

he would only love in its basest form — mendicancy. He wandered abroad, was ill used by robbers; on his escape received from an old friend at Gubbio a hermit's attire, a short tunic, a leathern girdle, a staff and slippers. He begged at the gates of monasteries; he discharged the most menial offices. With even more profound devotion he dedicated himself for some time in the hospital at Gubbio to that unhappy race of beings whom even Christianity was constrained to banish from the social pale — the lepers.[1] He tended them with more than necessary affectionateness, washed their feet, dressed their sores, and is said to have wrought miraculous cures among them. The moral miracle of his charity toward them is a more certain and more affecting proof of his true Christianity of heart. It was an especial charge to the brethren of St. Francis of Assisi to choose these outcasts of humanity as the objects of their peculiar care.[2]

Embraces voluntary.

On his return to Assisi he employed himself in the restoration of the church of St. Damian. "Whoever will give me one stone shall have one prayer; whoever two, two; three, three." The people mocked, but Francis went on carrying the stones in his own hands,

[1] There is something singularly affecting in the service of the Church for the seclusion of the lepers, whose number is as sure a proof of the wretchedness of those times, as the care of them of the charity. The stern duty of looking to the public welfare is tempered with exquisite compassion for the victims of this loathsome disease. The service may be found — it is worth seeking for — in Martene de Antiquis Ecclesiæ Ritibus. It is quoted by M. Malan.

[2] S. Bonaventura says that he healed one leper with a kiss: "Nescio quidnam horum magis sit admirandum, an humilitatis profunditas in osculo tam benigno, an virtutis præclaritas in miraculo tam stupendo." — Vit. S. Francisci.

and the church began to rise. He refused all food which he did not obtain by begging. His father reproached him and uttered his malediction. He took a beggar of the basest class: "Be thou my father and give me thy blessing." But so successful was he in awakening the charity of the inhabitants of Assisi, that not only the church of St. Damian, but two others, St. Peter and St. Maria dei Angeli (called the Portiuncula), through his means arose out of their ruins to decency and even splendor. One day, in the church of St. Maria dei Angeli, he heard the text, "Provide neither gold, nor silver, nor brass in your purses. Neither scrip for your journey, neither two coats, neither shoes nor yet staves." He threw away his wallet, his staff, and his shoes, put on the coarsest dark gray tunic, bound himself with a cord, and set out through the city calling all to repentance.

This strange but fervent piety of Francis could not but, in that age, kindle the zeal of others. Wonder grew into admiration, admiration into emulation, emulation into a blind following of his footsteps. Disciples, one by one (the first are carefully recorded), began to gather round him. He retired with them to a lonely spot in the bend of the river, called Rivo Torto. A rule was wanting for the young brotherhood. Thrice upon the altar he opened the Gospels, which perhaps were accustomed to be opened on these passages.[1] He read three texts in reverence for the Holy Trinity. The first was, "If thou wilt be perfect, sell all thou hast and give to the poor;"[2] the second, "Take nothing for your journey;"[3] the third, "If any one

[1] The poet gives the date, St. Luke's day, Oct. 18, 1212.
[2] Matt. xix. 21. [3] Mark vi. 8.

would come after me, let him take up his cross and follow me." [1] Francis made the sign of the cross and sent forth his followers into the neighboring cities, as if to divide the world, to the east and west, the north and south. They reassembled at Rivo Torto and determined to go to Rome to obtain the authority of the Pope for the foundation of their order. On the way they met a knight in arms. "Angelo," said St. Francis, "instead of that baldrick thou shalt gird thee with a cord; for thy sword thou shalt take the cross of Christ; for the spurs, the dirt and mire." Angelo made up the mystic number of twelve, which the profound piety of his followers alleged as a new similitude to the Lord.[2]

Innocent III. was walking on the terrace of the Lateran when a mendicant of the meanest appearance presented himself, proposing to convert the world by poverty and humility. The haughty Pontiff dismissed him with contempt. But a vision, says the legend, doubtless more grave deliberation and inquiry, suggested that such an Order might meet the heretics on their own ground; the Poor Men of the Church might out-labor and out-suffer the Poor Men of Lyons. He sent for Francis, received him in the midst of the cardinals, and listened to his proposal for his new Order. Some of the cardinals objected the difficulty, the impossibility of the vows. "To suppose that anything

[1] Matt. xvi. 24.

[2] It was at this period that he was said, or said himself that he was transported to heaven, into the actual presence of the Lord, who, according to the poem, gave him a plenary indulgence for himself and his followers: —

"E plenaria indulgenza oggi si dava."

c. vi. 41.

is difficult or impossible with God," said the Cardinal Bishop of St. Sabina, "is to blaspheme Christ and his Gospel.

Foundation of the Order.

The Order was now founded; the Benedictines of Monte Subiaco gave them a church, called, like that near Assisi, St. Maria dei Angeli, or de la Portiuncula. In the difficulty, the seeming impossibility of the vows was their strength. The three vital principles of the Order were chastity, poverty, obedience. For chastity, no one was to speak with a woman alone, except the few who might safely do so (from age or severity of character), and that was to urge penitence or give spiritual counsel. Poverty was not only the renunciation of all possessions, but of all property, even in the clothes they wore, in the cord which girt them — even in their breviaries.[1] Money was, as it were, infected; they might on no account receive it in alms except (the sole exception) to aid a sick brother; no brother might ride if he had power to walk. They were literally to fulfil the precept, if stricken on one cheek, to offer the other; if spoiled of part of their dress, to yield up the rest. Obedience was urged not merely as obligatory and coercive: the deepest mutual love was to be the bond of the brotherhood.

The passionate fervor of the preaching, the mystic tenderness, the austere demeanor of Francis and his disciples, could not but work rapidly and profoundly among his female hearers. Clara, a noble virgin of Assisi, under the direction of St. Francis, had in the same manner to strive against the tender and affection-

[1] At first, says S. Bonaventura, they had no books; their only book was the cross.

tionate worldliness, as she deemed it, of her family. But she tore herself from their love as from a sin, entered into a convent attached to the church of St. Damian, and became the mother of the poor sisterhood of St. Clare. Of Clara it is said that she never but once (and that to receive the blessing of the Pope) so lifted her eyelids that the color of her eyes might be discerned. Clara practised mortifications more severe than any of her sex before. The life of the sisters was one long dreary penance; even their services were all sadness. The sisters who could read were to read the Hours, but without chanting. Those who could not read were not to learn to read. To the prayers of St. Clara it was attributed that, in later times, her own convent and the city of Assisi were preserved from the fierce Mohammedans which belonged to the army of Frederick II. The Order was confirmed by a bull of Innocent IV.

Francis, in the mean time, with his whole soul vowed to the service of God, set forth to subdue the world. He had hesitated between the contemplative and active life — prayer in the secluded monastery, or preaching the cross of Christ to mankind. The mission of love prevailed; his success and that of his ardent followers might seem to justify their resolution. They had divided the world, and some had already set forth into France and into Spain with the special design of converting the Miramamolin and his Mohammedan subjects. Everywhere they were heard with fanatic rapture. At their first chapter, A.D. 1215. held in the church of the Portiuncula, only three years after the scene at Rivo Torto, it was necessary to ordain provincial masters in Spain, Provence, France and

Foreign missions.

Germany: at a second chapter of the Order in 1219 met five thousand brethren.

St. Francis in the East. A.D. 1219.

The holy ambition of St. Francis grew with his success. He determined to confront the great enemy of Christianity in his strength. He set off to preach to the Mohammedans of the East. The Christian army was encamped before Damietta. The sagacity of Francis anticipated from their discord, which he in vain endeavored to reconcile, their defeat. His prophecy was too fully accomplished; but he determined not the less to proceed on his mission. On his way to the Saracen camp he met some sheep. It occurred to him, "I send you forth as sheep among the wolves." He was taken and carried before the Sultan. To the Sultan he boldly offered the way of salvation. He preached (in what language we are not told) the Holy Trinity and the Divine Saviour before these stern Unitarians. The Mohammedans reverence what they deem insanity as partaking of divine inspiration. The Sultan is said to have listened with respect; his grave face no doubt concealed his compassion. St. Francis offered to enter a great fire with the priests of Islam, and to set the truth of either faith on the issue. The Sultan replied that his priests would not willingly submit to this perilous trial. "I will enter alone," said Francis, "if, should I be burned, you will impute it to my sins; should I come forth alive, you will embrace the Gospel." The Sultan naturally declined these terms, as not quite fair towards his creed. But he offered rich presents to Francis (which the preacher of poverty rejected with utter disdain), and then sent him back in honor to the camp at Damietta. Francis passed through the Holy Land and the kingdom of

Antioch, preaching and winning disciples, and then returned to Italy. His fame was now at its height, and wherever he went his wondering disciples saw perpetual miracle. In this respect the life of the Saviour is far surpassed by that of St. Francis.

The Order soon had its martyrs. The Mohammedan Moors of Africa were fiercer than those of Egypt. Five monks, after preaching without success to the Saracens of Seville, crossed into Africa. After many adventures (in one of which during an expedition against the Moorish tribes of the interior, Friar Berard struck water from the desert rock, like Moses) they were offered wealth, beautiful wives, and honors, if they would embrace Mohammedanism. They spat on the ground in contempt of the miscreant offer. The King himself clove the head of one of them with a sword; the rest were despatched in horrible torments.[1] St. Francis received the sad intelligence with triumph, and broke forth in gratulations to the convent of Alonquir, which had thus produced the first purple flowers of martyrdom. Martyrs.

This was no hardness, or want of compassion, but the counter-working of a stronger, more passionate emotion. Of all saints, St. Francis was the most blameless and gentle. In Dominic and in his disciples all was still rigorous, cold, argumentative; something remained of the crusader's fierceness, the Spaniard's haughty humility, the inquisitor's stern suppression of all gentler feelings, the polemic stern- Character of St. Francis.

[1] See on these martyrs Southey's ballad: —

"What news, O Queen Orraca,
Of the martyrs five what news?
Does the bloody Miramamolin
Their burial yet refuse?"

ness. Whether Francis would have burned heretics, happily we know not, but he would willingly have been burned for them: himself excessive in austerities, he would at times mitigate the austerity of others. Francis was emphatically the Saint of the people; of a poetic people like the Italians. Those who were hereafter to chant the Paradise of Dante, or the softer stanzas of Tasso, might well be enamored of the ruder devotional strains in the poetry of the whole life of St. Francis. The lowest of the low might find consolation, a kind of pride, in the self-abasement of St. Francis even beneath the meanest. The very name of his disciples, the Friar Minors, implied their humility. In his own eyes (says his most pious successor) he was but a sinner, while in truth he was the mirror and splendor of holiness. It was revealed, says the same Bonaventura, to a Brother, that the throne of one of the angels, who fell from pride, was reserved for Francis, who was glorified by humility. If the heart of the poorest was touched by the brotherhood in poverty and lowliness of such a saint, how was his imagination kindled by his mystic strains? St. Francis is among the oldest vernacular poets of Italy.[1] His poetry, indeed, is but a long passionate ejaculation of love to the Redeemer in rude metre; it has not even the order and completeness of a hymn: it is a sort of plaintive variation on one simple melody; an echo of the same tender words, multiplied again and again, it might be fancied, by the voices in the cloister walls. But his ordinary speech is more poetical than his poetry. In his peculiar language he addresses all animate, even in-

[1] M. de Montalembert is eloquent, as usual, on his poetry. — Preface to "La Vie d'Elizabeth d'Hongrie."

animate, creatures as his brothers; not merely the birds and beasts; he had an especial fondness for lambs and larks, as the images of the Lamb of God and of the cherubim in heaven.[1] I know not if it be among the Conformities, but the only malediction I find him to have uttered was against a fierce swine which had killed a young lamb. Of his intercourse with these mute animals, we are told many pretty particularities, some of them miraculous. But his poetic impersonation went beyond this. When the surgeon was about to cauterize him, he said, "Fire, my brother, be thou discreet and gentle to me."[2] In one of his Italian hymns he speaks of his brother the sun, his sister the moon, his brother the wind, his sister the water.[3] No wonder that in this almost perpetual ecstatic state, unearthly music played around him, unearthly light shone round his path. When he died, he said, with exquisite simplicity, "Welcome, sister Death."[4] St. Francis himself, no doubt, was but unconsciously presumptuous, when he acted as under divine inspiration, even when he laid the groundwork for that assimilation of his own life to that of the Saviour, which was wrought up by his disciples, as it were, into a new Gospel, and superseded the old. His was the studious imitation of humility, not the emulous approximation of pride, even of pride disguised from himself; such profaneness entered not into his thought. His

[1] Bonaventura, c. viii.

[2] The words were, "Fratel fuoco, da Dio creato più bello, più attivo, e più giovevole d'ogni altro elemento, noi te mostra or nel cimento discreto e mite." — Vita (Fuligno), p. 15.

[3] "Laudato sia el Dio, mio Signore con tute le Creature; specialmente Messer lo frate Sole. . . . Laudato sia il mio Signore per suor Luna, per frate vento, per suor acqua."

[4] "Ben venga la sorella morte."

life might seem a religious trance. The mysticism so absolutely absorbed him as to make him unconscious, as it were, of the presence of his body. Incessantly active as was his life, it was a kind of paroxysmal activity, constantly collapsing into what might seem a kind of suspended animation of the corporeal functions.[1] It was even said that he underwent a kind of visible and glorious transfiguration.[2] But with what wonderful force must all this have worked upon the world, the popular world around him! About three years before his death, with the permission of the Pope, he celebrated the Nativity of the Lord in a new way. A manger was prepared, the whole scene of the miraculous birth represented. The mass was interpolated before the prayers. St. Francis preached on the Nativity. The angelic choirs were heard; a wondering disciple declared that he saw a beautiful child reposing in the manger.

The order of St. Francis had, and of necessity, its Tertiaries, like that of St. Dominic.[3] At his preaching, and that of his disciples, such multitudes would have crowded into the Order as to become dangerous and unmanageable. The whole population of one town, Canari in Umbria, offered themselves as dis-

[1] "E tanto in lei (in Gesu) sovente profondasi, tanto s'immerge, inabissa, e concentra, che assorto non vide, non ascolta, non sente, e se opera carnalmente, nol conosca, non sel rammenta." This state is thus illustrated: he was riding on an ass; he was almost torn in pieces by devout men and women shouting around him; he was utterly unconscious, like a dead man. — From a modern Vita di S. Francesco. Foligno, 1824.

[2] "Ad conspectum sublimis Seraph et humilis Crucifixi, fuit in vivæ formæ effigiem, vi quâdam deiformi et ignea transformatus; quemadmodum testati sunt, tactis sacrosanctis jurantes, qui palpaverunt, osculati sunt, et viderunt." — S. Bonaventura, in Vit. Minor. i.

[3] Chapter of Tertiaries, A.D. 1222; Chroniques, L. ii. c. xxxii.

ciples. The Tertiaries were called the Brethren of Penitence; they were to retain their social position in the world: but, first enjoined to discharge all their debts, and to make restitution of all unfair gains. They were then admitted to make a vow to keep the commandments of God, and to give satisfaction for any breach of which they might have been guilty. They could not leave the Order, except to embrace a religious life. Women were not admitted without the consent of their husbands. The form and color of their dress were prescribed, silk rigidly prohibited. They were to keep aloof from all public spectacles, dances, especially the theatre; to give nothing to actors, jugglers, or such profane persons. Their fasts were severe, but tempered with some lenity; their attendance at church constant. They were not to bear arms except in the cause of the Church of Rome, the Christian faith, or their country, and that at the license of their ministers. On entering the Order, they were immediately to make their wills to prevent future litigation; they were to abstain from unnecessary oaths; they were to submit to penance, when imposed by their ministers.

But St. Francis had not yet attained his height even of worldly fame; he was yet to receive the A.D. 1224. last marks of his similitude to the Redeemer, to bear on his body actually and really the five wounds of the Redeemer.

That which was so gravely believed must be gravely related. In the solitude of Monte Alverno (a mountain which had been bestowed on the Order by a rich and pious votary, and where a mag- The Stigmata.

nificent church afterwards arose) Francis had retired to hold a solemn fast in honor of the Archangel Michael. He had again consulted the holy oracle. Thrice the Scriptures had been opened; thrice they opened on the Passion of the Lord. This was interpreted, that even in this life Francis was to be brought into some mysterious conformity with the death of the Saviour. One morning, while he was praying in an access of the most passionate devotion, he saw in a vision, or, as he supposed, in real being, a seraph with six wings. Amidst these wings appeared the likeness of the Crucified. Two wings arched over his head, two were stretched for flight, two veiled the body. As the apparition disappeared, it left upon his mind an indescribable mixture of delight and awe. On his body instantaneously appeared marks of the crucifixion, like those which he had beheld. Two black excrescences, in the form of nails, with the heads on one side, the points bent back on the other, had grown out of his hands and feet. There was a wound on his side, which frequently flowed with blood, and stained his garment. Francis endeavored, in his extreme humility, notwithstanding the remonstrances of his disciples, to conceal this wonderful sight; but the wounds were seen, it is declared, at one time by fifty brethren. Countless miracles were ascribed to their power. The wound on his side Francis hid with peculiar care. But it was seen during his life, as it is asserted; the pious curiosity of his disciples pierced through every concealment. Pope Alexander IV. publicly declared that his own eyes had beheld the stigmata on the body of
Oct. 4, 1226. St. Francis. Two years after St. Francis

died. He determined literally to realize the words of the Scripture, to leave the world naked as he entered it. His disciples might then, and did then, it is said, actually satisfy themselves as to these signs: to complete the parallel an incredulous Thomas was found to investigate the fact with suspicious scrutiny. It became an article of the Franciscan creed; though the now rival Order, the Dominicans, hinted rationalistic doubts, they were authoritatively rebuked. It became almost the creed of Christendom.[1]

Character of Franciscanism.

Up to a certain period this studious conformity of the life of St. Francis with that of Christ, heightened, adorned, expanded, till it received its perfect form in the work of Bartholomew of Pisa, was promulgated by the emulous zeal of a host of disciples throughout the world. Those whose more reverential piety might take offence were few and silent; the declaration of Pope Alexander, the ardent protector of the Mendicant Friars, imposed it almost as an article of the Belief. With the Franciscans, and all under the dominion of the Franciscans, the lower orders throughout Christendom, there was thus almost a second Gospel, a second Redeemer, who could not but throw back the one Saviour

[1] The Dominican Jacob de Voragine assigns five causes for the stigmata; they in fact resolve themselves into the first, imagination. His illustrations, however, are chiefly from pregnant women, whose children resemble something which had violently impressed the mother's mind. He does not deny the fact. "Summus ergo Franciscus, in visione sibi factâ imaginabatur Seraphim Crucifixum, et tam fortis imaginatione extitit, quod vulnera passionis in carne suâ impressit." — Sermo iii. de S. Francisco. Compare Gieseler, ii. 2, 349. Nicolas IV., too, asserted the stigmata of St. Francis (he was himself a Franciscan); he silenced a Dominican, who dared to assert that in Peter Martyr (Peter was a Dominican) were signs Dei vivi, in St. Francis only Dei mortui. — Raynald. A.D. 1291.

into more awful obscurity. The worship of St. Francis in prayer, in picture, vied with that of Christ: if it led, perhaps, a few up to Christ, it kept the multitude fixed upon itself. But as soon as indignant religion dared lift up its protest (after several centuries!) it did so; and, as might be expected, revenged its long compulsory silence by the bitterest satire and the rudest burlesque.[1]

Franciscanism was the democracy of Christianity: but with St. Francis it was an humble, meek, quiescent democracy. In his own short fragmentary writings he ever enforces the most submissive obedience to the clergy;[2] those at least who lived according to the rule of the Roman Church. This rule would no doubt except the simoniac and the married clergy; but the whole character of his teaching was the farthest removed from that of a spiritual demagogue. His was a pacific passive mysticism, which consoled the poor for the inequalities of this life by the hopes of heaven. But erelong his more vehement disciple, Antony of Padua, sounded a different note: he scrupled not to denounce the worldly clergy. Antony of Padua was

[1] See the Alcoran des Cordeliers. Yet this book could hardly transcend the grave blasphemies of the Liber Conformitatum. *e.g.*, Christ was transfigured once, St. Francis twenty times; Christ changed water into wine once, St. Francis three times; Christ endured his wounds a short time, St. Francis two years; and so with all the Gospel miracles.

[2] In his Testament he writes: "Postea dedit mihi Dominus, et dat tantum fidem in sacerdotibus, qui vivunt secundum Ordinem Sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ propter ordinem ipsorum, quod si facerent mihi persecutionem volo recurrere ad ipsos." — Op. St. Francisc. p. 20. "Il disoit que s'il rencontroit un Sainct qui fust descendu du ciel en terre et un Prestre, qu'il baiseroit premièrement la main au Prestre, puis il feroit la reverence au Sainct, recevant de celui-là le corps de nostre Seigneur Jesus Christ, pourquoi il méritoit plus d'honneur." — Chroniques, i. c. lxxxiv.

a Portuguese, born at Lisbon. He showed early a strong religious temperament. The relics of the five Franciscan martyrs, sent over from Morocco, had kindled the most ardent enthusiasm. The young Fernand (such was his baptismal name) joined himself to some Franciscan friars, utterly illiterate, but of burning zeal, and under their guidance set forth deliberately to win the crown of martyrdom among the Moors. He was cast by a storm on the coast of Sicily. He found his way to Romagna, united himself to the Franciscans, retired into a hermitage, studied deeply, and at length was authorized by the General of the Order to go forth and preach. For many years his eloquence excited that rapture of faith which during these times is almost periodically breaking forth, especially in the north of Italy. Every class, both sexes, all ages were equally entranced. Old enmities were reconciled, old debts paid, forgotten wrong atoned for; prostitutes forsook their sins, robbers forswore their calling; such is said to have been the magic of his words that infants ceased to cry. His voice was clear and piercing like a trumpet; his Italian purer than that of most natives. At Rimini, at Milan, in other cities, he held disputations against the heretics, who yielded to his irresistible arguments. But the triumph of his courage and of his eloquence was his daring to stand before Eccelin of Verona to rebuke him for his bloody atrocities. Eccelin is said to have bowed in awe before the intrepid preacher, he threw himself at the feet of Antony, and promised to amend his life. The clergy dared not but admire Antony of Padua, whom miracle began to environ. But they saw not without terror that the meek Franciscan might soon become a for-

midable demagogue, formidable to themselves as to the enemies of the faith.

But what is more extraordinary, already in the time of St. Bonaventura they had begun to be faithless to their hard bride, Poverty. Bonaventura himself might have found it difficult to adduce authority for his laborious learning in the rule of his Master. Franciscanism is in both respects more or less repudiating St. Francis. The first General of the Order, Brother Elias (General during the lifetime of the Saint), refused the dignity, because his infirmities compelled him to violate one of its rules, to ride on horseback. He was compelled to assume the honor, degraded, resumed his office, was again degraded; for Elias manifestly despised, and endeavored to throw off, and not alone, the very vital principle of the Order, mendicancy; he persecuted the true disciples of St. Francis.[1] At length the successor of St. Francis became a counsellor of Frederick II., the mortal enemy of the Pope, especially of the Franciscan Popes, above all of the first patron of Franciscanism, Gregory IX.

The Rule had required the peremptory renunciation of all worldly goods by every disciple of the Order, and those who received the proselytes were carefully to abstain from mingling in worldly business. Not till he was absolutely destitute did the disciple become a Franciscan. They might receive food, clothes, or other necessaries, on no account money; even if they found it they were to trample it under foot. They

The Rule.

[1] Compare Les Chroniques, part ii. c. v. p. 4. "Aussi étoit cause de grand mal, le grand nombre des frères qui lui adhéroient, lesquels comme les partisans le suivoient et l'imitoient, l'incitant à poursuivre les frères qui étoient zélés observateurs de la règle." — Regul., cap. ii. p. 23.

might labor for their support, but were to be paid in kind. They were to have two tunics, one with a hood, one without, a girdle and breeches. The fatal feud, the controversy on the interpretation of this stern rule of poverty, will find its place hereafter.

St. Francis rejected alike the pomp of ritual, and the pride of learning. The Franciscan services were to be conducted with the utmost simplicity of devotion, with no wantonness of music. There was to be only one daily mass. It was not long before the magnificent church of Assisi began to rise; and the Franciscan services, if faithful to the form, began soon by their gorgeousness to mock the spirit of their master.

No Franciscan was to preach without permission of the Provincial of the Order, or if forbidden by the bishop of the diocese; their sermons were to be on the great religious and moral truths of the Gospel, and especially short. He despised and prohibited human learning, even human eloquence displayed for vanity and ostentation.[1] Bonaventura himself in his profoundest writings maintained the mystic fervor of his master; but everywhere the Franciscans are with the Dominicans vying for the mastery in the universities of Christendom; Duns Scotus the most arid dialectician, and William of Ockham the demagogue of scholasticism, balance the fame of Albert the Great and Thomas of

1 "Je ne voudrais point de plus grands Docteurs de Théologie, que ceux qui enseignent leur prochain avec les œuvres, la douceur, la pauvreté, es l'humilitê." He goes on to rebuke preachers who are filled with vain glory by the concourse of hearers, and the success of their preaching. — Chroniques, ii. c. xxiv. I find the Saint goaded to one other malediction, — against a provincial, who encouraged profound study at the University of Bologna. — c. xviii. See above his contempt and aversion for books.

Aquino. A century has not passed before, besides the clergy, the older Orders are heaping invectives on the disciples of St. Francis, not only as disturbers of their religious peace, as alienating the affections and reverence of their flocks or their retainers, but as their more successful rivals for the alms of dying penitents, as the more universal legatees of lands, treasures, houses, immunities.

The Benedictine of St. Albans,[1] Matthew Paris, who at first wrote, or rather adopted language, highly commending the new-born zeal, and yet-admired holiness of the mendicants,[2] in all the bitter jealousy of a rival Order, writes thus: — "It is terrible, it is an awful presage, that in three hundred years, in four hundred years, even in more, the old monastic Orders have not so entirely degenerated as these Fraternities. The friars who have been founded hardly forty years have built, even in the present day in England, residences as lofty as the palaces of our kings. These are they, who enlarging day by day their sumptuous edifices, encircling them with lofty walls, lay up within them incalculable treasures, imprudently transgressing the bounds of poverty, and violating, according to the prophecy of the German Hildegard, the very fundamental rules of their profession. These are they who impelled by the love of gain, force themselves upon the last hours of the Lords, and of the rich whom they know to be overflowing with wealth; and these, despising all rights, supplant-

Change in the Order.

[1] The first Franciscan foundation in England was at Abingdon. — Malan, p. 264.

[2] Wendover, ii. p. 210, sub ann. 1207.

ing the ordinary pastors, extort confessions and secret testaments, boasting of themselves and of their Order, and asserting their vast superiority over all others. So that no one of the faithful now believes that he can be saved, unless guided and directed by the Preachers or Friar Minors. Eager to obtain privileges, they serve in the courts of kings and nobles, as counsellors, chamberlains, treasurers, bridesmen, or notaries of marriages; they are the executioners of the papal extortions. In their preaching they sometimes take the tone of flattery, sometimes of biting censure: they scruple not to reveal confessions, or to bring forward the most rash accusations. They despise the legitimate Orders, those founded by holy fathers, by St. Benedict or St. Augustine, with all their professors. They place their own Order high above all; they look on the Cistercians as rude and simple, half laic or rather peasants; they treat the Black Monks as haughty Epicureans."[1]

Our history reverts to the close of Innocent III.'s eventful pontificate.

A.D. 1216. Death of Pope Innocent III.

In the full vigor of his manhood died Innocent III. He, of all the Popes, had advanced the most exorbitant pretensions, and those pretensions had been received by an age most disposed to accept them with humble deference. The high and blameless, in some respects wise and gentle character of Innocent, might seem to approach more nearly than any one of the whole succession of Roman bishops, to the ideal height of a supreme Pontiff: in him, if ever, might appear to be realized the churchman's highest conception of the Vicar of Christ. Gregory VII. and

[1] Paris reckons the forty years to his own time, sub ann. 1249.

Boniface VIII., the first and the last of the aggressive Popes, and the aged Gregory IX., had no doubt more rugged warfare to encounter, fiercer and more unscrupulous enemies to subdue. But in all these there was a personal sternness, a contemptuous haughtiness; theirs was a worldly majesty. Hildebrand and Benedetto Gaetani are men in whom secular policy obscures, and throws back, as it were, the spiritual greatness; and though the firmness with which they endure reverses may be more lofty, yet there is a kind of desecration of the unapproachable sanctity of their office in their personal calamities. The pride of Innocent was calmer, more self-possessed; his dignity was less disturbed by degrading collisions with rude adversaries; he died on his unshaken throne, in the plenitude of his seemingly unquestioned power. Yet if we pause and contemplate, as we cannot but pause and contemplate, the issue of this highest, in a certain sense noblest and most religious contest for the Papal ascendency over the world of man, there is an inevitable conviction of the unreality of that Papal power. With all the grandeur of his views, with all the persevering energy of his measures, throughout Innocent's reign, everywhere we behold failure, everywhere immediate discomfiture, or transitory success which paved the way for future disaster. The higher the throne of the Pope the more manifestly were its foundations undermined, unsound, unenduring.

Results of his Pontificate.

Even Rome does not always maintain her peaceful subservience. Her obedience is interrupted, precarious; that of transient awe, not of deep attachment, or rooted reverence. In Italy, the tutelage of the young

Frederick, suspicious, ungenerous, imperious, yet negligent, could not but plant deep in the heart of the young sovereign, mistrust, want of veneration, still more of affection for his ecclesiastical guardian. What was there to attach Frederick to the Church? how much to estrange? As king of Sicily he was held under strict tributary control; his step-mother the Church watches every movement with jealous supervision; exacts the most rigid discharge of all the extorted signs of vassalage. It is not as heir of the Empire that he is reluctantly permitted or coldly encouraged to cross the Alps, and to win back, if he can, the crown of his ancestors, but as the enemy of the Pope's enemy. Otho had been so ungrateful, was so dangerous, that against him the Pope would support even an Hohenstaufen. The seeds of evil were sown in Frederick's mind, in Frederick's heart, to spring up with fearful fertility. In the Empire it is impossible not to burden the memory of Innocent with the miseries of the long civil war. Otho without the aid of the Pope could not have maintained the contest for a year; with all the Pope's aid he had sunk into contempt, almost insignificance; he was about to be abandoned, if not actually abandoned, by the Pope himself. The casual blow of the assassin alone prevented the complete triumph of Philip, already he had extorted his absolution; Innocent was compelled to yield, and could not yield without loss of dignity.[1] The triumph of Otho leads to as fierce, and

[1] Read the very curious Latin poem published by Leibnitz, R. Brunsw. S. ii. p. 525, on the Disputatio between Rome and Pope Innocent on the destitution of Otho. Rome begins:—

"Tibi soli supplicat orbis,
Et genus humanum, te disponente movetur."

more perilous resistance to the Papal power, than could have been expected from the haughtiness of the Hohenstaufen. The Pope has an irresistible enemy in Italy itself. Innocent is compelled to abandon the great object of the Papal policy, the breaking the line of succession in the house of Swabia, and to assist in the elevation of a Swabian Emperor. He must yield to the union of the crown of Sicily with that of Germany; and so bequeath to his successors the obstinate and perilous strife with Frederick II.

In France, Philip Augustus is forced to seem, yet only seem, to submit; the miseries of his unhappy wife are but aggravated by the Papal protection. The death of Agnes of Meran, rather than Innocent's au-

Innocent, after some flattery of the greatness of Rome, urges: —

"Quæ vos stimulavit Erynnis?
Ut sic unanimes relevare velitis Otonem,
Vultis ut Ecclesiæ Romanæ prædo resurgat,
Hostis Catholicæ fidei, dominando superbus
Non solum factus, sed et ipsa superbia."

Then follow several pages of dispute, kindling into fierce altercation. The Pope winds up: —

"Si te
Non moveant super hoc assignatæ rationes
Per quas Ottoni Fredericus substituatur,
Sic volo, sic fiat, sit pro ratione voluntas."

Rome bursts into invective: —

"Qualis
Servorum Christi Servus!

* * * * *

Non es apostolicus, sed apostaticus; neque Pastor
Immo lupus, vescens ipso grege."

Rome appeals to a General Council. Rome, supposing the Council present, addresses it. The Council replies: —

"Roma parens, non est nostrum deponere Papam."

But the Council declares its right to depose Frederick and to restore Otho.

thority, heals the strife. The sons of the proscribed concubine succeed to the throne of France.

In England the Barons refuse to desert John when under the interdict of the Pope; when the Pope becomes the King's ally, resenting the cession of the realm, they withdraw their allegiance. Even in Stephen Langton, who owes his promotion to the Pope, the Englishman prevails over the ecclesiastic; the Great Charter is extorted from the King when under the express protection of the Holy See, and maintained resolutely against the Papal sentence of abrogation: and in the Great Charter is laid the first stone of the religious as well as the civil liberties of the land.

Venice, in the Crusade, deludes, defies, baffles the Pope. The Crusaders become her army, besiege, fight, conquer for her interests. In vain the Pope protests, threatens, anathematizes: Venice calmly proceeds in the subjugation of Zara. To the astonishment, the indignation of the Pope, the Crusaders' banners wave not over Jerusalem, but over Constantinople. But for her own wisdom, Venice might have given an Emperor to the capital of the East, she secures the patriarchate almost in defiance of the Pope; only when she has entirely gained her ends does she submit to the petty and unregarded vengeance of the Pope.

Even in the Albigensian war the success was indeed complete; heresy was crushed, but by means of which Innocent disapproved in his heart. He had let loose a terrible force, which he could neither arrest nor control. The Pope can do everything but show mercy or moderation. He could not shake off, the Papacy has never

shaken off the burden of its complicity in the remorseless carnage perpetrated by the Crusaders in Languedoc, in the crimes and cruelties of Simon de Montfort. A dark and ineffaceable stain of fraud and dissimulation too has gathered around the fame of Innocent himself.[1] Heresy was quenched in blood; but the earth sooner or later gives out the terrible cry of blood for vengeance against murderers and oppressors.

The great religious event of this Pontificate, the foundation of the Mendicant Orders, that which perhaps perpetuated, or at least immeasurably strengthened, the Papal power for two centuries was extorted from the reluctant Pope. Both St. Dominic and St. Francis were coldly received, almost contemptuously repelled. It was not till either his own more mature deliberation, or wiser counsel which took the form of divine admonition, prevented this fatal error, and prophetically revealed the secret of their strength and of their irresistible influence throughout Christendom, that Innocent awoke to wisdom. He then bequeathed these two great standing armies to the Papacy; armies maintained without cost, sworn, more than sworn, bound by the unbroken chains of their own zeal and devotion to unquestioning, unhesitating service throughout Christendom, speaking all languages. They were colonies of religious militia, natives of every land, yet under foreign control and guidance. Their whole power, importance, perhaps possessions, rested on their

[1] It is remarkable that Innocent III. was never canonized. There were popular rumors that the soul of Innocent, escaping from the fires of purgatory, appeared on earth, scourged by pursuing devils, taking refuge at the foot of the cross, and imploring the prayers of the faithful. — Chronic. Erfurt. p. 243. Thom. Cantiprat, Vit. S. Luitgardæ, ap. Surium, Jan. 16.

fidelity to the See of Rome, that fidelity guaranteed by the charter of their existence. Well might they appear so great as they are seen by the eye of Dante, like the Cherubin and Seraphin in Paradise.[1]

[1] Paradiso, xi. 34, &c.

# BOOK X.

## CONTEMPORARY CHRONOLOGY.

| POPES. | | EMPERORS OF GERMANY. | | KINGS OF FRANCE. | | KING OF ENGLAND. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| A.D. | A.D. | A.D. | A.D. | A.D. | A.D. | A.D. | A.D. |
| | | 1212 Frederick II. | 1250 | | | | |
| 1216 Honorius III. | 1227 | | | | | 1216 Henry III. | 1272 |
| | | | | Philip Augustus | 1223 | | |
| | | | | 1223 Louis VIII. | 1226 | | |
| | | | | 1226 Louis IX (Saint) | 1270 | | |
| | | | | | | ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY. | |
| 1227 Grègory IX. | 1241 | | | | | | |
| 1241 Cœlestine IV. | 1241 | | | | | Stephen Langton | 1228 |
| 1243 Innocent IV. | 1254 | 1246 Henry Raspe (anti-emperor) | 1249 | | | 1229 Richard Wetherhead | 1234 |
| | | 1250 William of Holland | 1256 | | | 1234 Edmund Rich | 1244 |
| 1254 Alexander IV. | 1261 | | | | | 1244 Boniface of Savoy | 1272 |
| | | 1257 Vacant. Richard of Cornwall (?) Alfonso of Castile (?) | | | | | |
| | | ARCHBISHOPS OF MENTZ. | | | | | |
| | | Conrad of Wittelsbach | 1230 | | | | |
| | | 1230 Siegfried I. of Epstein | 1249 | | | | |
| | | 1249 Siegfried II. of Epstein | 1251 | | | | |
| | | 1251 Christian II. | 1259 | | | | |
| | | 1259 Gerhard I. | | | | | |

# CONTEMPORARY CHRONOLOGY.

| KINGS OF SCOTLAND. | | KINGS OF SPAIN. | | KINGS OF NAPLES. | | EMPERORS OF THE EAST. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| A.D. | A.D. | A.D. | A.D. | A.D. | A.D. | A.D. | A.D. |
| | | *Castile.* | | | | *Latin.* | |
| 1214 Alexander II. | 1249 | 1217 Alfonso X. | 1226 | | | 1217 Peter de Courtenay | 1220 |
| | | 1226 Ferdinand III. | 1252 | | | 1220 Robert | 1228 |
| | | 1252 Alfonso XI., the Wise | 1276 | | | 1228 Baldwin II. | 1261 |
| | | *Arragon.* | | | | *Greek.* | |
| | | 1218 James | | Frederick II. | 1250 | Theodore Lascaris | 1222 |
| 1249 Alexander III. | 1286 | | | 1250 Conrad | 1253 | 1222 John Ducas | 1255 |
| | | KINGS OF PORTUGAL. | | 1254 Manfred | 1266 | 1255 Theodorus | 1258 |
| | | | | | | 1258 John IV. | |
| | | 1213 Alfonso the Fat | 1233 | | | 1259 Michael Paleologus. | |
| | | 1233 Sancho II. | 1246 | 1266 Conrad II. Charles of Anjou. | | 1262 Reunion. | |
| | | 1246 Alfonso III. | 1279 | | | | |

# BOOK X.

## CHAPTER I.

### HONORIUS III. FREDERICK II.

Honorius III. July 18, 1216. Consecrated July 24.

THE Pontificate of Honorius III. is a kind of oasis of repose, between the more eventful rule of Innocent III. and of Gregory IX. Honorius was a Roman of the noble house of Savelli, Cardinal of St. John and St. Paul. The Papacy having attained its consummate height under Innocent III., might appear resting upon its arms, and gathering up its might for its last internecine conflict, under Gregory IX. and Innocent IV., with the most powerful, the ablest, and when driven to desperation, most reckless antagonist, who had as yet come into collision with the spiritual supremacy. During nearly eleven years the combatants seem girding themselves for the contest. At first mutual respect or common interests maintain even more than the outward appearance of amity; then arise jealousy, estrangement, doubtful peace, but not declared war. On one side neither the power nor the ambition of the Emperor Frederick II. are mature; his more modest views of aggrandizement gradually expand; his own character is developing itself into that of premature enlighten-

A.D. 1216 to 1227.

ment and lingering superstition; of chivalrous adventure and courtly elegance, of stern cruelty and generous liberality, of restless and all-stirring, all-embracing activity, which keeps Germany, Italy, even the East, in one uninterrupted war with his implacable enemies the Popes, and with the Lombard Republics, while he is constantly betraying his natural disposition to bask away an easy and luxurious life on the shores of his beloved Sicily. All this is yet in its dawn, in its yet unfulfilled promise, in its menace. Frederick has won the Empire; he has united, though he had agreed to make over Sicily to his son, the Imperial crown to that of Sicily. Even if rumors are already abroad of his dangerous freedom of opinion, this may pass for youthful levity, he is still the spiritual subject of the Pope.

Mildness of Honorius.

Honorius III. stands between Innocent III. and Gregory IX., not as a Pontiff of superior wisdom and more true Christian dignity, adopting a gentler and more conciliating policy from the sense of its more perfect compatibility with his office of Vicar of Christ, but rather from natural gentleness of character bordering on timidity. He has neither energy of mind to take the loftier line, nor to resist the high churchmen, who are urging him towards it; his was a temporizing policy, which could only avert for a time the inevitable conflict.

And yet a Pope who could assume as his maxim to act with gentleness rather than by compulsion, by influence rather than anathema, nevertheless, to make no surrender of the overweening pretensions of his function; must have had a mind of force and vigor of its own, not unworthy of admiration: a moderate Pope is so rare in these times, that he may demand

some homage for his moderation. His age and infirmities may have tended to this less enterprising or turbulent administration.[1] Honorius accepted the tradition of all the rights and duties asserted by, and generally ascribed to the successor of St. Peter, as part of his high office. The Holy War was now become so established an article in the Christian creed, that no Pope, however beyond his age, could have ventured even to be remiss in urging this solemn obligation on all true Christians. No cardinal not in heart a Crusader would have been raised to the Papal See. The assurance of the final triumph of the Christian arms became a point of honor, more than that, an essential part of Christian piety; to deny it was an impeachment on the valor of true Christians, a want of sufficient reliance on God himself. Christ could not, however he might try the patience of the Christian, eventually abandon to the infidel his holy sepulchre. All admonitions of disaster and defeat were but the just chastisements of the sins of the crusaders; the triumph, however postponed, was certain, as certain as that Christ was the Son of God, Mohammed a false prophet.

Honorius urges the Crusade.

Honorius was as earnest, as zealous in the good cause, as had been his more inflexible predecessor; this was the primary object of his ten years' Pontificate; this, which however it had to encounter the coldness, the torpor, the worn-out sympathies of Christendom, clashed with no jealous or hostile feeling. However severe the rebuke, it was rebuke of which Christendom acknowledged the justice; all

[1] "Cum esset corpore infirmus, et ultra modum debilis." — Raynald. sub ann.

men honored the Pope for his zeal in sounding the trumpet with the fiercest energy, even though they did not answer to the call. The more the enthusiasm of Christendom cooled down into indifference, the more ardent and pressing the exhortation of the Popes. The first act of Honorius was a circular ad- Dec. 5, 1216.
dress to Christendom, full of reproof, expostulation, entreaty to contribute either in person or in money to the new campaign. The only King who obeyed the summons was Andrew of Hungary. Some Crusade of Andrew of Hungary.
German princes and prelates met the Hungarian at Spalatro, the Dukes of Austria and Meran, the Archbishop of Salzburg, the Bishops of Bamberg, Zeitz, Munster, and Utrecht. But notwithstanding the interdict of the Patriarch of Jerusalem, Andrew returned in the next year, though not without some fame for valor and conduct, on the plea of enfeebled health, and of important affairs of Hungary.[1] His trophies were relics, the heads of St. Stephen and St. Margaret, the hands of St. Bartholomew and St. Thomas, a slip of the rod of Aaron, one of the water-pots of the Marriage of Cana. The expedition from the Holy Land against Damietta, the A.D. 1219. Against Damietta.
flight of Sultan Kameel from that city, its occupation by the Christians, raised the most exulting hopes. The proposal of the Sultan to yield up Jerusalem was rejected with scorn. But the fatal reverses, which showed the danger of accepting a Legate (the Cardinal Pelagius) as a general, too soon threw men's minds back into their former prostration. But even before this discomfiture, King Frederick II. had centred on himself the thoughts and hopes of all

[1] This was the Crusade joined by St. Francis. — See Ch. X.

who were still Crusaders in their hearts, as the one monarch in Christendom who could restore the fallen fortunes of the Cross in the East. In his first access of youthful pride, as having at eighteen years of age won, by his own gallant daring, the Transalpine throne of his ancestors; and in his grateful devotion to the Pope, who, in hatred to Otho, had maintained his cause, Frederick II. had taken the Cross. Nor for some years does there appear any reason to mistrust, if not his religious, at least his adventurous and ambitious ardor. But till the death of his rival Otho, he could command no powerful force which would follow him to the Holy Land, nor could he leave his yet unsettled realm. The princes and churchmen, his partisans, were to be rewarded and so confirmed in their loyalty; the doubtful and wavering to be won; the refractory or resistant to be reduced to allegiance.

Frederick II.

The death of Otho, in the castle of Wurtzburg, near Goslar, had been a signal example of the power of religious awe. The battle of Bouvines and the desertion of his friends had broken his proud spirit; his health failed, violent remedies brought him to the brink of the grave. Hell yawned before the outcast from the Church; nothing less than a public expiation of his sins could soothe his shuddering conscience. No bishop would approach the excommunicated, the fallen Sovereign; the Prior of Halberstadt, on his solemn oath upon the relics of St. Simon and St. Jude brought for that purpose from Brunswick, that if he lived he would give full satisfaction to the Church, obtained him absolution and the Last Sacrament. The next day, the last of his life, in the presence of the

Empress and his family, the nobles, and the Abbot of Hildesheim, he knelt almost naked on a carpet, made the fullest confession of his sins; he showed a cross, which he had received at Rome, as a pledge that he would embark on a Crusade: "the devil had still thwarted his holy vow." The cross was restored to him. He then crouched down, exposed his naked shoulders, and entreated all present to inflict the merited chastisement. All hands were armed with rods; the very scullions assisted in the pious work of flagellation, or at least of humiliation. In the pauses of the Miserere the Emperor's voice was heard: "Strike harder, spare not the hardened sinner." So died the rival of Philip of Swabia, the foe of Innocent III., in the forty-third year of his age.[1]

With the death of Otho rose new schemes of aggrandizement before the eyes of Frederick II.; he must secure the Imperial crown for himself; for his son Henry the succession to the German kingdom. The Imperial crown must be obtained from the hands of the Pope; the election of his son at least be ratified by that power. A friendly correspondence began with Honorius III. The price set on the coronation of Frederick as Emperor was his undertaking a Crusade to the Holy Land. At the High Diet at Fulda, Frederick himself (so he writes to the Pope) had already summoned the princes of Germany to his great design: at the Diet proclaimed to be held at Magdeburg, he urged the Pope to excommunicate all who should not appear in arms on the next St.

Promises to lead the Crusade.

[1] Otho died 19th May. 1218. — See Narratio de Morte Ottonis IV. apud Martene et Durand Thes. His. Anecdot. iii. p. 1373. "Præcepit coquinariis ut in collum suum conculcarent." — Albert. Stadens. Chron. p. 204.

John's day. His chief counsellor seemed to be Herman of Salza, the Master of the Teutonic Order, as deeply devoted to the service of the Holy Land, as the Jan. 12, 1219. Templars and Knights of St. John. On that Order he heaped privileges and possessions. But already in Rome, no doubt among the old austere anti-German party, were dark suspicions, solemn admonitions, secret warnings to the mild Pope, that no son of the house of Swabia could be otherwise than an enemy to the Church: the Imperial crown and the kingdom of Naples could not be in the possession of one Sovereign May 10, 1219. without endangering the independence of the Papacy. Frederick repelled these accusations of hostility to the Church with passionate vehemence. "I well know that those who dare to rise up against the Church of Rome have drunk of the cup of Babylon; and hope that during my whole life I shall never be justly charged with ingratitude to my Holy Mother. I design not, against my own declaration, to obtain the election of my son Henry to the throne of Germany in order to unite the two kingdoms of Germany and Sicily; but that in my absence (no doubt he implies in the Holy Land), the two realms may be more firmly governed; and that in case of my death, my son may be more certain of inheriting the throne of his fathers. That son remains under subjection to the Roman See, which, having protected me, so ought to protect him in his undoubted rights."[1] He then condescends to exculpate himself from all the special charges brought against him by Rome.

The correspondence continued on both sides in terms

[1] Regest. Hon., quoted from the Vatican archives by Von Raumer, iii. p 324.

of amicable courtesy. Each had his object, of which he never lost sight. The Pope would even hazard the aggrandizement of the house of Swabia if he could send forth an overpowering armament to the East. Frederick, secure of the aggrandizement of his house, was fully prepared to head the Crusade. Honorius consented that, in case of the death of Henry the son of Frederick without heir or brother, Frederick should hold both the Empire and the kingdom of Naples during his lifetime. Frederick desired to retain unconditionally the investiture of both kingdoms; but on this point the Pope showed so much reluctance that Frederick broke off the treaty by letter, reserving it for a personal interview with the Pope. "For who could be more obedient to the Church than he who was nursed at her breast and had rested in her lap? Who more loyal? Who would be so mindful of benefits already received, or so prepared to acknowledge his obligations according to the will and pleasure of his benefactors?" Such were the smooth nor yet deceptive words of Frederick.[1] Frederick had already consented, even proposed, that the Pope should place all the German Princes who refused to take up the Cross under the interdict of the Church, and thus, as the Pope reminds him, had still more inextricably bound himself, who had already vowed to take up that Cross. Frederick urged Honorius to write individually to all the princes among whom there was no ardor for the Crusade, to threaten them with the ban if at least they did not maintain the truce of God; he prom-

Sept. 6, 1219. Correspondence with the Pope.

[1] All this I am not surprised to find by such writers as Höfler represented as the most deliberate hypocrisy. I am sorry to see the same partial view in Boehmer's Regesta.

ised, protesting that he acted without deceit or subtlety, to send forward his forces, and follow himself as speedily as he might. The Pope expressed his profound satisfaction at finding his beloved son so devoted to God and to the Church. He urged him to delay no longer the holy design: "Youth, power, fame, your vow, the example of your ancestors, summon you to fulfil your glorious enterprise. That which your illustrious grand-
March, 1220. father Frederick I. undertook with all his puissance, it is your mission to bring to a glorious end. Three times have I consented to delay; I will even prolong the term to the first of May. Whose offer is this? — Not mine; but that of Christ! Whose advantage? — That of all his disciples! Whose honor? — That of all Christians! Are you not invited by unspeakable rewards? summoned by miracles? admonished by examples?"

But, in the mean time, Frederick, without waiting the assent of the Pope, had carried his great design, the election of his son Henry to the crown of Germany. His unbounded popularity, his power now that his rival Otho was dead, the fortunate falling-in of some great fiefs (especially the vast possessions of Berthold of Zahringen, which enabled him to reward some, to win others of the nobler houses), his affability, his liberality, his justice, gave him command over the suffrages of the temporal princes. By a great measure of wisdom and justice, the charter of the liberties of the German Church, on which some looked with jealousy as investing him with dangerous power, he gained the support of the high ecclesiastics.[1] The King surrendered the unkingly

Diet of Frankfort. April, 1220. Election of Henry as his successor. Apr. 26, 1220.

[1] Monument. Germ. iv. 235.

right or usage of seizing to his own use the personalities of bishops on their decease. These effects, if not bequeathed by will, went to the bishop's successor. The King consented to renounce the right of coining money and levying tolls within the territory of the bishops without their consent; and to punish all forgeries of their coin. The vassals and serfs of the prelates were to be received in no imperial city or fief of the Empire to their damage. The advocates, under pretence of protection, were not to injure the estates of the Church: no one was to occupy by force an ecclesiastical fief. He who did not submit within six weeks to the authority of the Church fell under the ban of the Empire, and could neither act as judge, plaintiff, nor witness in any court. The Bishops, on their side, promised to prosecute and to punish all who opposed the will of the King. The King further stipulated that no one might erect castles or fortresses in the lands of a spiritual prince. No officer of the King had jurisdiction, could coin money, or levy tolls in the episcopal cities, except eight days before and eight days after a diet to be held in such city. Only when the King was actually within the city was the jurisdiction of the prince suspended, and only so long as he should remain.

The election of Henry to the throne of Germany without the consent of the Pope struck Rome with dismay. Frederick made haste to allay, if possible, the jealous apprehension. He declared that it was the spontaneous act of the Princes of the Empire during his absence, without his instigation. They had seen, from a quarrel which had broken out between the Archbishop of Mentz and the Landgrave of Thuringia,

the absolute necessity of a King to maintain in Frederick's absence the peace of the Empire. He had even delayed his own consent. The act of election would be laid before the Pope with the seals of all who had been concerned in the affair.[1] He declared that this election was by no means designed to perpetuate the union of the kingdom of Naples with the Empire. "Even if the Church had no right over the kingdom of Apulia and Sicily, I would freely grant that kingdom to the Pope rather than attach it to the Empire, should I die without lawful heirs."[2] He significantly adds, that it is constantly suggested to him that the love professed to him by the Church is not sincere and will not be lasting, but he had constantly refused to entertain such ungrounded and dishonorable suspicions.

Nurenberg, July 13.

The Abbot of Fulda had, in the mean time, been despatched to Rome to demand the coronation of Frederick as Emperor. This embassage had been usually the office of one of the great prelates of Germany, but the mild Honorius took no offence, or disguised it. At the end of August Frederick descended the Alps into the plain of Lombardy. Eight years before, a boy of eighteen, he had crossed those Alps, almost alone, on his desperate adventure of wresting the crown of his fathers from the brow of Otho. He came back, in the prime of life, one of the mightiest kings who had ever occupied that throne; stronger in the attachment of all orders, perhaps, than any former Swabian king; having secured, it might seem, in his house, at

[1] Regest., quoted by Von Raumer, p. 335. Pertz, Monumenta.

[2] "Prius ipso regno Romanam Ecclesiam quam Imperium dotaremus" — Ibid.

least the Empire, if not the Empire with all its rights in Italy; and with the kingdom of Sicily, instead of a hostile power at the command of the Popes, his own, if not in possession, in attachment. During these eight years Italy had been one great feud of city with city, of the cities within themselves. Milan, released from fears of the Emperor, had now begun a quarrel with the Church. The Podestà expelled the Archbishop; Parma and many other cities had followed this example; the bishops were driven out, their palaces destroyed, their property plundered: the great ability of the Cardinal Ugolino, afterwards Gregory IX., had restored something like order, but the fire was still smouldering in its ashes.

Frederick passed on without involving himself in these implacable quarrels: it was time to assert the Imperial rights when invested in the Imperial crown. He had crossed the Brenner, and moving by Verona and Mantua, so avoided Milan. The absence of the Archbishop from Milan was a full excuse for his postponing his coronation with the iron crown of Lombardy. He granted rights and privileges to Venice, Genoa, Pisa; overawed or conciliated some cities. On the thirtieth of September he was in Verona, on the fourth of October in Bologna. His Chancellor, Conrad of Metz, had arranged the terms on which he was to receive the Imperial crown. Frederick advanced with a great array of churchmen in his retinue — the Archbishops of Mentz, of Ravenna, the Patriarch of Aquileia, the Bishops of Metz, Passau, Trent, Brixen, Augsburg, Duke Louis of Bavaria, and Henry Count Palatine. Ambassadors appeared from almost all the cities of Italy: from Apulia,

Frederick in Italy. Aug. 17, 1220.

from the Counts of Celano, St. Severino, and Aquila; deputies from the city of Naples. The people of Rome were quiet and well pleased. The only untoward incident which disturbed the peace was a quarrel about a dog between the Ambassadors of Florence and Pisa, which led to a bloody war. On the twenty-second of November Frederick and his Queen were crowned in St. Peter's amid universal acclamations. Frederick disputed not the covenanted price to be paid for the Imperial crown. He received the Cross once more from the hand of Cardinal Ugolino. He swore that part of his forces should set forth for the Holy Land in the March of the following year, himself in August. He released his vassals from their fealty in all the territories of the Countess Matilda, and made over the appointment of all the podestàs to the Pope; some who refused to submit were placed by the Chancellor Conrad under the ban of the Empire. He put the Pope in possession of the whole region from Radicofani to Ceperano, with the March of Ancona and the Duchy of Spoleto.

His liberality was not limited to these grants. Two laws concerning the immunities of ecclesiastics, and the suppression of heretics, might satisfy the severest churchman. The first absolutely annulled all laws or usages of cities, communities, or ruling powers which might be or were employed against the liberties of the churches or of spiritual persons, or against the laws of the Church and of the Empire. Outlawry and heavy fines were enacted not only against those who enforced, but who counselled or aided in the enforcement of such usages: the offenders forfeited, if contumacious for a whole year, all their

Laws in favor of ecclesiastics.

goods.[1] No tax or burden could be set upon ecclesiastics, churches, or spiritual foundations. Whoever arraigned a spiritual person before a civil tribunal forfeited his right to implead; the tribunal which admitted such arraignment lost its jurisdiction; the judge who refused justice three times to a spiritual person in any matter forfeited his judicial authority.

The law against heretics vied in sternness with that of Innocent III., confirmed by Otho IV.[2] All Cathari, Paterines, Leonists, Speronists, Arnoldists, and dissidents of all other descriptions, were incapable of holding places of honor, and under ban. Their goods were confiscated, and not restored to their children; "for outrages against the Lord of Heaven were more heinous than against a temporal lord." Whoever, suspected of heresy, did not clear himself after a year's trial was to be treated as a heretic. Every magistrate on entering upon office must himself take an oath of orthodoxy, and swear to punish all whom the Church might denounce as heretics. If any temporal lord did not rid his lands of heretics, the true believers might take the business into their own hands, and seize the goods of the delinquent, provided that the rights of an innocent lord were not thereby impeached. All who concealed, aided, protected heretics were under ban and interdict; if they did not make satisfaction within two years, under outlawry; they could hold no office, nor inherit, nor enter any plea, nor bear testimony. Laws against heretics.

Three other laws, based on the eternal principles of

[1] Constit. Frederick II. in Corp. Jur. tit. i. Bullar. Roman. i. 63.

[2] This law was renewed and made more severe, 1224. Raynald. sub ann 1231.

morality, accompanied these acts of ecclesiastical legislation, or of temporal legislation in the spirit of the Church. One prohibited the plundering of wrecks, excepting the ships of pirates and infidels. Another protected pilgrims; they were to be received with kindness; if they died, their property was to be restored to their rightful heirs. The third protected the persons and labors of the cultivators of the soil.

Other laws.

The Pope and the Emperor, notwithstanding some trifling differences, parted in perfect amity. "Never," writes Honorius, "did Pope love Emperor as he loved his son Frederick." Each had obtained some great objects: the Pope the peaceable surrender of the Mathildine territories, and the solemn oath that Frederick would speedily set forth on the Crusade. The Emperor retired in peace and joy to the beloved land of his youth. The perilous question of his right to the kingdom of Sicily had been intentionally or happily avoided; he had been recognized by the Pope as Emperor and King of Sicily. There were still brooding causes of mutual suspicion and dissatisfaction. Frederick pursued with vigor his determination of repressing the turbulent nobles of Apulia; the castles of the partisans of Otho were seized; they fled, and, he bitterly complained, were received with more than hospitality in the Papal dominions. He spared not the inimical bishops; they were driven from their sees; some imprisoned. The Pope loudly protested against this audacious violation of the immunities of Churchmen. Frederick refused them entrance into the kingdom; he had rather forfeit his crown than the inalienable right of the sovereign, of which he had been

Sept. 8.

defrauded by Innocent III., of visiting treason on all his subjects.[1]

Then in the next year came the fatal news from the East — the capture, the disasters which followed the capture of Damietta. The Pope and the Emperor expressed their common grief: the Pope was bowed with dismay and sorrow;[2] the tidings pierced as a sword to the heart of Frederick.[3] Frederick had sent forty triremes, under the Bishop of Catania and the Count of Malta; they had arrived too late. But this dire reverse showed that nothing less than an overwhelming force could restore the Christian cause in the East; and in those days of colder religious zeal, even the Emperor and King of Sicily could not at once summon such overwhelming force. Frederick was fully occupied in the Sicilian dominions. During his minority, and during his absence, the powerful Germans, Normans, Italians, even Churchmen, had usurped fiefs, castles, cities:[4] he had to resume by force rights unlawfully obtained, to dispossess men whose only title had been open or secret leanings to the Emperor Otho; to punish arbitrary oppression of the people; to destroy strong castles built without license; to settle ancient feuds and suppress private wars: it needed all his power, his popularity, his firmness, to avert insurrection during these vigorous but necessary measures. Two great assizes held at Capua and Messina showed the confusion in the affairs of both kingdoms. But from such nobles he could expect

A.D. 1221. Loss of Damietta.

Dec. 1220 to May, 1221.

[1] "Chè prima si lascierrebbe torre la corona, chè derogar in un punto da questi suoi diritti." — Giannone, l. xvi. c. i.

[2] Letter of Pope Honorius, Nov. 1221.

[3] Epist. Honor. apud Raynald., Aug. 10, 1221.

[4] Letter of Frederick to the Pope from Trani, March 3, 1221.

no ready obedience to assemble around his banner for an expedition to the Holy Land. Instead of a great fleet, suddenly raised, as by the wand of an enchanter (this the Pope seemed to expect), and a powerful army,

Meeting at Veroli.

in April in the year 1222 the Pope and the Emperor met at Veroli to deliberate on the Crusade. They agreed to proclaim a great assembly at Verona in the November of that year, at which the Pope and the Emperor were to be present. All princes, prelates, knights, and vassals were to be summoned to unite in one irresistible effort for the relief of the East. The assembly at Verona did not take place; the illness of the Pope, the occupations of the Emperor, were alleged as excuses for the further delay. A second

At Ferentino. March, 1223.

time the Pope and the Emperor met at Ferentino; with them King John of Jerusalem, the Patriarch, the Grand Master of the Knights Templars. Frederick explained the difficulties which had impeded his movements, first in Germany, now in Sicily. To the opposition of his turbulent barons was now added the danger of an insurrection of the Saracens in Sicily. Frederick himself was engaged in a short but obstinate war.[1] Even the King of Jerusalem deprecated the despatch of an insufficient force. Two full years were to be employed, by deliberate agreement,

[1] The two following passages show that this was no feigned excuse: — "Imperator in Sicilia de Mirabello triumphavit, et de ipso et suis fecit quod eorum meruerat exigentia commissorum." — Richd. San Germ. "Dominus Fredericus erat cum magno exercitu super Saracenos Jacis, et cepit Benavith cum filiis suis, et suspendit apud Panornum." — Anon. Sic. He afterwards transplanted many of them to Lucera. So far was Frederick as yet from any suspicious dealings with the Saracens. The Parliament at Messina had passed persecuting laws against the Jews. A law of the same year protected the churches and the clergy from the burdens laid upon them by the nobles.

in awakening the dormant zeal of Christendom, but Frederick, now a widower, bound himself, it might seem, in the inextricable fetters of his own personal interest and ambition, by engaging to marry Iolante, the beautiful daughter of King John.

Two years passed away; King John of Jerusalem travelled over Western Christendom, to England, France, Germany, to represent in all lands the state of extreme peril and distress to which his kingdom was reduced. Everywhere he met with the most courteous and royal reception; but the days of Peter the Hermit and St. Bernard were gone by. France, England, Germany, Spain, were involved in their own affairs; a few took the Cross, and offered sums of money to no great amount; and this was all which was done by the royal preacher of the Crusade. Tuscany and Lombardy were almost as indifferent to the expostulations of Cardinal Ugolino, who had for some years received full power from the Emperor to awaken, if possible, the sluggish ardor of those provinces. King John and the Patriarch, after visiting Apulia, reported to the Pope the absolute impossibility of raising any powerful armament by the time appointed in the treaty of Ferentino.

Honorius was compelled to submit; at St. Germano was framed a new agreement, by two Cardinals commissioned by the Pope, which deferred for two years longer (till August, 1227) the final departure of the Crusade.[1] Frederick permitted himself to be bound by stringent articles. In that month of that year he would proceed on the Crusade, and maintain one thousand knights at his own cost for

At San Germano, July, 1225.

[1] Ric. San Germ., sub ann.

two years: for each knight who was deficient he was to pay the penalty of fifty marks, to be at the disposal of the King, the Patriarch, and the Master of the Knights Templars, for the benefit of the Holy Land. He was to have a fleet of 150 ships to transport 2000 knights, without cost, to Palestine. If so many knights were not ready to embark, the money saved was to be devoted to those pious interests. He was to place in the hands of the same persons 100,000 ounces of gold at four several periods, to be forfeited for the same uses, if in two years he did not embark on the Crusade. His successors were bound to fulfil these covenants in case of his death. If he failed to perform any one of these covenants; if at the appointed time he did not embark for the Holy Land; if he did not maintain the stipulated number of knights; if he did not pay the stipulated sums of money; he fell at once under the interdict of the Church: if he left unfulfilled any other point, the Church, by his own free admission, had the power to pronounce the interdict.

Personal ambition, as well as religious zeal, or the policy of keeping on good terms with the spiritual power, might seem to mingle with the aspirations of the Emperor Frederick for the Holy Land; to his great Empire he would add the dominions of the East. In the November of the same year, after the signature of the treaty in St. Germano, he celebrated his marriage with Iolante, daughter of the King of Jerusalem. No sooner had he done this, than he assumed to himself the title of King of Jerusalem: he caused a new great seal to be made, in which he styled himself Emperor, King of Jerusalem and Sicily. John of Jerusalem was King, he asserted, only by

Frederick marries Iolante. A.D. 1225.

right of his wife; on her death, the crown descended to her daughter; as the husband of Iolante he was the lawful Sovereign.[1] King John, by temperament a wrathful man, burst into a paroxysm of fury; high words ensued; he called the Emperor the son of a butcher; he accused him of neglecting his daughter, of diverting those embraces due to his bride to one of her attendants. He retired in anger to Bologna. Frederick had other causes for suspecting the enmity of his father-in-law. He was the brother of Walter of Brienne; and rumors had prevailed that he intended to claim the inheritance of his brother's wife, the daughter of the Norman Tancred. But John filled Italy with dark stories of the dissoluteness of the gallant Frederick: that he abstained altogether from the bed of Iolante is refuted by the fact that two years after she bore him a son, which Frederick acknowledged as his own. They appeared even during that year, at least with all outward signs of perfect harmony.

Nor was this the only event which crossed the designs of Frederick, if he ever seriously determined to fulfil his vow (where is the evidence, but that of his bitter enemies, that he had not so determined?) Throughout all his dominions, instead of that profound peace and established order which might enable him, at the head of the united knighthood of the Empire and of Italy, to break with irresistible forces upon the East; in Germany the assassination of the wise and good

1 "Desponsatâ puellâ Imperator patrem requisivit; ut regna et regalia jura resignet — stupefactus ille obedit." — Jord. apud Raynald. Yet if we are to believe the Chronicle of Tours, he just at that time threw Iolante into prison, and ravished her cousin, the daughter of Walter of Brienne Was this one of the tales told by the King of Jerusalem?

Engelbert, Archbishop of Cologne,[1] to whom Frederick had intrusted the tutelage of his son Henry, and the administration of the Empire, threatened the peace of the realm. In Lombardy, Guelf and Ghibelline warred, intrigued; princes against princes, Bonifazio of Monferrat and the house of Este against the Salinguerra, and that cruel race of which Eccelin di Romano was the head. Venice and Genoa, Genoa and Pisa, Genoa and Milan, Asti and Alexandria, Ravenna and Ferrara, Mantua and Cremona, even Rome and Viterbo, were now involved in fierce hostility, or pausing to take advantage each of the other; and each city had usually a friendly faction within the walls of its rival. Frederick, who held the lofty Swabian notion as to the prerogative of the Emperor, had determined with a high hand to assert the Imperial rights. He hoped, with his Ghibelline allies, to become again the Sovereign of the north of Italy. He was prepared to march at the head of his Southern forces; a Diet had been summoned at Verona. Milan again set herself at the head of a new Lombard League. In Milan the internal strife between the nobles and the people, between the Archbishop and the Podestà, had been allayed by the prudent intervention of the Pope, to whom the peace of Milan was of infinite importance, that the republic might put forth her whole strength as head of the Lombard League.[2] Milan was joined by Bologna, Piacenza, Verona, Brescia, Faenza, Man-

State of Italy.

[1] Godfred. Monach. apud Boehmer Fontes, Nov. 7, 1225.

[2] The annual income of the Archbishop of Milan, according to Giulini was 80,000 golden florins (Giulini, Memorie, l. xlviii.). This Giulini estimates at, in the 13th century, nearly 10 millions of lire Milanese. Cherrier reckons this sum at more than 7½ millions of francs. — Cherrier, ii. p. 299.

tua, Vercelli, Lodi, Bergamo, Turin, Alessandria, Vicenza, Padua, Treviso.[1] The mediation of Honorius averted the threatening hostilities. Yet the Imperialists accuse Honorius as the secret favorer of the League.[2]

With Honorius himself a rupture seemed to be imminent. The Emperor, even before the treaty of St. Germano, had done the Pope the service of maintaining him against his hostile subjects, compelling the Capitanata and the Maremma to return to their allegiance, coercing the populace of Rome, who in one of their usual outbursts, had driven the Pontiff from the city. The deep murmurs of a coming storm might be heard by the sagacious ear. Frederick, in his determination to reduce his Apulian kingdom to subjection, had still treated the ecclesiastical fiefs as he did the civil; he retained the temporalities in his possession during vacancies, so that five of the largest bishopries, Capua, Aversa, Brundusium, Salerno, and Cosensa, were without bishops. Honorius, soon after the treaty of St. Germano, wrote to inform the Emperor that for the good of his soul and the souls of his subjects, he had appointed five learned and worthy Prelates to these sees, natives of the kingdom of Naples, and who could not, therefore, but be acceptable to the King. Frederick, indignant at this compulsory nomination, without, as was usual, even courteous consultation of the Sovereign, refused to receive the Bishops, and even repelled the Legates of the Pope from his court. He

[1] Compare the Chronicon Placentinum, particularly the strange poem, p. 69.

[2] "Cujus suggestione multæ civitates contra imperatorem conjuraverant facientes collegium." — God. Monach. p. 395. Compare Chronicon Placentinum, p. 75.

summoned, it might seem in reprisal, the inhabitants of Spoleto to his banner, to accompany him in his expedition to Lombardy. The Spoletines averred that, by the late treaty, which the Emperor was thus wantonly violating, they owed allegiance only to the Pope.

Letter of Honorius.

The correspondence betrayed the bitterness and rising wrath on both sides. Even Honorius seemed about to resume the haughty tone of his predecessors. "If our writing hath filled you with astonishment, how much more were we amazed by yours! You boast that you have been more obedient to us than any of the Kings of your race. Indeed, no great boast! But if you will compare yourself with those godly and generous Sovereigns, who have in word and deed protected the Church, you will not claim superiority; you will strive to approach more nearly to those great examples. You charge the Church with treachery, that while she pretended to be your guardian, she let loose your enemies on Apulia, and raised Otho to the throne of your fathers: you venture on these accusations, who have so repeatedly declared that to the Church you owe your preservation, your life. Providence must have urged you to these rash charges that the care and prudence of the Church may be more manifest to all men." To the Church, he insinuates, Frederick mainly owes the June 5, 1226. crown of Germany, which he has no right to call hereditary in his family. "In all our negotiations with you we have respected your dignity more than our own." "Whatever irregularity there might be in the appointment of the bishops, it was not for the King's arbitrary will to decide; and Frederick had

been guilty of far more flagrant encroachments on the rights of bishops and of the lower clergy." Honorius exculpates himself from having received the rebellious subjects of the King in the territories of the See. "You accuse us of laying heavy burdens on you, which we touch not ourselves with the tip of our finger. You forget your voluntary taking up the Cross, our prolongation of the period, our free gift of the tithes of all ecclesiastical property; our own contributions in money, the activity of our brethren in preaching the Holy Vow. In fine, the hand of the Lord is not weakened in its power to humble the haughty: be not dazzled by your prosperity, so as to throw off the lowliness which you professed in times of trouble. It is the law of true nobility not to be elated by success, as not to be cast down by adversity."

Honorius no doubt felt his strength; the Pope at the head of the Guelfic interest in Lombardy had been formidable to the designs of Frederick. The Emperor, indeed, had assumed a tone of command, which the forces which he could array would hardly maintain. At Borgo St. Domnino he had placed all the contumacious cities under the ban of the Empire; the Papal Legate, the Bishop of Hildesheim, had pronounced the interdict of the Church, as though their turbulent proceedings impeded the Crusade. Both parties submitted to the mediation of Honorius; Frederick condescended to receive the intrusive bishops whom he had repelled: he declared himself ready to accept the terms most consistent with the honor of God, of the Church, of the Empire, and of the Holy Land. The Pope, whose whole soul was

July 11, 1226.

absorbed in the promotion of his one object, the Crusade, pronounced his award, in which he treated the Emperor and his rebellious subjects as hostile powers contending on equal terms. Each party was to suspend hostilities, to restore the prisoners taken, to forswear their animosities. The King annulled the act of the Imperial ban, and all penalties incurred under it; the Lombards stipulated to maintain at their own cost four hundred knights for the service of the Holy Land during two years, and rigidly to enforce all laws against heretics. This haughty arbitration, almost acknowledging the absolute independence of the Republics, was the last act of Honorius III.; he died in the month of March, a few months before the term agreed on in the treaty of St. Germano was to expire, and the Emperor, under pain of excommunication, to embark for the Holy Land. The Apostolic tiara devolved on the Cardinal Ugolino, of the noble house of Conti, which had given to the Holy See Innocent III. The more lofty churchmen felt some disappointment that the Papacy was declined by Cardinal Conrad, the Count of Urach, the declared enemy of Frederick. They mistrusted only the feebleness of age in the Cardinal Ugolino. A Pope eighty years old, might seem no fitting antagonist for a Prince like Frederick, as yet hardly in the full maturity of his years. In all other respects the Cardinal Ugolino, in learning, in ability, in activity, in the assertion of the loftiest hierarchical principles, stood high above the whole Conclave. Frederick himself, on a former occasion, had borne testimony to the distinguished character of the Cardinal Ugolino. "He is a man of spotless reputation, of blameless

Arbitration of Honorius. Nov. 17, 1226.

Jan. 1227.

Death of Honorius.

morals, renowned for piety, erudition, and eloquence. He shines among the rest like a brilliant star." The Emperor's political astrology had not calculated the baleful influence of that disastrous planet on his fortunes, his fame, and his peace.

## CHAPTER II.

### HONORIUS III. AND ENGLAND.

The relations of Honorius III. to the Empire and the Emperor Frederick II. were no doubt of the most profound importance to Christendom; yet those to England must find their place in an English history.[1] We revert to the commencement of his Papacy. The first care, indeed, of Pope Honorius was for the vassal kingdom of England. The death of King John, three months after that of Innocent III., totally changed the position of the Pontiff. On his accession Honorius had embraced with the utmost ardor the policy of Innocent. King John, the vassal of the Papacy, must be supported against his rebellious barons, and against the invasion of Louis of France, by all the terrors of the Papal power. Louis and all his army, the Barons and all their partisans, were under the most rigorous form of excommunication. But on John's death, the Pope is no longer the haughty and unscrupulous ally

[1] Mr. Wm. Hamilton, when ambassador at Naples, rendered to the country the valuable service of obtaining transcripts of the documents in the Papal archives relating to Great Britain and the See of Rome. These documents, through the active zeal of M. Panizzi, are now deposited in the British Museum. They commence, after one or two unimportant papers, with the first year of Honorius. They are not very accurately copied; many are repetitions; whether they are full and complete no one can know. Many have been already printed in Rymer, in Raynaldus, and elsewhere. Prynne had seen some of the originals, some which do not appear, in the Tower. I cite these documents as MS. B. M.

and protector of an odious, feeble, and irreligious tyrant; one whose lusts had wounded the high chivalrous honor of many of the noblest families; whose perfidy, backed by the absolving power of the Pope, had broken the most solemn engagements, and revoked the great Charter to which he had submitted at Runnymede; who was ravaging the whole realm with wild foreign hordes, Brabanters, Poitevins, freebooters of all countries, and had driven the nobles of England into an unnatural alliance with Louis of France, and a transferrence of the throne to a foreign conqueror. The Pope was no longer the steadfast enemy of the liberties of the realm. He assumed the lofty ground of guardian, as liege lord, of the young heir to the throne (Henry III. was but nine years old), the protector of the blameless orphan whom a rebellious baronage and an alien usurper were endeavoring to despoil of his ancestral crown. Honorius throughout speaks of the young Henry as the vassal of the Church of Rome; of himself as the suzerain of England.[1] English loyalty and English independence hardly needed the Papal fulminations to induce them to abandon the cause into which they had plunged in their despair,[2] the cause of a foreign prince, whose accession to the throne of England would have reduced the realm to a

[1] John he describes as "carissimum in Christo filium nostrum J., Angliæ regem illustrem crucesignatum et vassallum nostrum." — p. 15. The kingdom of England "specialis juris apost. sedis existit." — p. 27.

[2] Honorius admits that the Barons might have had some cause for their wickedness (malitia) in resisting under John what they called the intolerable yoke of servitude. Now that John is dead, they have no excuse if they do not return to their allegiance. He gives power to the Legates, to the Bishops of Winchester, Worcester, Exeter, the Archbishops of Dublin and Bordeaux (the Primate was still in Rome), to absolve the Barons from their oaths to Prince Louis.

province of France. Already their fidelity to Louis had been shaken by rumors, or more than rumors, that the ambitious and unscrupulous Louis intended, so soon as he had obtained the crown, to rid himself by banishment and by disinheritance of his dangerous partisans; to expel the barons from the realm.[1] The desertion of the nobles, the decisive battle of Lincoln, seated Henry III. on the throne of the Plantagenets. The Pope had only to reward with his praises, immunities, grants, and privileges the few nobles and prelates faithful to the cause of John and of his son, W. Mareschal Earl of Pembroke, the Earl of Arundel, Savary de Mauleon, Hubert de Burgh the Justiciary, the Chancellor R. de Marisco, who became Bishop of Durham.[2] He had tardily, sometimes ungraciously, to relieve from the terrible penalties of excommunication the partisans of Louis;[3] to persuade or to force the King of France to withdraw all support from the cause of his son, who still continued either in open hostility or in secret aggression on the continental dominions of Henry III.; and to maintain his lofty position as Liege Lord and Protector of the King and of the realm of England.

[1] Shakspeare has given this plot, with its groundwork in the confession of the Count of Melun. — King John, Act v. Sc. 4.

[2] There are several letters (MS. B. M.) to these English nobles; one to Robert de Marisco empowered him to hold the chancellorship with the bishopric of Durham, and excused him from the fulfilment of his vow to take the cross in the Holy Land, his services being wanted in England. On R. de Marisco compare Collier, i. p. 430.

[3] There are some curious instances (MS. B. M.) of the terror of the excommunications. One of the subjects of France, in fear of his life from a fall from his horse, implores absolution for having followed his sovereign's son to the English war: the Pope would hardly excuse him from a journey to Rome. The Chancellor of the King of Scotland is excommunicate for obeying his King. So too the Archbishop of Glasgow.

The Legate Gualo, the Cardinal of St. Marcellus, had conducted this signal revolution with consummate address and moderation.[1] From the coronation of Henry III. at Gloucester by his hands, the Cardinal took the lead in all public affairs: he was virtual if not acknowledged Protector of the infant King. Before the battle of Lincoln the Legate harangued the royal army, lavished his absolutions, his promises of eternal reward; under the blessing of God, bestowed by him, the army advanced to victory.[2] In the settlement of the kingdom, in the reconciliation of the nobles, he was mild if lofty, judicious if dictatorial. England might have owed a deep debt of gratitude to the Pope and to the Legate, if Gualo's fame had not been tarnished by his inordinate rapacity.[3] To the nobles he was liberal of his free absolution; the clergy must pay the penalty of their rebellion, and pay that penalty in forfeiture, or the redemption of forfeiture by enormous fines to the Pope and to his Legate. Inquisitors were sent through the whole realm to investigate the conduct of the clergy.[4] The lower ecclesiastics, even canons, under the slightest suspicion of the rebellion, were dispos-

[1] Letter to the Abbots of Citeaux and Clairvaux (MS. B. M. i. p. 43). They are to use all mild means of persuasion, to threaten stronger measures.

[2] Wendover, p. 19.

[3] Compare the verses of Giles de Corbeil, p. 69, on the avarice of Gualo in France.

[4] Wendover, p. 33. The inquisitors sent some "suspensos ad legatum et ab omni beneficio spoliatos, qui illorum beneficia suis clericis abunda ter distribuit atque de damnis aliorum suos omnes divites fecit." Wendover gives the case of the Bishop of Linco'n, whose example was followed by others, who "sumptibus nimis damnosis gratiam sibi reconciliabant legati. Clericorum vero et canonicorum sæcularium ubique haustu tam immoderato loculos evacuavit," &c. See also Math. Westm. ann. 1218, who describes Gualo returning to Rome, "clitellis auro et argento refertis," having disposed *ad libitum* of the revenues (redditus) of England.

sessed of their benefices to make room for foreign priests; the only way to elude degradation was by purchasing the favor of the Legate at a vast price. The Bishop of Lincoln for his restoration to his see paid 1000 marks to the Pope, 100 to the Legate.[1]

Throughout the long reign of Henry III. England was held by successive Popes as a province of the Papal territory. The Legate, like a prætor or proconsul of old, held or affected to hold an undefined supremacy: during the Barons' wars the Pope with a kind of feudal as well as ecclesiastical authority condemned the rebels, not only against their Lord, but against the vassal of the Holy See. England was the great tributary province, in which Papal avarice levied the most enormous sums, and drained the wealth of the country by direct or indirect taxation. There were four distinct sources of Papal revenue from the realm of England.

I. The ancient payment of Peter's Pence;[2] this

[1] Pope Honorius was not well informed on the affairs of England. When Henry was counselled to take up arms to reduce the castles held by the ruffian Fulk de Breauté in defiance of the King and the peace of the realm, the Primate had supported the King and the nobles in this act of necessary justice and order by ecclesiastical censures. The Pope wrote a furious letter of rebuke to Langton (MS. B. M. ix. Aug. 1224), espousing the cause of Fulk, who had through his wealth influence at Rome. Still later Gregory IX. reproves and revokes certain royal grants to Bishops and Barons, as "in grave præjudicium ecclesiæ Romanæ ad quam Regnum Angliæ pertinere dinoscitur, et enormem læsionem ejusdem regni." — MS. B. M. ad regem, vol. xiv. p. 77.

[2] The account of Cencius, the Pope's chamberlain, of the assessment of Peter's pence in the dioceses of England, has been published before by Dr. Lingard, but may be here inserted from MS. B. M.: —

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|---|---|---|
| De Cantuarensi Ecclesia . . | vii. libras et | xviii. solidos. |
| De Roffensi . . . . | v. „ | xii. „ |
| De Londoniensi . . . | xvi. „ | x. „ |
| De Norwicensi . . . | xxi. „ | x. „ |
| De Eliensi . . . . | v. | |
| De Lincolniensi . . . | xlii | |
| De Cicestriensi | viii. | |

subsidy to the Pope, as the ecclesiastical sovereign, acknowledged in Saxon times, and admitted by the Conqueror, was regularly assessed in the different dioceses, and transmitted to Rome. Dignitaries of the Church were usually the treasurers who paid it over to Italian bankers in London, the intermediate agents with Rome.

II. The 1000 marks — 700 for England, 300 for Ireland — the sign and acknowledgment of feudal vassalage, stipulated by King John, when he took the oath of submission, and made over the kingdom as a fief. Powerful Popes are constantly heard imperiously, necessitous Popes more humbly, almost with supplication, demanding the payment of this tribute and its arrears (for it seems to have been irregularly levied);[1] but during the whole reign of Henry III. and later, no question seems to have been raised of the Pope's right.

III. The benefices held by foreigners, chiefly Italians, and payments to foreign churches out of the property of the English church;[2] the invasion of the English sees by foreign prelates, with its inevitable

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| De Wintoniensi | . . | xvii. libras et vi. solidos et viii. denarios. | |
| De Oxoniensi | . . | ix. „ | v. „ |
| De Wigorniensi | . . | v. „ | v. „ |
| De Herefordensi | . . | vi. | |
| De Bathoniensi | . . | vi. „ | v. „ |
| De Saresberiensi | . . | xviii. | |
| De Conventriæ | . . | x. „ | v. „ |
| De Eboracensi | . . | xl. „ | x. „ |

p 181.

[1] Urban IV., MS. B. M. x. p. 29, Dec. 1261. Clement IV., ibid. 12., June 8, 1266.

[2] The convent of Viterbo has a grant of 30 marks from a moiety of the living of Holkham in Norfolk, i. 278; 50 marks from church of Wingham to convent of M. Aureo in Anagni, iii. 110. Claims of another convent in Anagni on benefice in diocese of Winchester, vol. iv. 50. See the grants to John Peter Leone, and others, in Prynne, p. 23. MS. B. M.

consequences (or rather antecedents, for John began the practice of purchasing the support of Rome by enriching her Italian clergy), in crowding the English benefices with strangers, and burdening them with persons who never came near them, these abuses as yet only raised deep and suppressed murmurs, erelong to break out into fierce and obstinate resistance. Pandulph, the Papal Legate, became Bishop of Norwich. Pope Honorius writes to Pandulph not merely authorizing but urging him to provide a benefice or benefices in his diocese of Norwich for his own (the Bishop's) brother, that brother (a singular plurality) being Archdeacon of Thessalonica.[1] These foreigners were of course more and more odious to the whole realm: to the laity as draining away their wealth without discharging any duties; still more to the clergy as usurping their benefices; though ignorant of the language, affecting superiority in attainments; as well as from their uncongenial manners, and, if they are not belied, unchecked vices. They were blood-suckers, drawing out the life, or drones fattening on the spoil of the land. All existing documents show that the jealousy and animosity of the English did not exaggerate the evil.[2] At length, just at the close of his Pontificate, even Pope Honorius, by his Legate Otho, made the bold and open demand that two prebends in every

[1] Pandulph is by mistake made cardinal; he was subdeacon of the Roman Church. He is called in the documents Master Pandulph.

[2] MS. B. M. *E. g.*, grant of a church to a consanguineus of the Pope, one Gervaise, excommunicated for favoring the Barons, having been ejected from it, i. p. 233. Transfer from one Italian to another, 235. Grant from Bishop of Durham to Peter Saracen (Civis Romanus) of 40 marks, charged on the See for services done, ii. 158. Requiring a canonry of Lincoln for Thebaldus, scriptor noster, 186. Canonry of Chichester for a son of a Roman citizen.

cathedral and conventual church (one from the portion of the Bishop or Abbot, one from that of the Chapter), or the sustentation of one monk, should be assigned in perpetuity to the Church of Rome. On this the nobles interfered in the King's name, inhibiting such alienation. When the subject was brought before a synod at Westminster by the Archbishop, the proposal was received with derisive laughter at the avarice of the see of Rome. Even the King was prompted to this prudent resolution: "When the rest of Christendom shall have consented to this measure, we A.D. 1226. will consult with our prelates whether it be right to follow their example." The council of Bourges, where the Legate Otho urged the same general demand, had eluded it with the same contemptuous disregard. It was even more menacingly suggested that such general oppression from Rome might lead to a general withdrawal of allegiance from Rome.[1]

Five years after, the people of England seemed determined to take the affair into their own hands. Terrible letters were distributed by unseen means, and by unknown persons, addressed to the bishops and chapters, to the abbots and friars, denouncing the insolence and avarice of these Romans; positively inhibiting any payments to them from the revenues of their churches; threatening those who paid to burn their palaces and barns over their heads, and to wreak the same vengeance on them which would inevitably fall on the Italians.[2] Cencius, the Pope's collector of Peter's

[1] Wendover, p. 114, 121, 124. "Quia si omnium esset universalis oppressio, posset timeri ne immineret generalis discessio, quod Deus avertat."

[2] Gregory writes to the Archbishop of Canterbury (1234) that the English "ægre non ferant si inter ipsos morantes extranei, honores ibidem et beneficia consequantur, cum apud Deum non est acceptio personarum." — MS. B. M.

Pence, a Canon of St. Paul's, was suddenly carried off by armed men, with their faces hid under vizors; he returned with his bags well rifled, after five weeks' imprisonment. John of Florence, Archdeacon of Norwich, escaped the same fate, and concealed himself in London. Other aggressive measures followed. The barns of the Italian clergy were attacked; the corn sold or distributed to the poor. It might seem almost a simultaneous rising; though the active assailants were few, the feelings of the whole people were with them.[1] At one place (Wingham) the sheriff was obliged, as it appeared, to raise an armed force to keep the peace; the officers were shown letters-patent (forged as was said) in the King's name, authorizing the acts of the spoiler: they looked on, not caring to examine the letters too closely, in quiet unconcern at the spoliation. A.D. 1232. The Pope (Gregory IX.) issued an angry Bull,[2] which not only accused the Bishops of conniving at these enormities, and of making this ungrateful return for the good offices which he had shown to the King; he bitterly complained of the ill usage of his Nuncios and officers. One had been cut to pieces, another left half dead; the Pope's Bulls had been trampled under foot. The Pope demanded instant, ample, merciless punishment of the malefactors, restoration of the damaged property. Robert Twenge, a bold Yorkshire knight, who under a feigned name had been the ringleader, appeared before the King, owned himself to have been the William Wither who had

[1] The Pope so far admitted the justice of these complaints as to issue a bull allowing the patrons to present after the death of the Italian incumbents. — MS. B. M. iii. 138. Gregory IX. said that he had less frequently used this power of granting benefices in England. — Wilkin's Concilia, i. 269.

[2] Apud Rymer, dated Spoleto.

headed the insurgents; he had done all this in righteous vengeance against the Romans, who by a sentence of the Pope, fraudulently obtained, had deprived him of the right of patronage to a benefice. He had rather be unjustly excommunicated than despoiled of his right. He was recommended to go to Rome with testimonials from the King for absolution, and this was all.[1] The abuse, however, will appear yet rampant, when we return to the history of the English Church.

IV. The taxation of the clergy (a twentieth, fifteenth, or tenth) as a subsidy for the Holy Land; but a subsidy grudgingly paid, and not devoted with too rigid exclusiveness to its holy purpose. Some portion of this was at times thrown, as it were, as a boon to the King (in general under a vow to undertake a Crusade), but applied by him without rebuke or remonstrance to other purposes. The tax was on the whole property of the Church, of the secular clergy and of the monasteries. Favor was sometimes (not always) shown to the Cistercians, the Præmonstratensians, the Monks of Sempringham — almost always to the Templars and Knights of St. John. Other emoluments arose out of the Crusades; compositions for vows not fulfilled; besides what arose out of bequests, the property of intestate clergy, and other sources. The Popes seem to have had boundless notions of the wealth and weakness of England. England paid, murmured, but laid up deep stores of alienation and aversion from the Roman See.[2]

[1] Wendover, 292.

[2] Clement IV. (Viterbo, May 22, 1266) orders his collector to get in all arrears "de censibus, denariis Sancti Petri, et debitis quibuscunque." Of these debts there is a long list. "Aut ex voto seu promisso, decimâ vel

vicesimâ, seu redemptionibus votorum tam crucesignatorum quam aliorum, vel depositis vel testamentamentis (sic) aut bonis clericorum decedentium ab intestato seu aliâ quâcunque ratione modo vel causâ eisdem sedi Apostolicæ et terræ sanctæ vel alteri earum a quibuscunque personis debentur." The collectors had power to excommunicate for non-payment. MS. B. M. xii.

# CHAPTER III.

## FREDERICK II. AND GREGORY IX.

THE Empire and the Papacy were now to meet in their last mortal and implacable strife; the two first acts of this tremendous drama, separated by an interval of many years, were to be developed during the Pontificate of a prelate who ascended the throne of St. Peter at the age of eighty. Nor was this strife for any specific point in dispute like the right of investiture, but avowedly for supremacy on one side, which hardly deigned to call itself independence; for independence, on the other, which remotely at least aspired after supremacy. Cæsar would bear no superior, the successor of St. Peter no equal. The contest could not have begun under men more strongly contrasted, or more determinedly oppugnant in character than Gregory IX. and Frederick II. Gregory retained the ambition, the vigor, almost the activity of youth, with the stubborn obstinacy, and something of the irritable petulance of old age. He was still master of all his powerful faculties; his knowledge of affairs, of mankind, of the peculiar interests of almost all the nations in Christendom, acquired by long employment in the most important negotiations both by Innocent III. and by Honorius III.; eloquence which his own age compared to that of Tully; pro-

Last strife of Papacy and Empire.

Gregory IX.

found erudition in that learning which, in the mediæval churchman, commanded the highest admiration. No one was his superior in the science of the canon law; the Decretals to which he afterwards gave a more full and authoritative form, were at his command, and they were to him as much the law of God as the Gospels themselves, or the primary principles of morality. The jealous reverence and attachment of a great lawyer to his science strengthened the lofty pretensions of the churchman.[1]

Frederick II. with many of the noblest qualities which could captivate the admiration of his own age, in some respects might appear misplaced, and by many centuries prematurely born. Frederick having crowded into his youth adventures, perils, successes, almost unparalleled in history, was now only expanding into the prime of manhood. A parentless orphan he had struggled upward into the actual reigning monarch of his hereditary Sicily; he was even then rising above the yoke of the turbulent magnates of his realm, and the depressing tutelage of the Papal See; he had crossed the Alps a boyish adventurer, and won, so much through his own valor and daring that he might well ascribe to himself his conquest, the kingdom of Germany, the imperial crown; he was in undisputed possession of the Empire, with all its rights in Northern Italy; King of Apulia, Sicily, and Jerusalem. He was beginning to be at once the Magnificent Sovereign, the knight, the poet, the lawgiver, the patron of arts,

Frederick II.

[1] Epist. Honor., 14th March, 1221. He is described as "Forma decorus et venustus aspectu, perspicuus ingenii et fidelis memoriæ prerogativâ donatus, liberalium artium et utriusque juris peritiâ eminenter instructus, fluvius eloquentiæ Tullianæ, sacræ paginæ diligens observator et doctor, zelator fidei." — Cardin. Arragon. Vit. Greg. IX.

letters, and science; the Magnificent Sovereign now holding his court in one of the old barbaric and feudal cities of Germany among the proud and turbulent princes of the Empire, more often on the sunny shores of Naples or Palermo, in southern and almost Oriental luxury; the gallant Knight and troubadour Poet not forbidding himself those amorous indulgences which were the reward of chivalrous valor, and of the "gay science;" the Lawgiver, whose far-seeing wisdom seemed to anticipate some of those views of equal justice, of the advantages of commerce, of the cultivation of the arts of peace, beyond all the toleration of adverse religions, which even in a more dutiful son of the Church would doubtless have seemed godless indifference. Frederick must appear before us in the course of our history in the full development of all these shades of character; but besides all this Frederick's views of the temporal sovereignty were as imperious and autocratic as those of the haughtiest churchman of the spiritual supremacy. The ban of the Empire ought to be at least equally awful with that of the Church; disloyalty to the Emperor was as heinous a sin as infidelity to the head of Christendom; the independence of the Lombard republics was as a great and punishable political heresy. Even in Rome itself, as head of the Roman Empire, Frederick aspired to a supremacy which was not less unlimited because vague and undefined, and irreconcilable with that of the Supreme Pontiff. If ever Emperor might be tempted by the vision of a vast hereditary monarchy to be perpetuated in his house, the princely house of Hohenstaufen, it was Frederick. He had heirs of his greatness; his eldest son was King of the Romans; from his

loins might yet spring an inexhaustible race of princes: the failure of his imperial line was his last fear. The character of the man seemed formed to achieve and to maintain this vast design; he was at once terrible and popular, courteous, generous, placable to his foes; yet there was a depth of cruelty in the heart of Frederick towards revolted subjects, which made him look on the atrocities of his allies, Eccelin di Romano, and the Salinguerras, but as legitimate means to quell insolent and stubborn rebellion.

Gregory IX.

The loftier churchmen, if for a moment they had misgivings on account of his age, hailed the election of Cardinal Ugolino with the utmost satisfaction. The surpassing magnificence of his coronation attested the unanimous applause of the clergy, and even of the people of Rome.[1] Gregory had in secret murmured against the gentler and more yielding policy of Honorius III. Of such weakness he could not accuse himself. The old man at once threw down the gauntlet; on the day of his accession[2] he issued an energetic proclamation to all the sovereigns of Christendom announcing his election to the pontificate, and summoning them to enter on a new Crusade; that addressed to Frederick was more direct, vehement, and imperative, and closed not without some significant hints that he would not long brook the delay with which the Emperor had beguiled his predecessor.[3]

Gregory's first act.

[1] "Tunc lugubres vestes mutavit Ecclesia, et urbis semirutæ mænia pristinum recepere fulgorem." — Cardin. Arragon. in Vit. See description of the inauguration.

[2] 1227, March 18. Raynaldi Annal.

[3] "Alioquin quantumcunque te sincerâ diligamus in Domino charitate, et tibi quantum in Domino possumus deferre velimus, id dissimulare nullâ poterimus ratione." — Epistol. ad Frederic. apud Raynaldi, March 23

The King's disobedience might involve him in difficulties from which the Pope himself, even if he should so will, could hardly extricate him.[1]

Frederick, in the height of their subsequent contest, reproached the Pope as having been, while in the lower orders of the Church, his familiar friend, but that no sooner had he reached the summit of his ambition than he threw off all gratitude, and became his determined enemy.[2] Yet his congratulations on the accession of Gregory were expressed in the most courtly tone. The Bishop of Reggio, and Herman of Salza, the Grand Master of the Teutonic order, were his ambassadors to Rome. Gregory, on his side, with impartial severity, compelled the Lombards to fulfil and ratify the treaty which had been agreed to through the mediation of Honorius. Frederick had already transmitted to Rome the documents which were requisite for the full execution of the stipulations on his part, the general amnesty, the revocation of the Imperial ban, the release of the prisoners, the assent of King Henry. The Lombards were not so ready or so open in their proceedings. Gregory was con- March 24.
strained to send a strong summons to the Lombards declaring that he would no longer be tampered with by their idle and frivolous excuses: "If in this important affair ye despise, mock, or elude our commands and those of God, nothing remains for us but to invoke

[1] "Nequaquam nos et teipsum in illam necessitatem inducas, de quâ fersan te de facili non poterimus, etiamsi voluerimus, expedire." — Ibid.

[2] "Iste novus athleta, sinistris auspiciis factus Pontifex Generalis, amicus noster præcipuus dum in minoribus ordinibus constitutus, beneficiorum omnium quibus Imperium Christianum sacrosanctam ditavit Ecclesiam ob litus, statim post assumptum suum fidem cum tempore varians et mores cum dignitate commutans." — Petr. de Vineâ, Epistol. i. xvi.

heaven and earth against your insolence."[1] The treaty arrived in Rome the day after this summons had been despatched, wanting the seal of the Marquis of Montferrat, and of many of the cities; but Gregory would not be baffled; the Archbishop of Milan received orders to menace the cities with ecclesiastical censures, and the treaty came back with all the necessary ratifications. In this Gregory pursued the politic as well as the just course. The Emperor must not have this plausible excuse to elude his embarkation on the Crusade at the appointed day in August. The Lombards themselves were imperatively urged to furnish their proper contingent for the Holy War. Gregory IX. knew Lombardy well, it had been the scene of his own preaching of the Cross; and the sagacious fears of the Church (the stipulations in the treaty of Honorius betrayed this sagacity and these fears) could not but discern that however these proud republics might be heartily Guelfic, cordially on the side of the Church, they were only so from their common jealousy of the Empire. But there was that tacit understanding, or at least unacknowledged sympathy, between civil and religious liberty, which must be watched with vigilant mistrust. It was manifest that the respect for their bishops in all these republics depended entirely on the political conduct of the prelates, not on the sanctity of their office. There was a remissness or reluctance in the suppression of heresy, and in the punishment of heretics, which required constant urgency and rebuke on the part of the Pope: "Ye make a great noise," writes Gregory, "about fines imposed, and sentences of exile against heretics; but ye quietly give them back their

[1] Regest. Gregor., quoted by Von Raumer, p. 416.

fines, and admit them again into your cities. In the mean time ye regard not the immunities of the clergy, neither their exemption from taxation nor their personal freedom; ye even permit enactments injurious to their defence of their liberties, enactments foolish and culpable, even to their banishment by the laity. Take heed, lest a more fearful interdict than that with which you have been punished (the ban of the Empire) fall upon you, the interdict of the Church." [1]

But the Pope was not content with general exhortations to the Emperor to embark on the Cru- June 8
sade: he assumed the privilege of his holy office and of his venerable age to admonish the young and brilliant Frederick on his life, and on the duties of his imperial dignity. The address was sent from Anagni, to which the Pope had retired from the heats of Rome, by the famous Gualo, one of the austere Order of Friar Preachers instituted by St. Dominic.[2] Gregory's letter of admonition.
The letter dwelt in the highest terms on the wonderful mental endowments of Frederick, his reason quickened with the liveliest intelligence, and winged by the brightest imagination. The Pope entreats him not to degrade the qualities which he possesses in common with the angels, nor to sacrifice them to the lower appetites, which he has in common with the beasts and the plants of the earth. The love of sensual things debases the intellect, the pampering of the delicate body corrupts the affections. If knowledge and love, those twin lights, are extinguished; if those

[1] Regesta, ibid. p. 417.

[2] The Cardinal Ugolino had been the first to foresee the tremendous power of the new Orders. He had been their firm protector: they were bound to him, especially the Franciscans, not only by profound reverence but by passionate personal attachment.

eagles which should soar in triumph stoop and entangle themselves with earthly pleasures, how canst thou show to thy followers the way of salvation? "Far be it from thee to hold up this fatal example of thraldom to the sensual life. Your justice should be the pillar of fire, your mercy the cooling cloud to lead God's chosen people into the land of promise." He proceeds to a strange mystic interpretation of the five great ensigns of the imperial power; the inward meaning of all these mysterious symbols, the cross, the lance, the triple crown, the sceptre, and the golden apple: this he would engrave indelibly with an iron pen on the adamantine tablets of the king's heart.[1]

It were great injustice to the character of Gregory to attribute this high-toned, however extravagantly mystic, remonstrance to the unworthy motives of ambition or animosity. The severe old man might, not without grounds, take offence at the luxury, the splendor, the sensuality of Frederick's Sicilian court, the freedom at least, if not license, of Frederick's life. It was the zeal, perhaps, of a monk, but yet the honest and religious zeal. Frederick's predilection for his native kingdom, for the bright cities reflected in the blue Mediterranean, over the dark barbaric towns of Germany, of itself characterizes the man. The summer skies, the more polished manners, the more elegant luxuries, the knowledge, the arts, the poetry, the gayety, the beauty, the romance of the South, were throughout his life more congenial to his mind than the heavier and more chilly climate, the feudal barbarism, the ruder pomp, the coarser habits of his German liegemen. Among the profane sayings attributed to Frederick

Court of Frederick.

[1] Epistola Gregor. apud Raynaldi Anagni, June 8.

(who was neither guarded nor discreet in his more mirthful conversation, and as his strife with the Church grew fiercer would not become more reverential), sayings caught up, and no doubt sharpened by his enemies, was that memorable one — that God would never have chosen the barren land of Judæa for his own people if he had seen his beautiful and fertile Sicily. And no doubt that delicious climate and lovely land, so highly appreciated by the gay sovereign, was not without influence on the state, and even the manners of his court, to which other circumstances contributed to give a peculiar and romantic character. It resembled probably (though its full splendor was of a later period) Granada in its glory, more than any other in Europe, though more rich and picturesque from the variety of races, of manners, usages, even dresses, which prevailed within it. Here it was that Southern and Oriental luxury began to impart its mysteries to Christian Europe. The court was open to the mingled population which at that time filled the cities of Southern Italy. If anything of Grecian elegance, art, or luxury survived in the West, it was in the towns of Naples and Sicily. There the Norman chivalry, without having lost their bold and enterprising bearing, had yielded in some degree to the melting influence of the land, had acquired Southern passions, Southern habits. The ruder and more ferocious German soldiery, as many as were spared by the climate, gradually softened, at least in their outward demeanor. The Jews were numerous, enlightened, wealthy. The Mohammedan inhabitants of Sicily were neither the least polished, nor the least welcome at the court of Frederick: they were subsiding into loyal subjects of the liberal Christian King;

and Frederick was accused by his enemies, and even then believed by the Asiatic and Egyptian Mussulmans, to have approximated more closely to their manners, even to their creed, than became a Christian Emperor. He spoke their tongue, admired and cultivated their science, caused their philosophy to be translated into the Latin language. In his court their Oriental manners yielded to the less secluded habits of the West. It was one of the grave charges, at a later period, that Saracen women were seen at the court of Palermo, who by their licentiousness corrupted the morals of his Christian subjects. Frederick admitted the truth of the charge, but asserted the pure demeanor and chastity of these Mohammedan ladies: nevertheless, to avoid all future scandal, he consented to dismiss them. This at a time when abhorrence of the Mohammedan was among the first articles of a Christian's creed; when it would have been impious to suppose a Mohammedan man capable of any virtue except of valor, a Mohammedan female of any virtue at all! The impression made by this inclination for the society of miscreant ladies, its inseparable connection with Mohammedan habits, transpires in the Guelfic character of Frederick by Villani. The Florentine does ample justice to his noble and kingly qualities, to the universality of his genius and knowledge, "but he was dissolute and abandoned to every kind of luxury. After the manner of the Saracens he had many concubines, and was attended by Mamelukes; he gave himself up to sensual enjoyments, and led an epicurean life, taking no thought of the world to come, and this was the principal reason of his enmity to Holy Church and to the hierarchy, as well as his avarice in usurping the pos

sessions and infringing on the jurisdiction of the clergy." [1]

It was in this Southern kingdom that the first rude notes of Italian poetry were heard in the soft Sicilian dialect. Frederick himself, and his Chancellor Peter de Vineâ, were promising pupils in the gay science. Among the treasures of the earliest Italian song are several compositions of the monarch and of his poetic rival. One sonnet indeed of Peter de Vineâ is perhaps equal to anything of the kind before the time when Petrarch set the common thoughts of all these amorous Platonists in the perfect crystals of his inimitable language. Of these lays most which survive are amatory, but it is not unlikely that as the kindred troubadours of Provence, the poets did not abstain from satiric touches on the clergy. How far Frederick himself indulged in more than poetic license, the invectives of his enemies cannot be accepted as authority. It was during his first widowhood that he indulged the height of his passion for the beautiful Bianca Lancia; this mistress bore him two sons, his best beloved Enzio, during so many years of his more splendid career the pride, the delight of his heart, unrivalled for his beauty, the valiant warrior, the consummate general, the cause, by his imprisonment, of the bitterest grief, which in the father's decline bowed down his broken spirit. Enzio was born at the close of the year in which Frederick wedded Iolante of Jerusalem. The fact that Iolante died in childbed giving birth to his son Conrad, is at least evidence that he had not altogether estranged her from his affections. In public she had all the state and splendor of his queen; nor is it known that during her

[1] Istorie Fiorentin. vi. c. 1.

lifetime her peace was imbittered by any more cherished rivals.

Still if this brilliant and poetic state of society (even if at this time it was only expanding to its fulness of luxury and splendor) must appear dubious at least to the less severe Christian moralist, how must it have appeared to those who had learned their notions of morals from the rule of St. Benedict rather than the Gospel; the admirers of Francis and of Dominic; men in whom human affections were alike proscribed with sensual enjoyments, and in whose religious language, to themselves at least, pleasure bore the same meaning as sin; men, who had prayed, and fasted, and scourged out of themselves every lingering sympathy of our common nature? How, above all, to one in whom, as in Gregory IX., age had utterly frozen up a heart, already hardened by the austerest discipline of monkhood? It is impossible to conceive a contrast more strong or more irreconcilable than the octogenarian Gregory, in his cloister palace, in his conclave of stern ascetics, with all but severe imprisonment within conventual walls, completely monastic in manners, habits, views, in corporate spirit, in celibacy, in rigid seclusion from the rest of mankind, in the conscientious determination to enslave, if possible, all Christendom to its inviolable unity of faith, and to the least possible latitude of discipline; and the gay, and yet youthful Frederick, with his mingled assemblage of knights and ladies, of Christians, Jews, and Mohammedans, of poets and men of science, met, as it were, to enjoy and minister to enjoyment; to cultivate the pure intellect: where, if not the restraints of religion, at least the awful authority of churchmen, was examined with freedom, sometimes ridiculed with sportive wit.

A few months were to put to the test the obedience of Frederick to the See of Rome, perhaps his Christian fidelity. By the treaty of St. Germano, the August of the present year had been fixed for his em- A.D. 1227.
barkation for the Holy Land. Gregory, it is clear, mistrusted his sincerity; with what justice it is hard to decide. However Frederick might be wanting in fervent religious zeal, he was not in the chivalrous love of enterprise; however he might not abhor the Mohammedans with the true Christian cordiality of his day, he would not decline to meet them in arms as brave and generous foes; however the recovery of the Saviour's tomb might not influence him with the fierce enthusiasm which had kindled the hearers of Peter the Hermit or St. Bernard, or perhaps that which sent forth his grandsire, Barbarossa: yet an Oriental kingdom, which he claimed in the right of his wife, a conquest which would have commanded the grateful admiration of Christendom, was a prize which his ambition would hardly disdain, or rather at which it would grasp with bold eagerness. Frederick was personally brave; but neither was his finer, though active and close-knit frame, suited to hew his way through hosts of unbelievers; he aspired not, and could not hope, to rival the ferocious personal prowess of our Richard Cœur de Lion, or to leave his name as the terror of Arabian mothers. Nor would his faith behold Paradise as the assured close of a battle-field with the Infidels, the remission of sins as the sure reward of a massacre of the believers in Islam. Frederick was not averse to obtain by negotiation (and surely, with the warnings of all former Crusades, especially that of his grandsire Barbarossa, not unwisely), and by taking advantage of the feuds between the Sar-

acen princes, those conquests which some would deem it impious to strive after but by open war. Frederick had already received an embassy from Sultan Malek-al-Kameel of Egypt (of this the Pope could hardly be ignorant). Between the Egyptian and Damascene descendants of the great Saladin there was implacable hostility. Kameel had now recovered Damietta;[1] he had made a treaty with the discomfited Crusaders. He hated his rival of Damascus even more bitterly than he did the Christians. His offers to Frederick were the surrender of the kingdom of Jerusalem, on condition of close alliance against the Sultan of Damascus. Fred-

Negotiations with Sultan Kameel.

erick had despatched to the East an ambassador of no less rank than the Archbishop of Palermo. The Prelate bore magnificent and acceptable presents, horses, arms, it was said the Emperor's own palfrey.[2] In the January of the following year the Archbishop had returned to Palermo, with presents, according to the Eastern authority, of twice the value of his own; many rare treasures from India, Arabia, Syria, and Irak. Among these, to the admiration of the Occidentals, was a large elephant.[3] To the Pope, the negotiations themselves were unanswerable signs of Frederick's favor to the Infidels, and his perfidy to the cause of the Christians.[4]

[1] In the fierce invectives of their later controversy, the Papal party attributed to the tardiness, even to the treachery of Frederick, the disastrous loss of Damietta. If he had accompanied the first German division of the German Crusaders, the Christians would not have been without a leader; and with his fame and power he might, by the conquest of Egypt, have re-established, and forever, the Christian dominion in the East. But Frederick certainly could not have gone at that time with a force equal to this great enterprise.

[2] Ebn Férah. quoted in Michaud's Bibliographie des Croisades p. 727.

[3] Richd. de S. German. p. 1604. Makrisi apud Reinaud. Hugo Plagen.

[4] The letter of Gregory IX. in Matth. Paris. "Quod detestabilius est,

Yet Frederick seemed earnestly determined to fulfil his vow. Though the treaty with the Lombard cities was hardly concluded, he had made vast preparations. He had levied a large tax from the whole kingdom of Sicily for the maintenance of his forces;[1] a noble fleet rode in the harbor of Brundusium: Frederick himself, with his Empress Iolante, passed over from Sicily and took up his abode in Otranto.

Pilgrims in the mean time had been assembling from various quarters. In Germany, at a great Diet at Aix-la-Chapelle, in the presence of King Henry, many of the Princes and Prelates had taken the Cross. Some of these, especially the Duke of Austria, alleged excuses from their vow. But the Landgrave of Thuringia, the husband of Elizabeth of Hungary, afterwards sainted for her virtues, tore himself from his beloved wife in the devotion to what both esteemed the higher duty.[2] The Bishops of Augsburg, Bamberg, and Ratisbon accompanied the Landgrave to Italy. France seemed for once to be cold in the Holy cause (Louis IX. was in his infancy), but in England there had been a wide-spread popular movement. On the vigil of John the Baptist's day it was rumored abroad, that the Saviour himself had appeared in the heavens, bleeding, pierced with

Preparations for Crusade.

England.

cum Soldano et aliis Saracenis nefandas (Fredericus) contrahens pactiones illis favorem, Christianis odium exhibuit manifestum." — Sub ann. 1228, p. 348. On these rumors of the understanding between the Emperor and Sultan Kamel no doubt Gregory founded his darker charge of Frederick's having compelled the surrender of Damietta, not only by withholding all relief from the Christians when masters of it, but by direct and treacherous intercourse with the Soldan.

[1] Richard de St. German. p. 1103. Alberic, ad ann. 1227. The monastery of St. Germano was assessed at 450 ounces.

[2] Montalembert, Vie de St. Elizabeth de Hongrie.

the nails and lance, on a cross which shone like fire.[1] It was to encourage forty thousand pilgrims, who were said already to have taken the Cross. This was seen more than once in different places, in order to confute the incredulous gainsayers. But of those forty thousand who were enrolled, probably no large proportion reached Southern Italy.

The Emperor, hardly released from the affairs of Northern Italy, was expected to have provisions and ships ready for the transport of all this vast undisciplined rout, of which no one could calculate the numbers. Delays took place, which the impatient Pope, ignorant no doubt of the difficulties of maintaining and embarking a great armament, ascribed at once to the remissness or the perfidy of Frederick. The heats came on with more than usual violence, they were such, it is said, as might have melted solid metal.[2] A fever broke out fatal, as ever, to the Germans.[3] The Landgrave of Thuringia, the Bishops of Augsburg and of Angers were among its victims; the pilgrims perished by thousands. The death of the Landgrave was attributed not only to the wanton delay, but even to poison administered by the orders of Frederick, who, in his insatiate rapacity, coveted the large possessions of the Prince. About the appointed day Frederick himself embarked; the fleet set sail; it

[1] Wendover, p. 144. The reading in Paris for quadraginta is sexaginta. Ed. Coxe, p. 144.

[2] "Cujus ardoribus ipsa ferè solida metalla liquescunt." — Card. Arragon. in Vit. Greg. IX.

[3] An impostor placed himself on the steps of St. Peter's, in the attire and character of the Pope, and publicly sold indulgences, releasing the pilgrims from their vows. After carrying on this strange bold fraud for some days, he was apprehended, and paid the penalty of his imposture. — Raynald. sub ann

lost sight of the shore; — but three days after the Imperial ship was seen returning hastily to the haven of Otranto; Frederick, alleging severe illness, returned to the baths of Pozzuoli, to restore his strength. The greater part of the fleet either dispersed or, following the Emperor's example, returned to land.

Excommunication of Frederick. Sept. 29.

Gregory heard at Anagni (the year of Gregory's accession had not yet expired) the return of Frederick, the dissolution of the armament. On St. Michael's Day, surrounded by his Cardinals and Prelates, he delivered a lofty discourse, on the text, "It must needs be that offences come, but woe unto him through whom they come." He pronounced the excommunication, which Frederick had incurred by his breach of the agreement at St. Germano. Nothing was wanting to the terror. All the bells joined their most dissonant peals; the clergy, each with his torch, stood around the altar. Gregory implored the eternal malediction of God against the Emperor. The clergy dashed down their torches: there was utter darkness. The churchmen saw in this sentence the beginning of the holy strife, of the triumph of St. Michael over the subtle and scaly dragon. The sentence was followed by an address to the Apulian bishops, the subjects of Frederick. "The little bark of St. Peter, launched on the boundless ocean, though tossed by the billows, is submerged but never lost, for the Lord is reposing within her: he is awakened at length by the cries of his disciples; he commands the sea and the winds, and there is a great calm. From four quarters the tempests are now assailing our bark; the armies of the Infidels are striving with all their might that the land, hallowed by the blood of

Christ, may become the prey of their impiety; the rage of tyrants, asserting their temporal claims, proscribes justice and tramples under foot the liberties of the Church: the folly of heretics seeks to rend the seamless garment of Christ, and to destroy the Sacraments of the faith; false brethren and wicked sons, by their treacherous perversity, disturb the bowels and tear open the sides of their mother." "The Church of Christ, afflicted by so many troubles, while she thinks that she is nursing up her children, is fostering in her bosom fire and serpents and basilisks,[1] which would destroy everything by their breath, their bite, and their burning. To combat these monsters, to triumph over hostile armies, to appease these restless tempests, the Holy Apostolic See reckoned in these latter times on a nursling whom she had brought up with the tenderest care; the Church had taken up the Emperor Frederick, as it were, from his mother's womb, fed him at her breasts, borne him on her shoulders; she had often rescued him from those who sought his life; instructed him, educated him with care and pain to manhood; invested him with the royal dignity; and to crown all these blessings, bestowed on him the title of Emperor, hoping to find in him a protecting support, a staff for her old age. No sooner was he King in Germany than, of his own accord, unexhorted, unknown to the Apostolic See, he took the Cross and made a vow to depart for the Holy Land; he even demanded that himself and all other Crusaders should be excommunicated if they did not set forth at the appointed time. At his coronation as Emperor we ourselves, then holding an inferior office

[1] Regulos.

under the most Holy Honorius, gave him the Cross, and received the renewal of his vows. Three times at Veroli, at Ferentino, at St. Germano, he alleged delays; the Church in her indulgence accepted his excuses. At St. Germano he made a covenant, which he swore by his soul to accomplish; if not, he incurred by his own consent the most awful excommunication. How has he fulfilled that covenant? When many thousands of pilgrims, depending on his solemn promises, were assembled in the port of Brundusium, he detained the armament so long, under the burning summer heats, in that region of death, in that pestilent atmosphere, that a great part of the pilgrims perished, the noble Landgrave of Thuringia, the Bishops of Augsburg and Angers. At length, when the ships began to return from the Holy Land, the pilgrims embarked on board of them, on the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, expecting the Emperor to join their fleet. But he, breaking all his promises, bursting every bond, trampling under foot the fear of God, despising all reverence for Christ Jesus, scorning the censures of the Church, deserting the Christian army, abandoning the Holy Land to the Unbelievers, to his own disgrace and that of all Christendom, withdrew to the luxuries and wonted delights of his kingdom, seeking to palliate his offence by frivolous excuses of simulated sickness.[1]

[1] Compare with this statement Frederick's own account, published to the world three months after. Both he and the Landgrave had been ill; both had a relapse; both returned to Otranto, where the Landgrave died. "Præterea nondum resumptâ convalescentiâ, galeas ingressi sumus, nos et dilectus consanguineus noster Lantgravius, vestigia præcedentium secuti. Ubi tanta subito invasit utrumque turbatio, quod et nos in graviorem decidimus recidivam, et idem Lantgravius post accessum nostrum apud Idrontum de

"Behold, and see if ever sorrow was like unto the sorrow" of the Apostolic Pontiff. The Pope describes in pathetic terms the state of the Holy Land; attributes to the base intrigues of Frederick with the Unbelievers, the fatal issue of the treaty of Damietta; "but for him, Jerusalem might have been recovered in exchange for that city. That we may not be esteemed as dumb dogs, who dare not bark, or fear to take vengeance on him, the Emperor Frederick, who has caused such ruin to the people of God, we proclaim the said Emperor excommunicate; we command you to publish this our excommunication throughout the realm; and to declare, that in case of his contumacy, we shall proceed to still more awful censures. We trust, however, that he will see his own shame; and return to the mercy of his mother the Church, having given ample satisfaction for all his guilt."

Gregory IX. had been on the throne of St. Peter not eight months before he uttered the fulminating decree; in which some truth is so confounded and kneaded up with falsehood and exaggeration; and there is so much of reckless wrath, such want of calm, statesmanlike dignity, such deliberate, almost artful determination to make the worst of everything. The passionate old man might seem desperately to abandon all hopes of future success in the Holy Land; and to take vindictive comfort in heaping all the blame on Frederick.[1]

Gregory returned to Rome; Frederick had already sent ambassadors solemnly to assert that his illness was

medio, proh dolor! est ereptus." — Epist. Frederic. If this was untrue, it was a most audacious and easily confuted untruth.

[1] "Hic (Gregorius IX.) tanquam superbus primo anno pontificatus sui cœpit excommunicare Fredericum Imperatorem pro causis frivolis et falsis." — Abb. Urspergens. p. 247.

real and unfeigned, the Bishops of Bari and Reggio, and Reginald of Spoleto. By one account, the Pope refused to admit them to his presence: at all events, he repelled them with the utmost scorn, and so persisted in branding the Emperor in the face of Christendom as a hypocrite and a liar.[1]

Twice again, on St. Martin's Day and on Christmas Day, the Pope, amid all the assembled hierarchy, renewed and confirmed the excommunication. Frederick treated the excommunication itself with utter contempt; either through love or fear the clergy of the kingdom of Naples performed as usual all the sacred offices. At Capua he held a Diet of all the Barons of Apulia; he assessed a tax on both the kingdoms for an expedition to the Holy Land, appointed for the ensuing May. He summoned an assemblage of all his Italian subjects to meet at Ravenna, to take counsel for this common Crusade. From Capua came forth his defiant appeal to Christendom.[2] In this appeal Frederick replied to the unmeasured language of the Pope in language not less unmeasured. He addressed all the Sovereigns of Christendom; he urged them to a league of all temporal Kings to oppose this oppressive league of the Pope and the Hierarchy. He declared that he had been prevented from accomplishing his vow, not, as the Pope falsely averred, by frivolous excuses, but by serious illness; he appealed to the faithful witness in Heaven for his veracity; he declared his fixed determination, immediately that God should restore him to health, to

[1] There is a letter to Frederick, quoted in Raynaldus, in a milder tone, declaring that the Pope had been blamed for the mansuetude of his proceedings; because he had not also censured him for many acts of tyranny and invasion on the rights of the Church in Naples and Sicily.

[2] Rich. de San. Germ.

proceed on that holy expedition. "The end of all is at hand; the Christian charity which should rule and maintain all things is dried up in its fountain not in its streams, not in its branches but in its stem. Has not the unjust interdict of the Pope reduced the Count of Toulouse and many other princes to servitude? Did not Innocent III. (this he especially addressed to King Henry of England) urge the noble Barons of England to insurrection against John, as the enemy of the Church? But no sooner had the humiliated King subjected his realm, like a dastard, to the See of Rome, than, having sucked the fat of the land, he abandoned those Barons to shame, ruin, and death. Such is the way of Rome, under words as smooth as oil and honey lies hid the rapacious bloodsucker: the Church of Rome, as though she were the true Church, calls herself my mother and my nurse, while all her acts have been those of a stepmother. The whole world pays tribute to the avarice of the Romans. Her Legates travel about through all lands, with full powers of ban and interdict and excommunication, not to sow the seed of the word of God, but to extort money, to reap what they have not sown. They spare not the holy churches, nor the sanctuary of the poor, nor the rights of the prelates. The primitive Church, founded on poverty and simplicity, brought forth numberless Saints: she rested on no foundation but that which had been laid by our Lord Jesus Christ. The Romans are now rolling in wealth; what wonder that the walls of the Church are undermined to the base, and threaten utter ruin?"[1] The Emperor concluded with the solemn

[1] Matth. Paris, sub ann. 1228. Written no doubt at the end of 1227, Dec. 6; received in England in 1228.

admonition to all temporal Sovereigns to make common cause against the common adversary: "Your house is in danger when that of your neighbor is on fire." But in all this strife of counter-proclamations, the advantage was with the Pope. Almost every pulpit in Christendom might propagate to the ends of the earth the Papal fulminations: every wandering friar might repeat it in the ears of men. The Emperor's vindication, the Imperial ban against the Pope, might be transmitted to Imperial officers, to municipal magistrates, even to friendly prelates or monks: they might be read in diets or burgher-meetings, be affixed on town-halls or market-places, but among a people who could not read; who would tremble to hear them.[1]

Yet the Emperor had allies, more dangerous to the Pope than the remote Sovereigns of Christendom. Gregory, on his return from Anagni, had been received in Rome with the acclamations of the clergy, and part at least of the people. But in Rome there had always been a strong Imperialist party, a party hostile to the ruling Pontiff. Gregory had already demolished the palaces and castle-towers of some of the Roman nobles, which obstructed his view, and no doubt threatened his security in the Lateran:[2] he had met with no open resistance, but such things were not done in Rome without more dangerous secret murmurs. Frederick, by timely succors during a famine in the last

[1] "D'ailleurs les moyens de publicité faciles et puissans dans les mains du Pape, étaient presque nuls dans celles des princes séculiers, qui avant l'imprimerie ne pouvaient que difficilement se faire entendre des masses populaires. Dans cette lutte de paroles l'avantage devoit rester au Saint Siege, puisque la chaire dont il disposait était la seule tribune de ce temps." —Cherrier. Lutte des Papes et des Empereurs, ii. p. 239.

[2] Card. Arragon. in Vita.

winter, had won the hearts of many of the populace. He had made himself friends, especially among the powerful Frangipani, by acts of prodigal generosity. He had purchased the lands of the heads of that family, and granted them back without fine as Imperial fiefs. The Frangipanis became the sworn liegemen of the Emperor's family. Roffrid of Benevento, a famous professor of Jurisprudence in Bologna, appeared in Rome and read in public, with the consent of the Senate and people of Rome, the vindication of the Emperor.

On Thursday in the Holy Week the Pope proceeded to his more tremendous censures on the impenitent Frederick. "His crimes had now accumulated in fearful measure. To the triple offence, which he had committed in the breach of the treaty of San Germano — that he had neither passed the sea to the Holy Land, nor armed and despatched the stipulated number of knights at his own cost, nor furnished the sums of money according to his obligation — were added other offences. He had prevented the Archbishop of Tarento from entering his See; he had seized all the estates held by the Knights Templars and Knights of St. John within his realm; he had broken the treaty entered into and guaranteed by the See of Rome with the Count of Celano and Reginald of Acerra; he had deprived the Count Roger, though he had taken the Cross, of his followers and of his lands, and thrown his son into prison, and had refused to release him at the representation of the Holy See." All these were, in Frederick's estimation, his rebellious subjects, visited with just and lawful penalties. These aggravated crimes — for crimes they were

March 23. Second excommunication. A.D. 1228.

assumed to be on the irrefragable grounds of Papal accusation — called for aggravated censures. The Pope declared every place in which Frederick might be, under interdict; all divine offices were at once to cease; all who dared to celebrate such offices were deprived of their functions and of their benefices. If he himself should dare to force his way into the ceremonies of the Church he was threatened with something worse. If he did not desist from the oppression of the churches and of ecclesiastical persons, if he did not cease from trampling under foot the ecclesiastical liberties, and from treating the excommunication with contempt, all his subjects were at once absolved from their allegiance. He was menaced with the loss of his fief, the kingdom of Naples, which he held from, and for which he had done homage to, the See of Rome. The holy ceremonies passed away undisturbed; but on the Wednesday in Easter week, while the Pope was celebrating the mass, there was suddenly heard a fierce cry, a howl as Gregory describes it; and the whole populace rose in insurrection. The storm was for a time allayed; but after some weeks Gregory found it necessary to leave Rome. He retired first to Reate, afterwards to Perugia.[1] Gregory driven from Rome.

Frederick, in the mean time, although under excommunication, celebrated his Easter with great pomp and rejoicing at Baroli. Tidings had arrived of high importance from the Holy Land. Gregory had received, and had promulgated throughout Christendom, the most doleful accounts of the state of the March 26.

[1] Rich. San. Germ. "Quocirca iidem (the Frangipanis) reversi cum Papa rursus excommunicaret imperatorem, fecerunt ut a populo pelleretur turpiter extra civitatem." — Conrad. Ursperg. Compare Vit. Greg. IX.

Christians in Palestine. A letter addressed to the Pope by Gerold the Patriarch, Peter Archbishop of Cæsarea (the Pope's Legate), the Archbishop of Narbonne, the Bishops of Winchester and Exeter, the Grand Masters of the Templars and of St. John, announced, that no sooner had the news of the Emperor's abandonment of the Crusade arrived in Syria, than the pilgrims, to the number of forty thousand, reëmbarked for the West. Only eight hundred remained, who were retained with difficulty, and were only kept up to the high pitch of enthusiasm by the promise of the Duke of Limbourg, then at the head of the army, to break the existing treaties, and march at once upon Jerusalem. On the other hand, a letter from Thomas Count of Acerra, the Lieutenant of Frederick in the Holy Land; who now held the city of Ptolemaïs, announced the death of the Sultan Moadhin of Damascus.[1] Moadhin was the most formidable enemy of the Christians; he had been at the head of a powerful army; his implacable hatred of the Christians had brought all the more warlike Saracens under his banner: he had destroyed many of the strongholds, which, if in the power of the Crusaders, might be of military importance: he had subjected Jerusalem itself to further ravage.

Frederick prepares for the Crusade.

All the acts of Frederick now showed his determination to embark before the spring was passed for the Holy Land. He would convince the world, the Pope himself, of his sincerity. Already had he despatched considerable reinforcements to the Count of Acerra; the taxes for the armament were levied with rigor; the army which was to accompany him

[1] The Christians called him Conradin. — Rich. San. Germ.

was drawn together from all quarters. The death of the Empress Iolante in childbirth did not delay these warlike proceedings. To Baroli he summoned all the magnates of the kingdom, to hear his final instructions, to witness his last will and testament, in case he should not return alive from his expedition. No building could contain the vast assemblage: a tribune was raised in the open air, from which the Imperial mandates were read aloud. He exhorted all the barons and prelates with their liegemen to live at peace among themselves, as in the happy days of William II. Reginald Duke of Spoleto was appointed Bailiff of the realm; his elder son Henry was declared heir both of the Empire and of the kingdom of Sicily;[1] if he died without heirs, then Conrad; afterwards any surviving son of Frederick by a lawful wife. This, his last will, could only be annulled by a later authentic testament. The Duke of Spoleto, the Grand Justiciary Henry de Morro, and others of the nobles, swore to the execution of this solemn act.

April. 1228. Assembly at Baroli.

The more determined Frederick appeared to fulfil his vow, the more resolute became the Pope in his hostility. He had interdicted the payment of all taxes to the excommunicated sovereign by all the prelates, monasteries, and ecclesiastics of his realm.[2] Pilgrims who passed the Alps to join the army were plundered by the Lombards; at the instigation (so, no doubt, it was falsely rumored, but the falsehood is significant) of the Pope himself.[3] The border of the Neapolitan kingdom was violated by the Pope's subjects of Reate; the powerful Lords of Polito in the Capitanata renounced their

[1] Ric. de San Germ. p. 1005.
[2] Ric. de San Germ.
[3] Urspergen. sub ann. 1228.

allegiance to the King. Frederick went down to Brundusium; his fleet, only of twenty galleys, rode off the island of St. Andrew.[1] Messengers from the Pope arrived peremptorily inhibiting his embarkation on the Crusade till he should have given satisfaction to the Church, and been released from her ban. Frederick paid no attention to the mandate; he sailed to Otranto; as he left that harbor, he sent the Archbishop of Bari and Count Henry of Malta to the Pope, to demand the abrogation of the interdict: they were rejected with scorn by Gregory.[2]

Frederick sets sail.

Frederick set sail with his small armament of twenty galleys, which contained at most six hundred knights, more, the Pope tauntingly declared, like a pirate than a great sovereign. He could not await, perhaps he had no inclination to place himself at the head of a great Crusade, assembled from all quarters of the world, and so involve himself in a long war which he could not abandon without disgrace. He could not safely withdraw the main part of his forces, and expose his kingdom of Naples to the undisguised hostility of the Pope, with malecontents of all classes, especially the clergy, whom he had been forced to keep down with a strong hand. He was still in secret intelligence with the Sultan of Egypt, still hoped to acquire by peaceful negotiations what his predecessors had not been able to secure by war.[3] Frederick, after a prosperous voyage, landed at Cyprus; there, by acts of violence and treachery (the only account of

In Cyprus.

[1] Jordanus, in Raynald. sub ann. Andreas Dandolo, apud Muratori, xii. 544. June or July.

[2] Reg. Gregor., quoted by Von Raumer, p. 445.

[3] See above, p. 334.

these transactions is from hostile writers) he wrested the tutelage of the young King from John of Ibelin, whom he invited to a banquet, treated with honor as his own near kinsman, and then compelled to submit to his terms. But as the young King was cousin to his Empress Iolante, his interference, which was solicited by some of the leading men in the island, may have rested on some asserted right as nearest of kin.[1] From Cyprus he sailed to Ptolemaïs: he was received with the utmost demonstrations of joy. The remnant of the pilgrims who had not returned to Europe welcomed their tardy deliverer as about to lead them to conquest; the clergy and the people came forth in long processions; the Knights of the Temple and St. John knelt before the Emperor and kissed his knee; but (inauspicious omen!) the clergy refused the kiss of peace, and declined all intercourse with one under the ban of the Church.[2] At the head of a great force Frederick might have found it difficult to awe into concord the conflicting factions which divided the Christians in the Holy Land: they seemed to suspend their mutual animosities in their common jealousy of Frederick. The cold estrangement of the clergy quickened rapidly into open hostility. The active hatred of the Pope had instantly pursued the Emperor, even faster than his own fleet, to the Holy Land. Two Franciscan friars had been despatched in a fast-sailing bark, to proclaim to the Eastern Christians that he was still under excommunication; that all were to avoid him as a profane person.

At Ptolemaïs. Sept. 7.

Frederick united. Sept. 7.

[1] The mother of Henry of Cyprus was half-sister to Maria Iolante, the mother of the Empress.

[2] Matth. Paris. Urspergens. sub ann.

The Patriarch, the two Grand Masters of the Orders, were to take measures that the Crusade was not desecrated by being under the banner of an excommunicated man, lest the affairs of the Christians should be imperilled. The Master of the Teutonic Order was to take the command of the German and Lombard pilgrims; Richard the Marshal and Otho Peliard of the troops of the kingdoms of Jerusalem and Cyprus; in his own camp the Emperor was to be without power, nothing was to be done in his name.[1]

Opposition of the clergy, the Templars, and Hospitallers.

The Knights Templars and Knights of the Hospital hardly required to be stimulated by the Papal censures to the hatred of Frederick. These associations, from bands of gallant knights vowed to protect the pilgrims to the Holy Sepulchre, and to perform other Christian services, had rapidly grown into powerful Orders, with vast possessions in every Christian kingdom; and, themselves not strong enough to maintain the kingdom of Jerusalem, were jealous of all others. As yet they were stern bigots, and had not incurred those suspicions which darkened around them at a later period in their history. Frederick had placed them under severe control, with all the other too zealous partisans of the Church, in his realm of Naples and Sicily. This was one of the acts which appears throughout among the charges of tyrannical maladministration in the Apulian kingdom. These religious Orders claimed the same exemptions, the same immunities, with other ecclesiastics: the mere fact that they were submitted to the severe and impartial taxation of Frederick would to them be an intolerable grievance. Their unruly murmurs, if not resist-

[1] Richard de San Germano p. 1005.

ance, would no doubt provoke the haughty sovereign; his haughtiness would rouse theirs to still more inflexible opposition. Perhaps Frederick's favor to the Teutonic Order might further exasperate their jealousy. They had already filled the ears of the Pope with their clamors against Thomas of Acerra, the Lieutenant of Frederick. Gregory had proclaimed to Christendom, to France where the Templars were in great power, that "the worthy vicegerent of Frederick, that minister of Mahomet who scrupled not to employ his impious Saracens of Nocera against Christians and Churchmen in his Apulian kingdom, had openly taken part with the unbelievers against these true soldiers of the Cross." The Saracens, when the suspension of arms was at an end, had attacked a post of the Knights Templars, and had carried off a rich booty. The Templars had pursued the marauders, and rescued part of the spoil; when Thomas of Acerra appeared at the head of his troops, and, instead of siding with the Christians, had compelled them to restore the booty to the Infidels. Such was their version of this affair,[1] eagerly accredited by the Pope. It is more probable that the Lieutenant of the Emperor acted as General of the Christian forces; and that this whole proceeding was in violation of his orders, as it clearly was on both sides, of the existing treaty. The Knights Templars and Hospitallers held themselves as entirely independent powers; fought or refused to fight according to their own will and judgment: formed no part of one great Christian army; were amenable, in their own estimation, to no

[1] Letter of Gregory to the Legate in France, in Matth. Paris. Compare Hugo Plagen. where the Marshal Richard is represented as in command of the pilgrims.

superior military rule. If they had refused obedience to the Lieutenant of the Emperor or the King of Jerusalem, they were not likely to receive commands from one under excommunication. Frederick himself soon experienced their utter contumacy. He commanded them to evacuate a castle called the Castle of the Pilgrims, which he wished to garrison with his own troops. The Templars closed the gates in his face, and insultingly told him to go his way, or he might find himself in a place from whence he would not be able to make his way.[1]

Frederick, however, with the main army of the pilgrims was in high popularity; they refused not to march under his standard; he appeared to approve of their determination to break off the treaty, and to advance at once upon Jerusalem. Frederick, to avoid this perpetual collision with his enemies, pitched his camp at Recordana, some distance without the gates of Ptolemaïs. He then determined to take possession of Joppa, and to build a strong fortress in that city. He summoned all the Christian forces to join him in this expedition. The Templars peremptorily refused, if the war was to be carried on, and the orders issued to the camp, in the name of the excommunicated Emperor. Frederick commenced his march without them; but mistrusting the small number of his forces, was obliged to submit that all orders should be issued in the name of God and of Christianity. Frederick's occupation of Joppa, the port nearest to Jerusalem, was not only to obtain possession of a city in which he should be more completely master than in Ptolemaïs, and to strengthen the Christian cause by the erection

[1] Hugo Plagen.

of a strong citadel; but as the jealous vigilance of his enemies discerned, to bring himself into closer neighborhood with the Sultan of Egypt. Kameel, the Babylonian Sultan, as he was called from the Egyptian Babylon (Cairo), was encamped in great force near Gaza. The old amity, and more than the amity, something like a close league between the Sultan of Egypt and the Emperor Frederick, now appeared almost in its full maturity. Already, soon after the loss of Damietta and its recovery from the discomfited Christians, Sultan Kameel had sent his embassy to Frederick, avowedly because he was acknowledged to be the greatest of the Christian powers, and in Sicily ruled over Mohammedan subjects with mildness, if not with favor. The interchange of presents had been such as became two such splendid sovereigns.[1] The secret of their negotiations, carried on by the mission of the Archbishop of Palermo to Cairo, of Fakreddin the favorite of Sultan Kameel to Sicily, could be no secret to the watchful emissaries of the Pope.

There had been mortal feud between Malek Kameel of Egypt and Malek Moadhin of Damascus. Malek Moadhin had called in the formidable aid of Gelal-eddin, the Sultan of Kharismia, who had made great conquests in Georgia, the Greater Armenia, and Northern Syria. Sultan Kameel had not scrupled to seek the aid of the Christian against Moadhin; no doubt to Frederick the lure was the peaceful establishment of the kingdom of Jerusalem, in close alliance with the Egyptian Sultan.[2] On the death of Moadhin the Damascene, Sultan Kameel had marched at

[1] See the Arabian history of the Patriarchs of Alexandria.

[2] Abulfeda.

once into Syria, occupied Jerusalem, and the whole southern district: he threatened to seize the whole dominions of Moadhin. But a third brother, Malek Ashraf, Prince of Khelath, Edessa, and Haran on the Euphrates, took up the cause of David, the young son of Moadhin. The Christians, reinforced by Frederick's first armament under Thomas of Acerra, upon this had taken a more threatening attitude; had begun to rebuild Sidon, to man other fortresses, and to make hostile incursions. Sultan Kameel affected great dread of their power: he addressed a letter to his brother Ashraf, expressing his fears lest, to the disgrace of the Mohammedan name, the Christians should wrest Jerusalem, the great conquest of Saladin, from the hands of the true believers. Ashraf was deceived, or chose to be deceived: he abandoned the cause of the young Sultan of Damascus; he agreed to share in his spoils; Sultan Kameel was to remain in Palestine master of Jerusalem, to oppose the Christians: while Ashraf undertook the siege of Damascus. Such was the state of affairs when Frederick suddenly landed at Ptolemaïs. Sultan Kameel repented that he had invited him; he had sought an ally, he feared a master. The name of the great Christian Emperor spread terror among the whole Mohammedan population.[1] Had Frederick, even though he brought so inconsiderable a force, at once been recognized as the head of the Crusade; had he been joined cordially by the Knights of the Temple and of the Hospital, his name had still been imposing, he might have dictated his own terms. The dissensions of the Christians were fatal — dissensions which could not be disguised from the sagacious Mohammedans.

[1] Abulfeda.

Almost the first act of King Frederick on his arrival in Palestine was an embassy, of Balian Prince of Tyre and Thomas of Acerra his Lieutenant, to the camp of his old ally Sultan Kameel; they were received with great pomp; the army drawn up in array. The embassy returned to Ptolemaïs with a huge elephant and other costly presents. The negotiations began at the camp of Recordana; they were continued at Joppa. The demands of Frederick were no less than the absolute surrender of Jerusalem and all the adjacent districts; the restoration of his kingdom to its full extent. The Sultan, as much in awe of the zealots of Mohammedanism as Frederick of the zealots of Christianity, alleged almost insuperable difficulties. The Emir Fakreddin, the old friend of Frederick, and another named Shems Eddin, were constantly in the Christian camp. They not merely treated with the accomplished Emperor, who spoke Arabic fluently, on the subjects of their mission, but discussed all the most profound questions of science and philosophy. Sultan Kameel affected the character of a patron of learning; Frederick addressed to him a number of those philosophic enigmas which exercise and delight the ingenious Oriental mind. Their intercourse was compared to that of the Queen of Sheba and Solomon. There were other Eastern amusements not so becoming the Christian Emperor. Christian ladies met the Mohammedan delegates at feasts, it was said with no advantage to their virtue. Among the Sultan's presents was a bevy of dancing girls, whose graceful feats the Emperor beheld with too great interest, and was not, it was said, insensible to their beauty. The Emperor wore the Saracen dress;

he became, in the estimation of the stern Churchmen, a Saracen.[1]

The treaty dragged slowly on. Sultan Kameel could not be ignorant of the hostility against Frederick in the Christian camp: if he had been ignorant, the knowledge would have been forced upon him. The Emperor, by no means superior even to the superstition of the land, had determined to undertake a pilgrimage almost alone, and in a woollen robe, to bathe in the Jordan. The Templars wrote a letter to betray his design to the Sultan, that he might avail himself of this opportunity of seizing and making Frederick prisoner, or even of putting him to death. The Sultan sent the letter to the Emperor.[2] From all these causes, the tone of the Sultan naturally rose, that of Frederick was lowered, by the treason of which he was obliged to dissemble his knowledge, as he could not revenge it. Eastern interpreters are wont to translate all demands made of their sovereigns into humble petitions. The Arabian historian has thus, perhaps, selecting a few sentences out of a long address, toned down the words of Frederick to Sultan Kameel to abject supplication. "I am thy friend. Thou art not ignorant that I am the greatest of the Kings of the West. It is thou that hast invited me to this land; the Kings

Negotiations with Sultan Kameel.

[1] "Quod cum maximâ verecundiâ referimus et rubore, Imperatori Soldanus audiens quod secundum morem Saracenicum se haberet, misit cantatrices quæ et saltatrices dicuntur, et joculatores, personas quidem non solum infames verum etiam de quibus inter Christianos haberi mentio non debebat. Cum quibus idem princeps hujus mundi vigiliis, potationibus, et indumentis, et omni modo Saracenus se gerebat." — Epist. Gerold. apud Raynald. 1229, v.

[2] Matthew Paris, and the Arabian historians in Reinaud, p. 429. Addition to Michaud.

and the Pope are well informed of my journey. If I return having obtained nothing, I shall forfeit all consideration with them. And after all, Jerusalem, is it not the birthplace of the Christian religion? and have you not destroyed it? It is in the lowest state of ruin; out of your goodness surrender it to me as it is, that I may be able to lift up my head among the kings of Christendom. I renounce at once all advantages which I may obtain from it." To Fakreddin, in more intimate converse, he acknowledged, according to another Eastern account, "My object in coming hither was not to deliver the Holy City, but to maintain my estimation among the Franks." He had before made large demands of commercial privileges, the exemption of tribute for his merchants in the ports of Alexandria and Rosetta. The terms actually obtained, at their lowest amount, belie this humiliating petition. The whole negotiation was a profound secret to all but Frederick and the immediate adherents to whom he condescended to communicate it.

At length Frederick summoned four Syrian Barons: he explained to them that the state of his Feb 11. affairs, the utter exhaustion of his finances, made it impossible for him to remain in the Holy Land. There were still stronger secret reasons for hastening the conclusion of the treaty. A fast-sailing vessel had been despatched to Joppa, which announced that the Papal army had broken into Apulia, and were laying waste the whole land, and threatened to wrest from Frederick his beloved kingdom of Sicily. The Sultan of Babylon, he told the Barons, had offered to surrender Jerusalem, and other advantageous conditions. He demanded their advice. The Barons replied that under

such circumstances it might be well to accept the terms; but they insisted on the right of fortifying the walls of Jerusalem. The Emperor then summoned the Grand Masters of the Temple and the Hospital and the English Bishops of Winchester and Exeter; he made the same statement to them. They answered, that no such treaty could be made without the assent of the Patriarch of Jerusalem, in his double capacity as head of the Syrian Church and Legate of the Pope. Frederick superciliously replied that he could dispense with the assent of the Patriarch. Gerold, before his adversary, became his most implacable foe.

Terms of treaty.

One week after the first interview the treaty was signed: there is much discrepancy in the articles between the Mohammedan and Christian accounts; the Mohammedans restrict, the Christians enlarge the concessions. The terms transmitted by the Patriarch to the Pope, translated from the Arabic into the French, were these: — I. The entire surrender of Jerusalem to the Emperor and his Prefects. II. Except the site of the Temple, occupied by the Mosque of Omar, which remained absolutely in the power of the Saracens: they held the keys of the gates. III. The Saracens were to have free access as pilgrims to perform their devotions at Bethlehem. IV. Devout Christians were only permitted to enter and pray within the precincts of the Temple on certain conditions. V. All wrong committed by one Saracen upon another in Jerusalem was to be judged before a Mussulman tribunal. VI. The Emperor was to give no succor to any Frank or Saracen, who should be engaged in war against the Saracens, or suffer any violation of the

Feb. 18.

truce. VII. The Emperor was to recall all who were engaged in any invasion of the territory of the Sultan of Egypt, and prohibit to the utmost of his power every violation of such territory. VIII. In case of such violation of the treaty, the Emperor was to espouse and defend the cause of the Sultan of Egypt. IX. Tripoli, Antioch, Karak, and their dependencies were not included in this treaty.[1]

The German pilgrims rejoiced without disguise at this easy accomplishment of their vows; they were eager to set out to offer their devotions in the Holy Sepulchre. Frederick himself determined to accomplish his own pilgrimage, and to assume in his capital the crown of the kingdom of Jerusalem. Attended by the faithful Master of the Teutonic Knights, Herman of Salza, and accompanied by Shems Eddin, the Saracen Kadi of Naplous, he arrived on the eve of Sunday, the 19th of March, in Jerusalem: he took up his lodging in the neighborhood of the Temple, now a Mohammedan mosque, under the guardianship of the Kadi; there were fears lest he should be attacked by some Mohammedan fanatic. But the Emperor had not arrived in Jerusalem before the Archbishop of Cæsarea appeared with instructions from the Patriarch of Jerusalem to declare him under excommunication, and to place the city of Jerusalem under

Frederick in Jerusalem. March 17.

[1] These articles are obviously incomplete; they do not describe the extent of the concessions, which, according to other statements, included, with Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Nazareth, and the whole district between Joppa and Jerusalem. There is nothing said, if anything was definitively agreed, as to the right of the Emperor to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem; nor of the condition that the Saracens were only to enter Jerusalem unarmed, and not to pass the night within the walls. The important stipulation of the surrender of all Christian prisoners without ransom is altogether omitted.

the ban. Even the Sepulchre of the Lord was under interdict; the prayers of the pilgrims even in that holiest place were forbidden, or declared unholy. No Christian rite could be celebrated before the Christian Emperor, and that disgrace was inflicted in the face of all the Mohammedans!

Immediately on his arrival the Emperor visited the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. The church was silent; not a priest appeared: during his stay no mass was celebrated within the city or in the suburbs. An English Dominican, named Walter, performed one solitary service on the morning of the Sunday. Frederick proceeded again in great pomp and in all his imperial apparel to the Church of the Sepulchre. No prelate, no priest of the Church of Jerusalem was there who ventured to utter a blessing. The Archbishops of Palermo and of Capua were present, but seem to have taken no part in the ceremony. The imperial crown was placed on the high altar; Frederick took it up and with his own hands placed it on his head. The Master of the Teutonic Order delivered an address in the name of the Emperor, which was read in German, in French, in Latin, and in Italian. It ran in this strain: "It is well known that at Aix-la-Chapelle I took the Cross of my own free-will. Hitherto insuperable difficulties have impeded the fulfilment of my vow. I acquit the Pope for his hard judgment of me and for my excommunication: in no other way could he escape the blasphemy and evil report of men. I exculpate him further for his writing against me to Palestine in so hostile a spirit, for men had rumored that I had levied my army not against the Holy Land, but to invade the Papal States. Had

Coronation of Frederick.

the Pope known my real design, he would have written not against me, but in my favor: did he know how many are acting here to the prejudice of Christianity, he would not pay so much respect to their complaints and representations. . . . I would willingly do all which shall expose those real enemies and false friends of Christ who delight in discord, and so put them to shame by the restoration of peace and unity. I will not now think of the high estate which is my lot on earth, but humble myself before God to whom I owe my elevation, and before him who is his Vicar upon earth."[1] The Emperor returned through the streets wearing the crown of Jerusalem. The same day he visited the site of the Temple, whereon stood the Mosque of Omar.

The zealous Mohammedans were in bitter displeasure with Frederick, as having obtained from their easy Sultan the possession of the Holy City; yet their religious pride watched all his actions, and construed every word and act into a contempt of the Christian faith, and his respect, if not more than respect, for Islam. The Emir Shems Eddin, so writes the Arabic historian, had issued rigid orders that nothing should be done which could offend the Emperor. The house where the Emperor slept was just below the minaret from which the Muezzin was wont to proclaim the hour of prayer. But in Jerusalem the Muezzin did more. He read certain verses of the Korân; on that

[1] If this is the genuine speech, quoted by Von Raumer from the unpublished Regesta in the Papal archives, it may show the malice of the Patriarch Gerold, who thus describes it: — "Ita coronatus resedit in cathedrâ Patriarchatus excusando malitiam suam et accusando ecclesiam Romanam, imponens ei quod injustè processerat contra eum: et notabilem eam fecerat invective et reprehensive de insatiabili et simoniali avaritia."

night the text, "How is it possible that God had for his son Jesus the son of Mary?" The Kadi took alarm; he silenced altogether the officious Muezzin. The Emperor listened in vain for that sound which in the silent night is so solemn and impressive. He inquired the reason of this silence, which had continued for two days. The Kadi gave the real cause, the fear of offending the Christian Emperor. "You are wrong," said Frederick, "to neglect on my account your duty, your law, and your religion. By God, if you should visit me in my realm, you will find no such respectful deference." The Emperor had declared that one of the chief objects of his visit to the Holy Land was to behold the Mohammedans at prayer. He stood in wondering admiration before the Mosque of Omar; he surveyed the pulpit from which the Imaun delivered his sermons. A Christian priest had found his way into the precincts with the book of the Gospels in his hand; the Emperor resented this as an insult to the religious worship of the Mohammedans, and threatened to punish it as a signal breach of the treaty. The Arabic historian puts into his mouth these words: "Here we are all the servants of the Sultan; it is he that has restored to us our Churches." So writes the graver historian.[1] There is a description of Frederick's demeanor in the Temple by an eye-witness, one of the ministering attendants, in which the same ill-suppressed aversion to the uncircumcised is mingled with the desire to claim an imperial proselyte. "The Emperor was red-haired and bald, with weak sight; as a slave he would not have sold for more than 200 drachms."

Frederick's language showed (so averred some Mo-

[1] Makrizi, in Reinaud.

hammedans) that he did not believe the Christian religion; he did not scruple to jest upon it. He read without anger, and demanded the explanation of the inscription in letters of gold, "Saladin, in a certain year, purified the Holy City from the presence of those who worship many Gods."[1] The windows of the Holy Chapel were closely barred to keep out the defilements of the birds. "You may shut out the birds," said Frederick, "how will ye keep out the swine?" At noon, at the hour of prayer, when all the faithful fall on their knees in adoration, the Mohammedans in attendance on Frederick did the same; among the rest the aged preceptor of Frederick, a Sicilian Mussulman who had instructed him in dialectics. Frederick, in this at least not going beyond the bounds of wise tolerance, betrayed neither surprise nor dissatisfaction.

After but two days the Emperor retired from the interdicted city; if he took no steps to restore the walls, some part of the blame must attach to his religious foes, who pursued him even into the Holy City with such inexorable hostility.

Both the Emperor and the Sultan had wounded the pride and offended the religious prejudices of the more zealous among their people. To some the peaceful settlement of the war between Christian and Mussulman was of itself an abomination, a degenerate infringement of the good old usage, which arrayed them against each other as irreclaimable enemies: the valiant Christians were deprived of the privilege of obtaining remission of their sins by the pillage and massacre of the Islamites: the Islamites of winning Paradise by the slaughter of Christians. The

Unpopularity of the treaty.

[1] The Mohammedans so define the worshippers of the Trinity.

Sultan of Egypt, so rude was the shock throughout the world of Islam, was obliged to send ambassadors to the Caliph of Bagdad and to the Princes on the Euphrates to explain his conduct. The surrender of Jerusalem was the great cause of affliction and shame. The Sultan in vain alleged that it was but the unwalled and defenceless city that he yielded up; there were bitter lamentations among all the Moslems, who were forced to depart from their homes; sad verses were written and sung in the streets. The Imauns of the Mosque of Omar went in melancholy procession to the Sultan to remonstrate. They attempted to overawe him by proclaiming an unusual hour for prayer. Kameel treated them with great indignity, and sent them back stripped of their silver lamps and other ornaments of the Mosque. In Damascus was the most loud and bitter lamentation. The Sultan of Damascus was besieged in his capital by Malek el Ashraf. The territory, now basely yielded to the Christians, was part of his kingdom; he was the rightful Lord of Jerusalem. There an Imaun of great sanctity, the historian Ibn Dschusi himself, was summoned to preach to the people on this dire calamity. The honor of Islam was concerned; he mounted the pulpit: "So then the way to the Holy City is about to be closed to faithful pilgrims: you who love communion with God in that hallowed place can no longer prostrate yourself, or water the ground with your tears. Great God! if our eyes were fountains, could we shed tears enough? If our hearts were cloven, could we be afflicted enough?" The whole assembly burst into a wild wail of sorrow and indignation.[1]

[1] Reinaud. Extrait des Auteurs Arabes. — Wilken, vi. p. 493.

Frederick announced this treaty in Western Christendom in the most magnificent terms. His letter to the King of England bears date on the day of his entrance into Jerusalem. He ascribes his triumph to a miracle wrought by the Lord of Hosts, who seemed no longer to delight in the multitude of armed men. In the face of two great armies, that of the Sultan of Egypt and of Sultan Ashraf encamped near Gaza, and that of the Sultan (David) of Damascus at Naplous, Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Nazareth, the district of Sharon, and Sidon, had been freely ceded to him: the Mohammedans were only by sufferance to enter the Holy City. The Sultan had bound himself to surrender all prisoners, whom he ought to have released by the treaty of Damietta, and all who had been taken since.[1] The seal of this letter bore a likeness of the Emperor, with a scroll: over his head "the Emperor of the Romans," on the right shoulder "the King of Jerusalem," on the left "the King of Sicily."

Far different was the reception of the treaty by the Pope, and by all who sided with, or might be expected to side with, the Pope. It was but a new manifestation of the perfidy, the contumacy, the ingratitude to the Church, the indifference of the Emperor to religion, if not of his apostasy. A letter arrived, and was actively promulgated through Western Christendom, from Gerold, Patriarch of Jerusalem, describing in the blackest colors every act of the Emperor. In the treaty the dignity, the interests of religion and of the Church, the dignity and interests of the Patriarch, had been, it might seem studiously neglected; even in the territory conceded by the Sultan some of the lands belonging to the Knights Templars were comprehended, none of

[1] The letter in Matthew Paris.

those claimed by the Patriarch. Gerold overlooked his own obstinate hostility to Frederick, while he dwelt so bitterly on that of Frederick to himself. The letter began with Frederick's occupation of Joppa; his avowed partiality to the interests of the Mohammedans, his neglect, or worse, of the Christians. At least five hundred Christians had fallen since his arrival, not ten Saracens. All excesses, all breaches of the truce were visited severely on the Christians, connived at or disregarded in the Mohammedans. A Saracen who had been plundered was sent back in splendid apparel to the Sultan. All the Emperor's suspicious intercourse with the Saracens, his Mohammedan luxuries, his presents of splendid arms to be used by Infidels against true Believers, were recounted; the secrecy of the treaty and its acceptance with the signature of the Sultan as its sole guarantee. The Master of the Teutonic Order had insidiously invited him (the Patriarch) to accompany the Emperor to Jerusalem. He had demanded first to see the treaty. There he found that the Sultan of Damascus, the true Lord of Jerusalem, was no party to the covenant; "there were no provisions in favor of himself or of the Church; how could he venture his holy person within the power of the treacherous Sultan and his unbelieving host?" The letter closed with a strong complaint that the Emperor had left the city without rebuilding the walls. But the Patriarch admitted that Frederick had consulted the bishops of Winchester and Exeter, the Master of the Hospitallers, the Præceptor of the Temple, to advise and aid him in this work: their reply had been cold and dilatory; and Frederick departed from the city.[1]

Letter of the Patriarch.

[1] Epist. Gerold. Patriarchæ, apud Matth. Paris.

Even before the arrival of Gerold's letters, the Pope, in a letter to the Archbishop of Milan and his suffragans, all liegemen of the Emperor, had denounced the treaty as a monstrous reconciliation of Christ and Belial: as the establishment of the worship of Mohammed in the Temple of God; and thus "the antagonist of the Cross, the enemy of the faith, the foe of all chastity, the condemned to hell, is lifted up for adoration, by a perverse judgment, to the intolerable contumely of the Saviour, the inexpiable disgrace of the Christian name, the contempt of all the martyrs who have laid down their lives to purify the Holy Land from the worldly pollutions of the Saracens."[1]

Letter of Gregory to Archbishop of Milan.

Albert of Austria was the most powerful enemy who might be tempted to revolt against Frederick in his German dominions, the greatest and most dangerous vassal of the Empire. Him the Pope addressed at greater length, and with a more distinct enumeration of four flagitious enormities with which he especially charged the Emperor. First, he had shamelessly presented the sword and other arms which he had received from the altar of St. Peter, blessed by the Pope himself, for the defence of the faith, and the chastisement of the wicked, to the Sultan of Babylon, the enemy of the faith, the adversary of Christ Jesus, the worshipper of Mohammed, the son of Perdition; he had promised not to bear arms against the Sultan, against whom as Emperor he was bound to wage implacable war. The second was a more execrable and more stupendous offence; in the Temple of God, where Christ made his offering, where

June 18.

Letter to Albert of Austria.

[1] Ad Epis. Mediol. June 13, 1229.

he had sat on his cathedral throne in the midst of the doctors, the Emperor had cast Christ forth, and placed Mohammed, that son of perdition; he had commanded the law of God to keep silence, and permitted the free preaching of the Korân; to the Infidels he had left the keys of the Sanctuary, so that no Christian might enter without their sufferance. Thirdly, he had excluded the Eastern Christians of Antioch, Tripoli, and other strong places, from the benefit of the treaty, and so betrayed the Christian cause in the East to the enemy. Lastly, he had so bound himself by this wicked league, that if the Christian army should attempt to revenge the insult done to the Redeemer, to cleanse the Temple and the City of God from the defilements of the Pagans, the Emperor had pledged himself to take part with the foe. Albert of Austria was exhorted to disclaim all allegiance to one guilty of such capital treason against the majesty of God, to hold himself ready at the summons of the Church to take up arms against the Emperor.

The last acts of Frederick in Palestine are dwelt upon both by the Patriarch and the Pope; they are known almost entirely by these unfriendly representations. Frederick returned from Joppa to Ptolemaïs in no placable mood with his implacable enemies leagued against him in civil war.[1] The Patriarch had attempted to raise an independent force at his own command

[1] "Præterea qualiter contra ipsum Imperatorem, apud Acon, postmodum redeuntem, prædicti Patriarchæ, Magistri domuum hospitalis et templi se gesserint, utpote qui contra ipsum, intestina bella moverint in civitate prædictâ, his qui interfuerunt luce clarius extitit manifestum." — Rich. San Germ. It is remarkable how many privileges and grants he made to the Teutonic Order: it is manifest that his object was to raise up a loyal counterpoise to the Templars and Hospitallers. — Boehmer, Regesta, sub ann.

if the pilgrims should retire from the Holy Land he would need a body-guard for his holy person. He proposed, out of some large sums of money left for the benefit of the sacred cause by Philip Augustus of France, to enroll a band of knights, a new Order, for this end. Frederick declared that no one should levy or command soldiers within his realm without his will and consent. With the inhabitants of Ptolemaïs Frederick had obtained, either by his affable demeanor or by his treaty, great popularity. He summoned a full assembly of all Christian people on the broad sands without the city. There he arose and arraigned the Patriarch and the Master of the Templars as having obstinately thwarted all his designs for the advancement of the Christian Cause, and having pursued him with their blind and obstinate hostility. He summoned all the pilgrims, having now fulfilled their vows, to depart from the Holy Land, and commanded his Lieutenant, Thomas de Acerra, to compel obedience to these orders. He was deaf to all remonstrance; on his return to the city, he seized all the gates, manned them with his crossbowmen, and while he permitted all the Knights Templars to leave the city, he would admit none. He took possession of the churches, and occupied them with his archers. The Patriarch assembled all his adherents and all the Templars still within the city, and again thundered out his excommunication. Frederick kept him almost as a prisoner in his palace; his partisans were exposed to every insult and attack, even those who were carrying provisions to the palace. Two bold Franciscans, who on Palm Sunday denounced him in the Church, were dragged from the pulpit, and scourged through the streets. But

Palm Sunday. April 3.

these violences availed not against the obstinate endurance of the Churchmen. After some vain attempts at reconciliation, the Patriarch placed the city of Ptolemaïs under interdict. These are not all the charges against Frederick; it was made a crime that he destroyed some of his ships, probably unserviceable: his arms and engines of war he is said to have sent to the Sultan of Egypt.

On the day of St. Peter and St. Paul the Emperor
May 3. set sail for Europe: his presence was imperiously required. In every part of his dominions the Pope, with the ambitious activity of a temporal sovereign, and with all the tremendous arms wielded by the spiritual power, was waging a war either in open day, or in secret intrigues with his unruly and disaffected vassals. The ostensible cause of the war was the aggression of Frederick's vicegerent in Apulia,
War in Apulia. Reginald Duke of Spoleto. Frederick had left Reginald to subdue the revolt of the powerful family of Polito. These rebels had taken refuge in the Papal territory: they were pursued by Reginald. But once beyond the Papal frontier the Duke of Spoleto extended his ravages, it might seem reviving certain claims of his own on the Dukedom of Spoleto. Frederick afterwards disclaimed these acts of his lieutenant, and declared that he had punished him for the infringement of his orders.[1] But the occasion was too welcome not to be seized by the Pope. He levied at once large forces, placed them under the command of Frederick's most deadly enemies, his father-in-law, John de Brienne, the ejected King of Jerusalem,

[1] The most particular account of these wars is in Rich. de San Germano, apud Muratori, t. vii.

and the Cardinal John Colonna, with the King's revolted subjects, the Counts of Celano and of Aquila; the martial Legate Pelagius, who had commanded the army of Damietta, directed the whole force. A report of Frederick's death in Palestine (a fraud of which he complains with the bitterest indignation) was industriously disseminated. John de Brienne even ventured to assert that there was no Emperor but himself. The Papal armies at first met with great success; many cities from fear, from disaffection to Frederick, from despair of relief, opened their gates. The soldiers of the Church committed devastations almost unprecedented even in these rude wars. But Gregory was not content with this limited war; he strove to arm all Christendom against the contumacious Emperor who defied the Church. From the remotest parts, from Wales, Ireland, England, large contributions were demanded, and in many cases extorted, for this holy war. Just at this juncture England contributed in a peculiar manner, even beyond her customary tribute, to the Papal treasury: the whole of such revenue was devoted to this end.

A dispute was pending in the Court of Rome concerning the See of Canterbury. On the death of Archbishop Stephen, the monks of Canterbury elected Walter of Hevesham to the primacy. The King refused his assent, and the objections urged were sufficiently strange, whether well-founded or but fictitious, against a man chosen as the successor of Becket. The father of Walter, it was said, had been hanged for robbery, and Walter himself, during the interdict, had embraced the party opposed to King John. The suffragan bishops (they always

Election to Archbishopric of Canterbury July, 1228

resented their exclusion from the election) accused Walter of having debauched a nun, by whom he had several children. Appeal was made to Rome; the Pope delayed his sentence for further inquiry. The ambassadors of the King, the Bishops of Chester and Rochester, and John of Newton in vain labored to obtain the Papal decision. One only argument would weigh with the Pope and the Cardinals. At length they engaged to pay for this tardy justice the tenth of all movable property in the realm of England and Ireland in order to aid the Pope in his war against the Emperor. Even then the alleged immoralities were put out of sight; the elected Primate of England was examined by three Cardinals on certain minute points of theology, and condemned as unworthy of so noble a see, "which ought to be filled by a man noble, wise, and modest."[1] Richard, Bishop of Lincoln, was proposed in the name of the King and the suffragan bishops, and received his appointment by a Papal Bull. In France, besides the exertions of the Legate, the Archbishops of Sens and of Lyons were commanded by the Pope himself to publish the grave offences of Frederick against the Holy See, and to preach the Crusade against him. In Germany, Albert of Austria had been urged to revolt; in the North and in Denmark the Legate, the Cardinal Otho, preached and promulgated the same Crusade.[2] He laid Liège under an interdict, and King Henry raised an army to besiege

[1] He was asked whether our Lord descended into hell, in the flesh or not in the flesh; on the presence of Christ in the sacrament; how Rachel, being already dead, could weep for her children; on the power of an excommunication, unrightly pronounced; on a case of marriage, where one of the parties had died in infidelity. To all these his answers were wrong.

[2] Raynald. in notâ.

the Cardinal in Strasburg. The Pope praised, as inspired by the Holy Ghost, the chivalrous determination of the Prince of Portugal, to take up arms in defence of the Church of Christ. The Lombards, on the other hand, were sternly rebuked for their tardiness in sending aid against the common enemy, the Pope gave them a significant hint that the deserters of the cause of the Church might be deserted in their turn in their hour of need.

The rapid return of the Emperor disconcerted all these hostile measures. With two well-armed barks he landed at Astore, near Brundusium; many of the brave German pilgrims followed after and rapidly grew to a formidable force. His first act was to send ambassadors to the Pope, the Archbishop of Bari, the Bishop of Reggio and Herman de Salza, the master of the Teutonic order. The overtures were rejected with scorn. An excommunication even more strong and offensive had been issued by the Pope of Perugia.[1] The first clause denounced all the heretics with names odious to all zealous believers. After the Cathari, the Publicans, the Poor Men of Lyons, the Arnaldists, and under the same terrific anathema as no less an enemy of the Church, followed the Emperor Frederick; his contumacious disregard of the excommunication pronounced by the Cardinal of Albano was thus placed on the same footing with the wildest opinions and those most hostile to the Church. After the recital of his offences, the release of all his subjects from their allegiance, came the condemnation of his adherents, Reginald of Spoleto and his brother

May 17 and July 13, 1229. Return of Frederick.

[1] This bull must have been issued in June, not in August. See Boehmer, p 335. Raynaldus, sub ann.

Bertoldo. With the other enemies of the Church were mingled up the Count de Foix, and the Viscount of Beziers; the only important names which now represented the odious heresy of Southern France. Some lesser offenders were included under the comprehensive ban. These were all, if not leagued together under the same proscription, alike denounced as enemies of God and of the Church. The conquering army of the Pope was on all sides arrested, repelled, defeated; the rebellious barons and cities returned to their allegiance; Frederick marched to the relief of Capua; the strength of the Papal force broke up in confusion. Frederick moved to Naples where he was received in triumph. In Capua he had organized the Saracens whom he had removed from Sicily, where they had been a wild mountain people, untamably and utterly lawless, to Nocera: there he had settled them, foreseeing probably their future use as inhabitants of walled cities and cultivators of the soil. This was a force terrible to the rebellious churchmen who had espoused the Papal cause. From San Germano Frederick sent forth his counter appeal to the Sovereigns of Europe, representing the violence, the injustice, the implacable resentment of the Pope. The appeal could not but have some effect.

Christendom against the Pope.

Christendom, even among the most devout adherents of the Papal supremacy, refused to lend itself to the fiery passions of the aged Pontiff. The Pope was yet too awful to be openly condemned, but the general reluctance to embrace his cause was the strongest condemnation. Men throughout the Christian world could not but doubt by which party the real interests of the Eastern Christians had been most be-

trayed and injured. The fierce enthusiasm which would not receive advantages unless won from the unbeliever at the point of the sword had died away: men looked to the effect of the treaty, they compared it with the results of all the Crusades since that of Godfrey of Bouillon. Jerusalem, the Holy Sepulchre, were in the power of the Christians: devout pilgrims might perform unmolested their pious vows; multitudes of Christians had taken up their abode in seeming security in the city of Sion. But if, thus trammelled, opposed, pursued by the remorseless excommunication into the Holy Sepulchre itself, Frederick by the awe of his imperial name, by his personal greatness, had obtained such a treaty; what terms might he not have dictated, if supported by the Pope, the Patriarch, and Knights Templars.[1] Treaties with the Mohammedan powers were nothing new; they had been lately made by Philip Augustus, and by the fierce Richard Cœur de Lion. The Christians had never disdained the policy

[1] It has been observed that the three contemporary historians, Matthew Paris, the Abbot Urspergensis, and Richard of San Germano, are all against the Pope. "Verisimile enim videtur, quod si tunc Imperator cum gratiâ ac pace Romanæ Ecclesiæ transisset, longe multus et efficacius prosperatum fuisset negotium Terræ Sanctæ." — Richard de San Germano adds, that if the Sultan had not known that Frederick was excommunicated by the Pope, and hated by the Patriarch, he would have granted much better terms. Compare Muratori, Annal. d'Italia, sub ann.; and in Wilken the extract from Theuerdank: —

"Wären dem Kaiser die gestanden,
Die ihm sin Ehre wanden (entwandten)
Das Grab und alle diese Land,
Die stunden gar in seiner Hand:
Nazareth und Bethlem,
Der Jordan und Jerusalem,
Dazu manig heilig Stat,
Da Gott mitt seinem Fussen trat,
Syria und Juda," &c.

— Wilken, vi. p. 509

of taking advantage of the feuds among the Mohammedan sovereigns and allying themselves with the Sultan of Egypt or the Sultan of Damascus. Even the Pope himself had not denied all peaceful intercourse with the Unbelievers. Frederick positively asserted that he had surprised and had in his possession letters addressed by the Pope to Sultan Kameel, urging him to break off his negotiations with the Emperor. Gregory afterwards denied the truth of this charge; but it was publicly averred, and proof offered, in the face of Christendom.[1] Frederick had appealed to witnesses of all his acts, and they, at all events the English Bishops of Winchester and Exeter, the Master of the Hospitallers, the Master of the Teutonic Order, had given no countenance to the envious and rancorous charges of the Patriarch.

There was a deeper cause of dissatisfaction throughout that Hierarchy, to which the Pope had always looked for the most zealous and self-sacrificing aid. The clergy felt the strongest repugnance to the levy of a tenth demanded by the Pope throughout Christendom, to maintain wars, if not unjust unnecessary, against the Emperor. No doubt the lavish and partial favor with which he treated the Preaching and Begging Friars had already awakened jealousy. Gregory had sagaciously discerned the strength which their influence in the lowest depths of society would gain for the Papal cause. He had solemnly canonized Francis of Assisi[2] — one of his most confidential counsellors was the Dominican Gualo. So active had

Oct. 4, 1228.

[1] Epist. Petr. de Vineâ.

[2] Gualo was his emissary, if not his Legate, in Lombardy. He was active in framing the peace of San Germano. — Epist. Gregor., Oct. 9, 1226.

the Friars been in stirring up revolt in the kingdom of Naples, that the first act of Reginald of Spoleto had been their expulsion from the realm.

Christendom had eagerly rushed into a Crusade against the unbelievers; it had not ventured to disapprove a Crusade against the heretics of Languedoc; but a Crusade (for under that name Gregory IX. levied this war) against the Emperor, and that Emperor the restorer of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, was encountered with sullen repugnance or frank opposition. It was observed as a strange sight that when Frederick's troops advanced against those of the Pope, they still wore the red crosses which they had worn in Palestine. The banner of the Cross, under which Mohammedans fought for Frederick, met the banner with the keys of St. Peter.[1]

The disapprobation of silent disobedience, at best of sluggish and tardy sympathy a not of rude disavowal and condemnation, could not escape the all-watchful ear of Rome. Gregory had no resource but in his own dauntless and unbroken mind, and in the conviction of his power. The German Princes had refused to dethrone King Henry: some of the greatest influence, Leopold Duke of Austria, the Duke of Moravia, the Archbishops of Saltzburg and of Aquileia, the Bishop of Ratisbon, were in Italy endeavoring to mediate a peace. The Lombards did not move; even if the Guelfs had been so disposed, they were everywhere controlled by a Ghibelline opposition. One incident alone was of more encouraging character. Gregory was still at Perugia an exile from rebellious Rome. But a terrific

[1] "Imperator cum crucesignatis contra clavigeros hostes properat." — Rich. de San Germano, p. 1013.

flood had desolated the city. The religious fears of the populace beheld the avenging hand of God for their disobedience to their spiritual father; the Pope returned to Rome in triumph.[1]

Peace was necessary to both parties, negotiations Nov. 1229. were speedily begun. The Pope was suddenly seized with a sacred horror of the shedding of May, 1230. human blood. A treaty was framed at San Germano which maintained unabased the majesty of the Pope.[2] In truth, by the absolution of the Emperor with but a general declaration of submission to the Church, without satisfaction for the special crime for which he had undergone excommunication, the Pope, virtually at least, recognized the injustice of his own Treaty of San Germano. June 14, 1230. censures. Of the affairs of the Holy Land, of the conduct of the Emperor, of the treaty with the Sultan, denounced as impious, there was a profound and cautious silence. In other respects the terms might seem humiliating to the Emperor; he granted a complete amnesty to all his rebellious subjects, the Archbishop of Tarentum and all the bishops and churchmen who had fled the realm; even the reinstatement of the insurgent Counts of Celano and Aversa in their lands and domains in Germany, in Italy, in Sicily; he consented to restore all the places he occupied in the Papal dominions, and all the estates which he had seized belonging to churches, monasteries, the Templars, the Knights of the Hospital, and generally

[1] Not only was there a great destruction of property, of corn, wine, cattle, and of human life, but a great quantity of enormous serpents were cast on shore, which rotted and bred a pestilence. This is a story more than once repeated in the later annals of Rome — on what founded? — Gregor Vit.

[2] Albanensi Episcopo, apud Raynald. 1229.

of all who had adhered to the Church. He renounced the right of judging the ecclesiastics of his realm by the civil tribunals, excepting in matters concerning royal fiefs; he gave up the right of levying taxes on ecclesiastical property, as well that of the clergy as of monasteries. It is said, but it appears not in the treaty, that he promised to defray the enormous charges of the war, variously stated at 120,000 crowns and 120,000 ounces of gold; but in those times promises to pay such debts by no means insured their payment. Frederick never fulfilled this covenant. If to obtain absolution from the Papal censures Frederick willingly yielded to these terms, it shows either that his firm mind was not proof against the awe of the spiritual power which inthralled the rest of Europe, or that he had the wisdom to see that the time was not come to struggle with success against such tyranny. He might indeed hope that, erelong, to the stern old man who now wielded the keys of St. Peter with the vigor of Hildebrand or Innocent III. might succeed some feebler or milder Pontiff. Already was Gregory approaching to or more than ninety years old.[1] He was himself in the strength and prime of manhood, nor could he expect that this same aged Pontiff would rally again for a contest, more long, more obstinate, and though not terminated in his lifetime, more fatal to the Emperor and to the house of Hohenstaufen. Frederick had been released from the ban of excommunication at Ceperano by the Cardinal John of St. Sabina; he visited the Pope at Aug. 28, Sept. 1, 1230

[1] I confess that this extreme old age of Gregory IX. does not seem to me quite clearly made out. At all events, after every deduction, he was of an extraordinary age to display such activity and firmness.

Anagni. They met, Frederick with dignified submission, the Pope with the calm majesty of age and position, held a conference of many hours, appeared together at a splendid banquet, and interchanged the kiss of peace; the antagonists whose mortal quarrel threatened a long convulsion throughout Christendom proclaimed to the world their mutual amity.[1]

Sept. 1, 1230, to 1239, Palm Sunday.

Nearly nine years elapsed before these two antagonists, the Pope Gregory IX. and the Emperor Frederick II. resumed their immitigable warfare, — years of but dubious peace, of open amity yet secret mistrust, in which each called upon the other for aid against his enemies; the Pope on Frederick against the unruly Romans, Frederick on the Pope against the rebellious Lombards, and his rebellious son; June 11, 1234. but where each suspected a secret understanding with those enemies. It is remarkable that both Frederick and the Pope betook themselves in this interval of suspended war to legislation. Frederick to the

[1] Frederick describes the interview: — "Deinde ut post absolutionem ex præsentia corporum mentium serenitas sequeretur, primo Septembris apostolicam sedem adivimus, et sanctissimum patrem dominum Gregorium, Dei gratiâ summum Pontificem vidimus reverenter. Qui affectione paternâ nos recipiens, et pace cordium sacris osculis federatâ, tam benevole, tam benigne propositum nobis suæ intentionis aperuit de ipsis quæ precesserant nil omittens, et singula prosequens evidentis judicio rationis, quod etsi nos precedens causa commoverit, vel rancorem potuerit aliquem attulisse, sic benevolentia, quam persensimus in eodem, omnem motum lenivit animi, et nostram amoto rancore serenavit adeo voluntatem, ut non velimus ulterius præterita memorari quæ necessitas intulit, ut virtus ex necessitate prodens operaretur gratiam ampliorem." — Monument. Germ. iv. 275. There is something very striking in this. The generous awe and reverence of Frederick for the holy old man, considering his deep injuries (I envy not those who can see nothing but specious hypocrisy in Frederick), and the Christian amenity of the Pope, considering that Frederick, a short time before, had been called a godless heretic, almost a Mohammedan. Their mutual enmity is lost in mutual respect.

promulgation of a new jurisprudence for his kingdom of Naples and Sicily; Gregory of a complete and authoritative code of the Decretals which formed the statute law by which the Papacy and the sacerdotal order ruled the world, and administered the internal government of the Church. During the commencement of this period Frederick left the administration of affairs in Germany, though he still exercised an imperial control, to his son Henry. The rebellion of Henry alone seemed to compel him to cross A.D. 1235. the Alps and resume the sway. His legislation aspired to regulate the Empire; but in Germany from the limits imposed on his power, it was not a complete and perfect code, it was a succession of remedial laws. His earliest and most characteristic work of legislation was content to advance the peace, prosperity, and happiness of his own Southern realm.

The constitution of his beloved kingdom was thus the first care of Frederick. As a legislator he commands almost unmingled admiration; and the aim and temper of his legislation whether emanating from himself, or adopted from the counsel of others, may justly influence the general estimate of a character so variously represented by the passions of his own age, passions which have continued to inflame, and even yet have not died away from the heart of man.[1] The object of Frederick's jurisprudence was the mitigation, as far as possible the suppression, of feudal violence and oppression; the assertion of equal rights, equal justice,

[1] Even in our own day M. Höfler, for instance, seems to revive all the rancor of the days of Innocent IV. Even Boehmer is not above this fatal influence. This part of my work was finished before the publication of the "Regesta Imperii," to which, nevertheless, I am bound to acknowledge much obligation.

equal burdens; the toleration of different religions; the promotion of commerce by wise, almost premature regulations; the advancement of intellectual culture among his subjects by the establishment of universities liberally endowed, and by the encouragement of all the useful and refined arts. It is difficult to suppose a wise, equal and humane legislator, a blind, a ruthless tyrant; or to reconcile the careful and sagacious provision for the rights and well-being of all ranks of his subjects with the reckless violation of those rights, and with heavy and systematic oppression; more especially if that jurisprudence is original and beyond his age. The legislator may himself be in some respects below the lofty aim of his laws; Frederick may have been driven to harsh measures to bring into order the rebellious magnates of the realm, whom his absence in Asia, the invasion and the intrigues of the Papal party, cast loose from their allegiance; the abrogation of their tyrannical privileges may have left a deep and brooding discontent, ready to break out into revolt and constantly enforcing still more rigorous enactments. The severe guardian of the morals of his subjects may have claimed to himself in some respects a royal, and Asiatic indulgence; he may have been compelled by inevitable wars to lay onerous burdens on the people, he may have been compelled to restrict or suspend the rights of particular subjects, or classes of subjects, by such determined hostility as that of the clergy to himself and to all his house; but on the whole the laws and institutions of the kingdom of Naples are an unexceptionable and imperishable testimony at least to his lofty designs for the good of mankind; which history cannot decline, or rather receives with greater respect and trust than can

be claimed by any contemporary view of the acts or of the character of Frederick II. It is in this light only as illustrating the life of the great antagonist of the Church that they belong to Christian history, beyond their special bearing on religious questions, and the rights and condition of the clergy.[1]

The groundwork of Frederick's legislation was the stern supremacy of the law; the submission of all, even the nobles, who exercised the feudal privilege of separate jurisdictions, to a certain extent of the clergy, to the king's sole and exclusive justice. This was the great revolution through which every feudal kingdom must inevitably pass sooner or later.[2] The crown must become the supreme fountain of justice and law. The first, and most difficult, but necessary step was the uniformity of that law. There was the most extraordinary variety of laws and usages throughout the realm, Roman, Greek, Gothic, Lombard, Norman, Imperial-German institutes; old municipal and recent seignorial rights.[3] The Jews had their special privileges, the Saracens their own customs and forms of procedure. The majestic law had to overawe to one system of obedience, with due maintenance of their proper rights, the nobles, the clergy, the burghers, and the peasants, even

[1] The constitutions of the Emperor Frederick may be read in Canciani, vol. i. sub fine. I am much indebted for a brief, it appears to me very sensible and accurate comment in the Considerazioni sopra la Storia di Sicilia, by the Canonico Gregorio (Palermo, 1805), and to my friend M. von Raumer's earliest and best work, Geschichte der Hohenstaufen.

[2] King Roger (see the Canonico Gregorio, t. iii.) had already vindicated a certain supremacy for the King's Justiciary. King Roger's legislation is strikingly analogous to, Gregorio thinks borrowed from that of his remote kinsman William, our Norman Conqueror. In France this was among the great steps first decisively taken by St. Louis.

[3] Canciani, Preface.

the Jews and the Mohammedans. Frederick wisely determined not to aspire so much to be the founder of an absolutely new jurisprudence, as to select, confirm, and harmonize the old institutions.[1]

Laws relating to religion.

The religious ordinances of the Sicilian constitution demand our first examination. Frederick maintained the immunities of the worshippers of other religions, of the Jews and the Arabians, with such impartial equity, as to incur for this and other causes the name of Jew and Saracen. But the most faithful son of the Church could not condemn the heretic with more authoritative severity, or visit his offence with more remorseless punishment.[2] Heresy was described as a crime against the offender himself, against his neighbor and against God, a more heinous crime even than high treason. The obstinate heretic was condemned to be burned, his whole property confiscated, his children were incapable of holding office or of bearing testimony. If such child should merit mercy by the denunciation of another heretic, or of a concealer of heretics, the Emperor might restore him to his rank. Schismatics were declared outlaws, incapable of inheriting, liable to forfeiture of their goods. No one might petition in favor of a heretic: yet the repentant heretic might receive pardon; his punishment, after due investigation of the case by the ecclesiastical power, was to be adjudged by the secular authority

[1] The code was published at Amalfi, Sept. 1231; Rich. San Germ. sub ann. 1231; in Sicily by Richard de Montenegro, High Justiciary, during the same year. Append. ad Malater. p. 251. Gregorio, iii. 14.

[2] Compare the edicts issued at Ravenna, Feb. 22, 1232, and March, against the Lombard heretics. They might have satisfied St. Dominic or Simon de Montfort. Reënacted at Cremona, 1238; at Padua, 1239. — Monument. Germ. iv. 287, 288. Also letter of June 15, ex Regest. Greg. IX. In Höfler, p. 344.

But these laws were directed against a particular class of men, dangerous it was thought no less to the civil than to the religious power; actual rebels against the Church, rebels likewise against the Emperor, who was still the conservator of pure orthodoxy, and betraying at least rebellious inclinations, if not designs hostile towards all power. They were neither enacted nor put in force against the Greek Christians, who were still in considerable numbers in the kingdom of Sicily, had their own priests, and celebrated undisturbed their own rites. They were those heretics which swarmed under various denominations, Cathari or Paterins, from rebellious and republican Lombardy, the hated and suspected source of all these opinions. In all the states of the Pope, in Rome itself, not merely were there hidden descendants of the Arnoldists, but all the wild sects which defied the most cruel persecutions in the North of Italy, spread their doctrines even within the shadow of the towers of St. Peter. Naples and Aversa were full of them,[1] and derived them from rebellious Lombardy; and Frederick, whose notions of the imperial power were as absolute as Gregory's of the Papal, not only would not incur by their protection such suspicions, as would have inevitably risen, of harboring or favoring heretics, he scrupled not to assist in the extermination of these insolent insurrectionists against lawful authority.[2]

[1] "Adeo quod ab Italiæ finibus, præsertim a partibus Longobardiæ in quibus pro certo perpendimus ipsorum nequitiam amplius abundare, jam usque ad regnum nostrum suæ pertidiæ rivulos derivarunt." — l. i. tit. i. "Quod delentes referimus, in regno nostro Siciliæ Neapolin. et Aversam, partesque vicinas dicitur intecisse." — Frederic. Epist. apud Epist. Gregor. iv. 131.

[2] Gregor. Vit. Richard de San Germ. See also the Edict of the Senator and people of Rome. — Apud Raynald. 1231. Compare (afterwards) Fred-

The Constitution of Frederick endeavored to reduce the clergy into obedient and loyal subjects at once by the vigorous assertion of the supreme and impartial law, and by securing and extending their acknowledged immunities. The clergy were amenable to the general law of the realm as concerned fiefs, could be impleaded in the ordinary courts concerning occupancy of land, inheritances, and debts: they had jurisdiction over their own body, with the right of inflicting canonical punishments: but besides this they were amenable to the secular laws, especially for treason, or all crimes relating to the person of the King.[1] They were not exempt from general taxation; they were bound to discharge all feudal obligations for their fiefs. On the other hand, the crown abandoned its claim to the revenues of vacant bishopries and benefices:[2] three unexceptionable persons belonging to the Church were appointed receivers on behalf of the successor. On the election of bishops the law of Innocent III. was recognized; the chapter communicated the vacancy to the Crown, and proceeded to elect a fit successor; that successor could not be inaugurated without the consent of the King, nor consecrated without that of the Pope. Tithes were secured to the Church from all lands, even from the royal domains;[3] the Crown only enforced the expenditure of the appointed third on the sacred edifices, the churches and chapels. All special courts of the higher ecclesiastics as of the barons were abrogated; the crown would be the sole fountain of justice:

erick's letter commanding the heretics throughout Lombardy to be committed to the flames.

[1] i. 42. A law of King William.

[2] iii. 28. Serfs and villains were not to be ordained, iii. 1, 3.

[3] i. 7.

but the holders of the great spiritual fiefs sat with the great Barons under the presidency of the high Chancellor. Excepting in cases of marriage, no separate jurisdiction of the clergy was recognized over the laity.[1] Appeals to Rome were allowed, but only on matters purely ecclesiastical; and these during wars with the Pope were absolutely forbidden. The great magnates of the realm received likewise substantial benefits in lieu of the privileges wrested from them, which were perilous to the public peace.[2] All their separate jurisdictions of noble or prelate were abolished; the King's judiciary was alone and supreme. But their fiefs were made hereditary, and in the female line and to collaterals in the third degree.[3]

The cities were emancipated from all the jurisdictions of nobles or of ecclesiastics; but the municipal authorities were not absolutely left to their free election. The Sicilian King dreaded the fatal example of the Lombard Republics: all the superior governors were nominated by the Crown; the cities only retained in their own hands the inferior appointments, for the regulation of their markets and havens.[4] The law overlooked not the interests of the free peasants, who constituted the chief cultivators of the soil; or that of the serfs attached to the soil. Absolute slavery was by no means common in Sicily; the serfs could acquire and hold property. The free peas-

Cities.

Peasants.

[1] Frederick asserted and exercised the right of declaring the children of the clergy, who by the canon law were spurious, legitimate, with full title to a share in all the inheritances of all the goods of their parents, unless they were fiefs; and capability of attaining to all civil offices and honors. For this privilege they paid an annual tax of five per cent. to the royal exchequer. This implied the marriage of the clergy to a great extent. — Pet. de Vin. vi. 16. Constitut. iii. 25.

[2] i. 46. [3] iii. 23, 24. [4] i. 47.

ants were numerous; the measures of Frederick tended to raise the serfs to the same condition. He absolutely emancipated all those on the royal domain. The establishment of his courts enabled all classes to obtain justice at an easy and cheap rate against their lords; the extraordinary aids to be demanded by the lord were limited by law, that of the lay feudal superior, to aids on the marriage of a daughter or sister, the arming the son when summoned to the service of the King, and his ransom in captivity; that of the higher ecclesiastics and monasteries, to the summons to the King's service, and receiving the King at free quarters; journeys to Church Councils, summoned by the Pope, and Consecrations. Frederick was so desirous to promote the cultivation of the soil, that he exempted new settlers in Sicily from taxes for ten years; only the Jews, who took refuge from Africa, were obliged to pay such taxes, and compelled to become cultivators of the land.

Parliaments.

But of all institutions, the most advanced was the system of representative government, for the first time regularly framed by the laws of the realm. Besides the ancient Parliaments, at which the magnates of the realm, the great ecclesiastical and secular vassals of the Crown assembled when summoned by the King's writs, two annual sessions took place, on the 1st of March and the 1st of August, of a Parliament constituted from the different orders of the realm.[1] All the Barons and Prelates appeared in person; each of the larger cities sent four representatives, each smaller city two, each town or other place one; to these were joined all the great and lesser Bail-

[1] One of the cities appointed for the meeting of Parliament in Apulia was Lentini; in Sicily, Piazza. Compare Gregorio, iii. p. 82.

iffs of the Crown. The summons to the Barons and Prelates was directly from the King, that of the cities and towns from the judge of the province. They were to choose men of probity, good repute, and impartiality. A Commissioner from the Crown opened the Parliament, and conducted its proceedings, which lasted from eight to ten days. Every clerk or layman might arraign the conduct of any public officer, or offer his advice for the good of his town or district. The determinations which the royal Commissioner, with the advice of the most distinguished spiritual and temporal persons, approved, were delivered signed and sealed by him directly to the King, excepting in unimportant matters, which might be regulated by an order from the Justiciary of the Province.

The criminal law of Frederick's constitution was, with some remarkable exceptions, mild beyond precedent; and also administered with a solemnity, impartiality, and regularity, elsewhere unknown. The Chief Justiciary of the realm, with four other judges, formed the great Court of Criminal Law; and the Crown asserted itself to be the exclusive administrator of criminal justice.[1] Besides its implacable abhorrence of heresy, it was severe and inexorable against all disturbers of the peace of the realm, and those who endangered the public security. Private war,[2] and the execution of the law by private hands, was rigidly forbidden. Justice must be sought only in the King's courts. The punishment for every infringement of

[1] Gregorio, l. iii. c. iv. "Nobis aliquando, quibus solum ordinationem justitiariorum ubicunque fuerimus, reservamus." — l. i. t. 95. This was part of the "merum imperium" of the sovereign. — i. t. 49.

[2] i. 8.

this statute was decapitation and forfeiture of goods Arms were not to be borne except by the King's officers, employed in the court or on the royal affairs,[1] or by knights, knights' sons, and burghers, riding abroad from their own homes. Whoever drew his sword on another paid double the fine imposed for bearing it; whoever wounded another lost his hand; whoever killed a man, if a knight, was beheaded, if of lower rank, hanged. If the homicide could not be found, the district paid a heavy fine, yet in proportion to the wehrgeld of the slain man; but Christians paid twice as much as Jews or Saracens, as, no doubt, bound more especially to know and maintain the law. The laws for the preservation of female chastity were singular and severe. Even rape upon a common prostitute was punished by beheading, if the charge was brought within a certain time:[2] whoever did not aid a woman suffering violence was heavily fined. But in these cases a false accusation was visited with the same punishment. Mothers who betrayed their daughters to whoredom had their noses cut off;[3] men who connived at the adultery of their wives were scourged. A man caught in adultery might be slain by the husband; if not instantly slain, he paid a heavy fine. The trials by battle and ordeal were abolished as vain and superstitious: the former allowed only in cases of murder, poisoning, or high treason, where there was strong suspicion but not full proof. It was designed to work on the terror of the criminal; but if the accuser was worsted, he was condemned in case of high treason to the utmost penalty; in other cases to proportionate punishment. Torture was only used in cases

[1] Gregorio, i. 9. [2] i. 20. [3] iii. 48, 50.

of heavy suspicion against persons of notoriously evil repute.[1]

These are but instances of the spirit in which Frederick framed his legislation, which aimed rather to advance, enrich, enlighten his subjects than to repress their free development by busy and perpetual interference. His regulations concerning commerce were almost prophetically wise; he laid down the great maxim that commercial exchange benefited both parties; he permitted the export of corn as the best means of fostering its cultivation. He entered into liberal treaties with Venice, with Asia, Genoa, and the Greek Empire, and even with some of the Saracen powers in Africa. By common consent, both parties condemned the plundering of wrecks, and pledged themselves to mutual aid and friendly reception into their harbors. The King himself was a great merchant; the royal vessels traded to Syria, Egypt, and other parts of the East. He had even factors who traded to India.[2] He encouraged internal commerce by the establishment of great fairs and markets;[3] manufactures of various kinds began to prosper.

But that which — if the constitution of Frederick

[1] Frederick's legislation was not content with abolishing these barbarous forms of testimony, almost the only available testimony in rude unlettered times. He laid down rules on written evidence: documents must be on parchment, not on perishable paper: he prohibited a certain kind of obscure and intricate writing, in use at Naples, Amalfi, and Sorrento; and ordered the notaries to write all deeds legibly and clearly. The Emperor himself laid down regulations to test the authenticity of a certain document. — Gregorio, iii. p. 61.

[2] "Fredericus II. erat omnibus Soldanis Orientis particeps in mercimoniis et amicissimus, ita ut usque ad Indos currebant ad commodum suum, tam per mare, quam per terras, institores." — Matth. Par. 544.

[3] See edict for annual fairs at Sulmona, Capua, Lucera, Bari, Tarentum Cosenza, Reggio, Jan. 1234. — Rich. San Germ.

had continued to flourish, if the institutions had worked out in peace their natural consequences — if the house of Hohenstaufen had maintained their power, splendor and tendencies to social and intellectual advancement, if they had not been dispossessed by the dynasty of Charles of Anjou, and the whole land thrown back by many centuries — might have enabled the Southern kingdom to take the lead, and anticipate the splendid period of Italian learning, philosophy, and art, was the universities; the establishments for education; the encouragements for all learned and refined studies, imagined by this accomplished King. Even the revival of Greek letters might not have awaited the conquest of Constantinople by the Turks four centuries later. Greek was the spoken language of the people in many parts of the kingdom; the laws of Frederick were translated into Greek for popular use; the epitaph of the Archbishop of Messina in the year 1175 was Greek.[1] There were Greek priests and Greek congregations in many parts of Apulia and Sicily; the privileges conferred by the Emperor Henry VI. on Messina had enacted that one of the three magistrates should be a Greek. Hebrew, and still more Arabic, were well known, not merely by Jews and Arabians but by learned scholars. Frederick himself spoke German, Italian, Latin, Greek, Arabic, and Hebrew. He declared his own passionate love for learned and philosophical studies. Nothing after the knowledge of affairs, of laws and of arms, became a monarch so well; to this he devoted all his leisure hours, these were the liberal pursuits which adorned and dignified human life.[2] In Syria, and in his intercourse with the Eastern

[1] Von Raumer, p. 556. [2] Peter de Vineâ, iii. 67.

monarchs, he had obtained great collections of books; he caused translations to be made from the Arabic, and out of Greek into Latin, of some of the philosophic works of Aristotle and the Almagest of Ptolemy.[1] The university of Naples was his great foundation; Salerno remained the famous school of medicine; but the university in the capital was encouraged by liberal endowments, and by regulations with regard to the relations of the scholars and the citizens; the price of lodgings was fixed by royal order; sums of money were to be advanced to youths at low interest, and could not be exacted during the years of study. The King held out to the more promising students honorable employments in his service. Philosophical studies appeared most suited to the genius of Frederick; natural history and the useful sciences he cultivated with success; but he had likewise great taste for the fine arts, especially for architecture, both ornamental and military. He restored the walls of many of the greatest cities; built bridges and other useful works. He had large menageries, supplied from the East and from Africa. He sometimes vouchsafed to send some of the more curious animals about for the instruction and amusement of his subjects. The Ravennese were de-

[1] He employed the celebrated Michael Scott (the fabled magician) in the translation of Aristotle. Among the Papal documents relating to England in the British Museum are several letters concerning this remarkable man, patronized alike by Frederick and by the Popes. Honorius III. writes (Jan. 16, 1225, p. 214) to the Archbishop of Canterbury to bestow preferment on Michael Scott: "Quod inter literatos dono vigeat scientiæ singulari." M. Scott (p. 229) has a license to hold pluralities. (P. 246) he is named by the Pope Archbishop of Cashel, and to hold his other benefices. (P. 253) he refuses the Archbishopric: "Dum linguam terræ illius se ignorare diceret." He is described as not only a great Latin scholar, but as familiar with Hebrew and Arabic

'ighted with the appearance of some royal animals. He was passionately fond of field sports, of the chase with the hound and the hawk; his own book on falconry is not merely instructive on that sport, but is a scientific treatise on the nature and habits of those birds, and of many other animals. The first efforts of Italian sculpture and painting rose under his auspices; the beautiful Italian language began to form itself in his court: it has been said above that the earliest strains of Italian poetry were heard there: Peter de Vineâ, the Chancellor of Frederick, the compiler of his laws, was also the writer of the earliest Italian sonnet. Nor was Peter de Vineâ the only courtier who emulated the King in poetry; his beloved son Enzio, many of his courtiers, vied with their King and his ministers in the cultivation of the Italian language; and its first fruits the rich harmonious Italian poetry.[1]

His own age beheld with admiring amazement the magnificence of Frederick's court, the unexampled progress in wealth, luxury, and knowledge. The realm was at peace, notwithstanding some disturbance by those proud barons, whose interest it was to maintain the old feudal and seignorial rights; the reluctance of the clergy to recede from the complete dominion over the popular mind; and the taxation, which weighed, especially as Frederick became more involved in the Lombard war, on all classes. The world had seen no

[1] Some of these poems I have read in a collection of the Poeti del Primo Secolo, Firenze, 1814. A small volume has been published by the Literary Union of Stuttgard (1543), Italienische Lieder des Hohenstaufischen Hofes in Sicilien. It contains lays by thirteen royal and noble authors. Dante, in his book De Vulgari Eloquentia, traces to the court of Frederick the origin of the true and universal Italian language. We return to this subject.

court so splendid, no system of laws so majestically equitable; a new order of things appeared to be arising; an epoch to be commencing in human civilization. But this admiration was not universal: there was a deep and silent jealousy, an intuitive dread in the Church,[1] and in all the faithful partisans of the Church of remote, if not immediate danger; of a latent design, at least a latent tendency in the temporal kingdom to set itself apart, and to sever itself from the one great religious Empire, which had now been building itself up for centuries. There was, if not an avowed independence, a threatening disposition to independence. The legislation, if it did not directly clash, yet it seemed to clash, with the higher law of the Church: if it did not make the clergy wholly subordinate, it degraded them in some respect to the rank of subjects; if it did not abrogate, it limited what were called the rights and privileges, but which were in fact the separate rule and dominion of the clergy; at all events, it assumed a supremacy, set itself above, admitted only what it chose of the great Canon Law of the Church; it was self-originating, self-asserting, it had not condescended to consult those in whom for centuries all political as well as spiritual wisdom had been concentred; it was a legislation neither emanating from, nor consented to by the Church. If every nation were thus to frame its own constitution, without regard to the great unity

[1] The Pope seemed to consider that Frederick's new constitutions *must* be inimical to the Church. "Intelleximus siquidem quod vel proprio motu, vel seductus inconsultis consiliis perversorum, novas edere constitutiones intendis ex quibus *necessario* sequitur ut dicaris Ecclesiæ persecutor et obrutor publicæ libertatis." — lib. v. Epist. 91, apud Raynald. 1231. He reproaches the Archbishop of Capua as "Frederico constitutiones destructivas salutis et institutivas enormium scandalorum edenti voluntarius obsequens." — Apud Höfler, ii. p. 333

maintained by the Church, the vast Christian confederacy would break up; Kings might assume the power of forbidding the recurrence to Rome as the religious capital of the world; independent kingdoms might aspire to found independent churches. This new knowledge too was not less dangerous because its ultimate danger was not clearly seen; at all events, it was not knowledge introduced, sanctioned, taught by the sole great instructress, the Church. Theology, the one Science, was threatened by a rival, and whence did that rival profess to draw her wisdom? from the Heathen, the Jew, the Unbeliever; from the Pagan Greek, the Hebrew, the Arabic. That which might be in itself harmless, edifying, improving, when taught by the Church, would but inflame the rebellious pride of the human intellect. What meant this ostentatious toleration of other religions, if not total indifference to Christ and God; if not a secret inclination to apostasy? What was all this splendor, but Epicurean or Eastern luxury? What this poetry, but effeminate amatory songs? Was this the life of a Christian King, of a Christian nobility, of a Christian people? It was an absolute renunciation of the severe discipline of the Church, of that austere asceticism, which however the clergy and religious men alone could practise its angelic, its divine perfection, was the remote virtue after which all, even Kings (so many of whom had exchanged their worldly robes for the cowl and for sackcloth) ought to aspire, as to the ultimate culminating height of true Christianity. It was Mohammedan not merely in its secret indulgences, its many concubines, in which the Emperor was still said to allow himself Mohammedan license; some of his chosen companions,

his trusted counsellors, at least his instructors in science and philosophy were Mohammedans; ladies of that race and religion appeared, as has been said, at his court (in them virtue was a thing incredible to a sound churchman). The Saracens whom he had transplanted to Nocera were among his most faithful troops, followed him in his campaigns; it was even reported, that after his marriage with Isabella of England, he dismissed her English ladies, and made her over to the care of Moorish eunuchs.

Such to the world was the fame, such to the Church the evil fame of Frederick's Sicilian court; exaggerated no doubt as to its splendor, luxury, license, and learning, as well by the wonder of the world, as by the abhorrence of the Church. Yet, after all, out of his long life (long if considered not by years but by events, by the civil acts, the wars, the negotiations, the journeyings, the vicissitudes, crowded into it by Frederick's own busy and active ambition and by the whirling current of affairs) the time during which he sunned himself in this gorgeous voluptuousness must have been comparatively short, intermittent, broken. At eighteen years of age Frederick left Sicily to win the Imperial crown: he had then eight years of the cold German climate and the rude German manners during the establishment of his Sovereignty over the haughty German Princes and Prelates. Then eight years in the South, but during the four first the rebellious Apulian and Sicilian nobles were to be brought under control, the Saracens to be reduced to obedience, and transported to Apulia: throughout the later four was strife with the Lombard cities, strife about the Crusade, and preparation for the voyage.

A.D. 1220 to 1224.

A.D. 1225 to 1228.

Then came his Eastern campaign, his reconciliation with the Church. Four years followed of legislation; and perhaps the nearest approach to indolent and luxurious peace. Then succeeded the revolt of his son. Four years more to coerce rebellious Germany, to attempt in vain to coerce rebellious Lombardy: all this was to close, with his life, in the uninterrupted immitigable feud with Gregory IX. and Innocent IV.

A.D. 1230 to 1234.

A.D. 1234 to 1238.

The Pope Gregory IX. (it is impossible to decide how far influenced by the desire of overawing this tendency of temporal legislation to assert its own independence) determined to array the higher and eternal law of the Church in a more august and authoritative form. The great code of the Papal Decretals constituted this law; it had now long recognized and admitted to the honors of equal authority the bold inventions of the book called by the name of Isidore; but during the Pontificate of Innocent III. there had been five distinct compilations, conflicting in some points, and giving rise to intricate and insoluble questions.[1] Gregory in his old age aspired to be the Justinian of the Church. He intrusted the compilation of a complete and regular code to Raimond de Pennaforte, a noble Spaniard, related to the royal house of Arragon, of the Dominican Order, and now the most distinguished jurist in the University of Bologna. Raimond de Pennaforte was to be to the

The Decretals.

[1] "Sane diversas constitutiones, et decretales epistolas, prædecessorum nostrorum in diversa sparsas volumina, quarum aliquæ propter nimiam similitudinem, et quædam propter contrarietatem, nonnullæ etiam propter suam prolixitatem, confusionem inducere videbantur; aliquæ vero vagabantur extra volumina supradicta, quæ tanquam incertæ frequenter in judiciis vacillabant." — In Præfat.

Canon what Irnerius of Bologna had been to the revived Roman Law. It is somewhat singular that Raymond had been the most famous antagonist of the Arabian school of learning, the most admired champion of Christianity, in his native Spain.

The first part of these Decretals comprehended the whole, in a form somewhat abbreviated; abbreviations which, as some complained, endangered the rights of the Church on important points; but were defended by the admirers of Raymond of Pennaforte, who declared that he could not err, for an angel from Heaven had constantly watched over his holy work.[1] The second contained the Decretals of Gregory IX. himself. The whole was promulgated as the great statute law of Christendom, superior in its authority to all secular laws as the interests of the soul were to those of the body, as the Church was of greater dignity than the State; as the Pope higher than any one temporal sovereign, or all the sovereigns of the world. Though especially the law of the clergy, it was the law binding likewise on the laity as Christians, as religious men, both as demanding their rigid observance of all the rights, immunities, independent jurisdictions of the clergy, and concerning their own conduct as spiritual subjects of the Church. All temporal jurisprudence was bound to frame its decrees with due deference to the superior ecclesiastical jurisprudence; to respect the borders of that inviolable domain; not only not to interfere with those matters over which the Church claimed exclusive cognizance, but to be prepared to enforce by temporal means those decrees which the Church, in her tenderness for human

[1] Chiflet, quoted by Schroeck, xxvii. 64. Raymond de Pennaforte was canonized by Clement VIII., in 1601.

life, in her clemency, or in her want of power, was unwilling or unable herself to carry into execution. Beyond that sacred circle temporal legislation might claim the full allegiance of its temporal subjects; but the Church alone could touch the holy person, punish the delinquencies, control the demeanor of the sacerdotal order; could regulate the power of the superior over the inferior clergy, and choose those who were to be enrolled in the order. The Church alone could administer the property of the Church; that property it was altogether beyond the province of the civil power to tax; even as to feudal obligations, the Church would hardly consent to allow any decisions but her own: though compelled to submit to the assent of the crown in elections to benefices which were temporal fiefs, yet that assent was, on the other hand, counterbalanced by her undoubted power to consecrate or to refuse consecration. The Book of Gregory's Decretals was ordered to be the authorized text in all courts and in all schools of law; it was to be, as it were, more and more deeply impressed into the minds of men. Even in its form it closely resembled the Roman law yet unabrogated in many parts of Europe; but of course it comprehended alike those who lived under the different national laws, which had adopted more or less of the old Latin jurisprudence; it was the more universal statute-book of the more wide-ruling, all-embracing Rome.

# CHAPTER IV.

## RENEWAL OF HOSTILITIES BETWEEN GREGORY IX. AND FREDERICK II.

DURING the nine years of peace between the Empire and the Papacy, Pope Gregory IX. at times poured forth his flowery eloquence to the praise, almost the adulation, of the Emperor; the Emperor proclaimed himself the most loyal subject of the Church. The two potentates concurred only with hearty zeal in the persecution of those rebels against the civil and ecclesiastical power, the heretics.[1]

Peace of nine years. A.D. 1230 to 1239. From St. Alban.

[1] During this period of peace an obscure heresy, that of the Stedinger, appeared or grew to its height in the duchy of Oldenburg; the Pope and the Emperor would concur in inflicting summary punishment on these rebels. Hartung, the Archbishop of Bremen, had long appealed to Rome. On one occasion he returned with full power to subdue his refractory spiritual subjects, bearing, as he boasted, a singular and significant relic, – the sword with which Peter had struck off the ear of Malchus. More than thirty years after, Archbishop Gerhard, Count de la Lippe, a martial prelate, turned not his spiritual but his secular arms against them. Among their deadly tenets was the refusal to pay tithes. The Pope recites the charges against them, furnished of course by their mortal enemies. They worshipped the Evil One now as a toad, which they kissed behind and on the mouth, and licked up its foul venom; now as a man, with a face wonderfully pale, haggard, with coal-black eyes. They kissed him; his kiss was cold as ice, and with his kiss oozed away all their Catholic faith. The Pope would urge the Emperor to take part in the war against these wretches. Conrad of Marburg, the hateful persecutor of the saintly Elizabeth of Hungary, now the Holy Inquisitor, was earnest and active in the cause. The Stedinger withstood a crusading army of 40,000 men; were defeated with the loss of 6000. Many fled to other lands; the rest submitted to the Archbishop. The Pope released them from the excommunica-

At Rome multitudes of meaner religious criminals were burned; many priests and of the lower orders of clergy degraded and sent to Monte Casino and other rigid monasteries as prisoners for life.[1] The Pope issued an act of excommunication rising in wrath and terror above former acts. Persons suspected of heresy were under excommunication; if within a year they did not prove themselves guiltless, they were to be treated as heretics. Heretics were at once infamous; if judges, their acts were at once null; if advocates, they could not plead; if notaries, the instruments which they had drawn were invalid. All priests were to be publicly stripped of their holy dress and degraded. No gifts or oblations were to be received from them; the clerk who bestowed Christian burial on a heretic was to disentomb him with his own hands, and cast him forth from the cemetery, which became an accursed place unfit for burial. No lay person was to dispute in public or in private concerning the Catholic faith: no descendant of a heretic to the second generation could be admitted to holy orders. Annibaldi, the senator of Rome and the Roman people, passed a decree enacting condign punishment on all heretics. The Emperor, not content with suppressing these insurgents in his hereditary dominions, had given orders that throughout Lombardy, their chief seat, they should be sought out, delivered to the Inquisitors,[2] and there punished by the

tion: but it is curious to observe, he only censures their disobedience and insurrection; he is silent of their heresy. — Raynaldus, sub ann. 1233; Shroeck, xxix. 641, &c. The original authorities are Albert. Stad. Ger. Monach. apud Boehmer — above all the Papal letters.

[1] Vit. Gregor. IX. Rich. San German. Raynald. sub ann. 1231.

[2] Gregory in one letter insinuates that Frederick had burned some good Catholics, his enemies, as pretending that they were or had been heretics. — Epist. 244. Raynald. p. 85.

secular arm.[1] One of his own most useful allies, Eccelin di Romano, was in danger. Eccelin's two sons, Eccelin and Alberic, offered to denounce him to the Inquisition. There was, what it is difficult to describe but as profound hypocrisy, or worse, on the part of the Pope: he declared his unwillingness to proceed to just vengeance against the father of such pious sons, who by his guilt would forfeit, as in a case of capital treason, all their inheritance; the sons were to persuade Eccelin to abandon all connection with heresy or with heretics: if he refused, they were to regard their own salvation, and to denounce their father before the Papal tribunal.[2] It is strange enough that the suspected heretic, suspected perhaps not unjustly, took the vows, and died in the garb of a monk; the pious son became that Eccelin di Romano whose cruelty seems to have defied the exaggeration of party hatred.

But in all other respects the Pope and the Emperor were equally mistrustful of each other; peace was disguised war. Each had an ally in the midst of the other's territory whom he could not avow, yet would not abandon. Even in these perverse times the conduct of the Romans to the Pope is almost inexplicable. No sooner had the Pope, either harassed or threatened by their unruly proceedings, withdrawn in wrath, or under the pretext of enjoying the purer and cooler air, to Reate, Anagni, or some other neighboring city, than Rome began to regret his absence, to make overtures of submission; and still received him back with more

[1] See ante, note, p. 385.

[2] The age may be pleaded in favor of Gregory IX. What is to be said of the comment of the Papal annalist, Raynaldus? — "Nec mirum cuiquam videri potest datum hoc filiis adversus parentem consilium, cum numinis, a quo descendit omnis paternitas, causa humanis affectibus debet anteferri." p. 41. Raynald. 1231.

rapturous demonstrations of joy.[1] In a few months they began to be weary of their quiet: his splendid buildings for the defence and ornament of the city lost their imposing power, or became threatening to their liberties; he was either compelled or thought it prudent to retire. Viterbo had become to the Romans what Tusculum had been in a former century; the Romans loved their own liberty, but their hate of Viterbo was stronger than their love; the fear that the Pope might take part with Viterbo brought them to his feet; that he did not aid them in the subjugation of Viterbo rekindled their hostility to him. More than once the Pope called on the Emperor to assist him to put down his insurgent subjects: Frederick promised, eluded his promise;[2] his troops were wanted to suppress rebellions not feigned, but rather of some danger, at Messina and Syracuse. He had secret partisans everywhere: when Rome was Papal, Viterbo was Imperialist; when Viterbo was for the Pope, Rome was for the Emperor. If Frederick was insincere in his maintenance of the Pope against his domestic enemies, Gregory was no less insincere in pretending to renounce all alliance, all sympathy with the Lombards.[3] But

[1] Rich. de S. Germ., sub ann. 1231, 1233. He returned to Rome, March 1233. He was again in Anagni in August!

[2] Rebellion, reconciliation, 1233. New rebellion, beginning of 1234. "Quo Fredericus imperator apud sanctum Germanum certa relatione comperto, qui fidele defensionis presidium ecclesiæ Romanæ promiserat, et fidei et majestatis oblitus, Messanam properans, nullo persequente, decessit, hostibus tanti favoris auxilium ex cessione daturus." — Vit. Gregor. Compare Pope's letter (Feb. 3, from Anagni, and Feb. 10.) But in fact there was a dangerous insurrection in Messina; the King's Justiciary had been obliged to fly. Frederick had to put down movements also at Syracuse and Nicosia. — Ann. Sicul. Rich. San Germano.

[3] The Chronicon Placentinum has revealed a renewal of the Lombard League at Bologna, Oct. 26, 1231, and a secret mission to the Pope. p. 98.

this connection of the Pope with the Lombard League required infinite management and dexterity: the Lombard cities swarmed with heretics, and so far were not the most becoming allies of the Pope.[1] Yet this alliance might seem an affair, not of policy only, but of safety. Gregory could not disguise to himself that so popular, so powerful a sovereign had never environed the Papal territories on every side. If Frederick (and Frederick's character might seem daring enough for so impious an act) should despise the sacred awe which guarded the person of the Pope, and scorn his excommunications, he was in an instant at the gates of Rome, of fickle and treacherous Rome. He had planted his two colonies of Saracens near the Apulian frontier; they at least would have no scruple in executing his most irreverent orders. The Pope was at his mercy, and friendless, as far as any strong or immediate check on the ambition or revenge of the Emperor. The Pope in supporting the Lombard republics, assumed the lofty position of the sacred defender of liberty, the assertor of Italian independence, when Italy seemed in danger of lying prostrate under one stern and despotic monarchy, which would extend from the German Ocean to the further shore of Sicily. At first his endeavors were wisely and becomingly devoted to the maintenance of peace — a peace which, so long as the Emperor refrained from asserting his full imperial rights, so long

[1] A modern writer, rather Papal, thus describes the state of Italy at that time: "Alle Kreise und Stände derjenigen Theils der Nation, den man als den eigentlichen Träger der Intelligenz in Italien betrachten musste, waren geistig frei und mächtig genug, wo ihre Interessen denen der Kirche entgegen waren, die letzteren mit Füssen zu treten, nicht bloss einzelne Podestater, oder das Geld-interesse des gemeinen Volkes, sondern oft alle gebildeten Städtbewohner wagten es keck den Bannstrahlen des Papstes hohn zu sprechen." — Leo, Geschichte der Italien, ii. 234.

as the Guelfs ruled undisturbed in those cities in which their interests predominated, the republics were content to observe; the lofty station of the mediator of such peace became his sacred function, and gave him great weight with both parties.[1] But nearly at the same time an insurrection of the Pope's Roman subjects, more daring and aggressive than usual, compelled him to seek the succor of Frederick, and Frederick was threatened with a rebellion which the high-minded and religious Pope could not but condemn, though against his fearful adversary.

Affairs of Rome.

For the third or fourth time the Pope had been compelled to retire to Reate. Under the senatorship of Luca di Sabelli the senate and people of Rome had advanced new pretensions, which tended to revolutionize the whole Papal dominions. They had demolished part of the Lateran palace, razed some of the palaces of the cardinals, proclaimed their open defiance of the Pope's governor, the Cardinal Rainier. They had sent justiciaries into Tuscany and the Sabine country to receive oaths of allegiance to themselves, and to exact tribute. The Pope wrote pressing letters addressed to all the princes and bishops of Christendom, imploring succor in men and money; there was but one near enough at hand to aid, had all been willing. The Pope could not but call on him whose title as Emperor was protector of the Church, who as King of Naples was first vassal of the papal see. Frederick did not disobey the summons: with his young son Conrad he visited the Pope at Reate. The Cardinal

May, 1234.

May 20, 1234.

[1] See the letter to Frederick, in which he assumes the full power of arbitration between the Emperor and the League. — Monument. Germ. iv. 299, dated June 5, 1233.

Rainier had thrown himself with the Pope's forces into Viterbo; the army of Frederick sat down before Respampano, a strong castle which the Romans occupied in the neighborhood as an annoyance, and as a means, it might be, of surprising and taking Viterbo. But Respampano made resistance; Frederick him- Sept. 1234.
self retired, alleging important affairs, to his own dominions. The Papalists burst into a cry of reproach at his treacherous abandonment of the Pope. Yet it was entirely by the aid of some of his German troops that the Papal army inflicted a humiliating defeat on the Romans, who were compelled to submit to the April 16, 1235.
terms of peace dictated by the Pope,[1] and enforced by the Emperor, who was again with the Pope at Reate. Angelo Malebranca, "by the grace of God the illustrious senator of the gentle city" (such were the high-sounding phrases), by the decree and authority of the sacred senate, by the command and instant acclamation of the famous people, assembled in the Capitol at the sound of the bell and of the trumpet, swore to the peace proposed by the three cardinals, between the Holy Roman Church, their Father the Supreme Pontiff, and the Senate and people of Rome. He swore to give satisfaction for the demolition of the Lateran palace and those of the cardinals, the invasion of the Papal territories, the exaction of oaths, the occupation of the domains of the Church. He swore that no clerks or ecclesiastical persons belonging to the

[1] "Milites in civitate Viterbio collocavit, quorum quotidianis insultibus et depredationibus Romani adeo sunt vexati, ut non multo post cum Papâ pacem subirent." — God. Colon. The author of the life of Gregory says that the Emperor, instead of aiding the Pope, idled his time away in hunting: "Majestatis titulum in officium venaturæ commutans . . . . in capturam avium sollicitabat aquilas triumphales."

families of the Pope or cardinals should be summoned before the civil tribunals (thus even in Rome there was a strong opposition to those immunities of the clergy from temporal jurisdiction for temporal offences). This did not apply to laics who belonged to such households. He swore to protect all pilgrims, laymen as well as ecclesiastics, who visited the shrines of the Apostles.[1] The peace was reëstablished likewise with the Emperor and his vassals — with Anagni, Segni, Velletri, Viterbo, and other cities of the Papal territories. But even during this compulsory approximation to the Emperor, the Pope, to remove all suspicion that he might be won to desert their cause, wrote to the Lombards to reassure them. However, he might call upon them not to impede the descent of the Imperial troops from the Alps, those troops were not directed against their liberties, but came to maintain the liberties of the Church.

But if the rebels against the Pope were thus his immediate subjects the Romans, the rebel against Frederick was his own son. Henry had been left to rule Germany as king of the Romans; the causes and indeed the objects of his rebellion are obscure.[2] Henry appears to have been a man of feeble character; so long as he was governed by wise coun-

Rebellion of King Henry.

[1] Apud Raynald. ann. 1235.

[2] In the year 1232 Frederick began to entertain suspicions of his son, and to be discontented with his conduct. Henry (but 20 years old) met his father at Aquileia, promised amendment, and to discard his evil counsellors. — Hahn. Collect. Monument. i. 222. Frederick might remember the fatal example of the Franconian house; the conduct of Henry V. to Henry IV. The chief burden of Henry's vindication, addressed, Sept. 1234, to Bishop Conrad of Hildesheim, is that the Emperor had annulled some of his grants, interfered in behalf of the house of Bavaria (Louis of Bavaria had been guardian of the realm during his minority).

sellors, filling his high office without blame; released from their control, the slave of his own loose passions, and the passive instrument of low and designing men. The only impulse to which the rebel son could appeal was the pride of Germany, which would no longer condescend to be governed from Italy, and to be a province of the kingdom of Apulia. Unlike some of his predecessors, Pope Gregory took at once the high Christian tone: he would seek no advantage from the unnatural insurrection of a son against his father. All the malicious insinuations against Gregory are put to silence by the fact that, during their fiercest war of accusation and recrimination, Frederick never charged the Pope with the odious crime of encouraging his son's disobedience. Frederick passed the May, 1235. Alps with letters from the Pope, calling on all the Christian prelates of Germany to assert the authority of the King and of the parent. Henry had held a council of princes[1] at Boppart to raise the standard of revolt, and had entered into treasonable league with Milan and the Lombard cities. The rebellion was as weak as wanton and guilty; Frederick entered Germany with the scantiest attendance; the af- July, 1235. frighted son, abandoned by all his partisans, met him at Worms, and made the humblest submission.[2] Frederick renewed his pardon; but probably some new detected intrigues, or the refusal to surrender his castles, or meditated flight,[3] induced the Emperor to

[1] God. Colon. Chron. Erphurd. apud Boehmer Fontes R. G.

[2] "Ipso mense, nullo obstante, Alemanniam intrans, Henricum regem filium suum ad mandatum suum recepit, quem duci Bavariæ custodiendum commisit." — Rich. San Germ.

[3] God. Col. Annal. Erphurdt. Quotation from Ann. Argentin. in Boehmer's Regesta, p. 254.

send his son as a prisoner to the kingdom of Naples. There he remained in such obscurity that his death might have been unnoticed but for a passionate lamentation which Frederick himself sent forth, in which he adopted the language of King David on the loss of his ungrateful but beloved Absalom.[1]

Worms had beheld the sad scene of the ignominious arrest and imprisonment of the King of the Germans: that event was followed by the splendid nuptials of the Emperor with Isabella of England.

Lombards concerned in King Henry's rebellion.

But though the Pope was guiltless, we believe he was guiltless, the Lombards were deep in this conspiracy against the power and the peace of Frederick. They, if they had not from the first instigated, had inflamed the ambition of Henry:[2] they had offered, if he would cross the Alps, to invest him at Monza with the iron crown of Italy.[3] Frederick's long-suppressed impatience of Lombard freedom had now a justifiable cause for vengeance. The Ghibelline cities — Cremona, Parma, Pisa, and others; the Ghibelline Princes Eccelin and Alberic, May 1, 1236. the two sons of the suspected heretic Eccelin II. (who had now descended from his throne, and taken the habit of a monk, though it was rumored that his devotion was that of an austere Paterin rather than

[1] Besides this pathetic letter in Peter de Vineâ, iv. 1, see the more extraordinary one, quoted by Höfler, addressed to the people of Messina.

[2] Galvanco Fiamma has these words: "Henricus composuit cum Mediolanensibus ad petitionem Domini Papæ." — c. 264. "Et tunc facta est lega fortis inter Henricum et Mediolanenses ad petitionem Papæ contra Imperatorem patrem suum." — Annal. Mediolan., Muratori, xvi. 624. These are Milanese, certainly not Ghibelline writers!

[3] During this year (1235) Frederick assisted with seemingly deep devotion at the translation to Marburg of the remains of St. Elizabeth of Hungary. 1,200,000 persons are said to have been present. — Montalembert, Vie de St. Elizabeth d'Hongrie.

that of an orthodox recluse) summoned the Emperor to relieve them from the oppressions of the Guelfic league, and to wreak his just revenge on those aggressive rebels. Frederick's declaration of war was drawn with singular subtlety. His chief object, he declared, was the suppression of heresy. The wide prevalence of heresy the Pope could not deny; to espouse the Lombard cause was to espouse that at least of imputed heresy; it was to oppose the Emperor in the exercise of his highest imperial function, the promotion of the unity of the Church. The Emperor could not leave his own dominions in this state of spiritual and civil revolt to wage war in foreign lands: so soon as he had subdued the heretic he was prepared to arm against the Infidel. Lombardy reduced to obedience, there would be no obstacle to the reconquest of the Holy Land. Yet though thus embarrassed, the Pope, in his own defence, could not but interpose his mediation; he commanded both parties to submit to his supreme arbitration. Frederick yielded, but resolutely limited the time; if the arbitration was not made before Christmas, he was prepared for war. To the most urgent remonstrances for longer time he turned a deaf and contemptuous ear: he peremptorily challenged the Legate whom the Pope had appointed, the Cardinal Bishop of Præneste, and refused to accept as arbiter his declared enemy.[1] Frederick had already begun the campaign: Verona had opened her gates; he had stormed Vicenza, and laid half the city in ashes. He was recalled beyond the Alps by the sudden insurrection of the Duke of Austria. Greg-

Aug. 1236.

Nov. 1. 1236.

[1] Compare the letter, apud Raynald. sub ann. 1236; more complete in Höfler, p. 357, and 360.

ory so far yielded, that in place of the obnoxious Cardinal of Præneste, he named as his Legates the March, 1237. Cardinals of Ostia and of San Sabina. He commended them with high praise to the Patriarchs of Aquileia and of Grado, to the Archbishops of Genoa and Ravenna, whom, with the suffragan and all the people of Northern Italy, he exhorted to join in obtaining the blessings of peace. But already he began to murmur his complaints of those grievances which afterwards darkened to such impious crimes. The Frangipanis were again breaking out into turbulence in Rome:[1] it was suspected and urged that they were in the pay of Frederick. Taxes had been levied on the clergy in the kingdom of Naples; they had been summoned before civil tribunals; the old materials of certain churches had been profanely converted by the Saracens of Nocera to the repair of their mosques. The answer of Frederick was lofty and galling. He denied the truth of the Pope's charges; he appealed to the conscience of the Pope. Gregory demanded by what right he presumed to intrude into that awful sanctuary.[2] "Kings and princes were humbly to repose themselves on the lap of priests; Christian Emperors were bound to submit themselves not only to the supreme Pontiff, but even to other bishops. The Apostolic See was the judge of the whole world; God

[1] "Hoc anno Petrus Frangipane, 1236, in urbe Româ pro parte Imperatoris guerram movit contra Papam et Senatorem." — Rich. San Germ.

[2] "Quod nequaquam incaute ad judicanda secreta conscientiæ nostræ . . . evolasses; cum regum colla et principum videas genibus sacerdotum, et Christiani Imperatores subdere debeant executiones suas non solum Romano Pontifici, quin etiam aliis præsulibus non præferre, nec non Dominus sedem apostolicam, cujus judicio orbem terrarum subjicit, in occultis et manifestis a nemine judicandam, soli suo judicio reservavit." — Greg. Epist. 10, 253, Oct. 23, 1236, apud Raynald.

had reserved to himself the sole judgment of the manifest and hidden acts of the Pope. Let the Emperor dread the fate of Uzzah, who laid his profane hands on the ark of God." He urged Frederick to follow the example of the great Constantine, who thought it absolutely wicked that, where the Head of the Christian religion had been determined by the King of Heaven, an earthly Emperor should have the smallest power, and had therefore surrendered Italy to the Apostolic government, and chosen for himself a new residence in Greece.[1]

Second descent on Italy.

Frederick returned from Germany victorious over the rebellious Duke of Austria; his son Conrad had been chosen King of the Romans. He crossed the Alps with three thousand German men-at-arms, besides the forces of the Ghibelline cities: he was joined by ten thousand Saracens from the South. His own ambassadors, Henry the Master of the Teutonic Order and his Chancellor Peter de Vineâ, by whom he had summoned the Pope to his aid against the enraged Lombards, had returned from Rome without accomplishing their mission. At the head of his army he would not grant au- Aug. 1237. dience to the Roman legates, the Cardinal Bishop of Ostia and the Cardinal of St. Sabina, who peremptorily enjoined him to submit to the arbitration of the Pope. The great battle of Corte Nuova might seem to avenge the defeat of his ancestor Nov. 27, 1237. Frederick Barbarossa at Legnano. The Lombard army was discomfited with enormous loss; the Carroccio of Milan, defended till nightfall, was stripped of its banners, and abandoned to the conqueror. Fred-

[1] Ibid.

erick entered Cremona, the palaces of which city would hardly contain the captives, in a splendid ovation. The Podestà of Milan, Tiepolo, son of the Doge of Venice, was bound on the captive Carroccio; which was borne, as in the pomp of an Eastern potentate, on an elephant, followed by a wooden tower, with trumpeters and the Imperial standard. The pride of Frederick at this victory was at its height; he supposed that it would prostrate at once the madness of the rebels; he called upon the world to rejoice at the restoration of the Roman Empire to all its rights.[1] The Carroccio was sent to Rome as a gift to the people of the gentle city: it was deposited in the Capitol, a significant menace to the Pope.[2] But where every city was a fortress, inexpugnable by the arts of war then known, a battle in the open field did not decide the fate of a league which included so many of the noblest cities of Italy. Frederick had passed the winter at Cremona; the terror of his arms had enforced at least outward submission from many of the

[1] See the letter in Peter de Vineâ. "Exultet jam Romani Imperii culmen . . . . mundus gaudeat universus . . . confundatur rebellis insania." — Frederick disguised not, he boasted of the aid of his Saracens. He describes the Germans reddening their swords with blood, Pavia and Cremona wreaking vengeance on the tyrannous Milanese, "et suas evacuaverunt pharetras Saraceni."

[2] "Quando illum ad almæ urbis populum destinavit." A marble monument of this victory was shown in 1727. — Muratori, Dissert. xxvi. t. ii. p. 491. The inscription was: —

"Ergo triumphorum urbis memor esto priorum,
Quos tibi mittebant reges qui bella gerebant."

— Francisc. Pipin. apud Muratori. — Compare the (Ghibelline) Chronicon de Rebus in Italiâ gestis, discovered by M. Panizzi in the British Museum, and printed with the Chronicon Placentinum at Paris, 1856. Quod carocciam cum apud Romam duxissent, dominus papa usque ad mortem doluit. The Pope would have prevented its admission into the city, but was overawed by the Imperialist party. — p. 172.

leaguers. Almost all Piedmont, Alexandria, Turin, Susa, and the other cities raised the Ghibelline banner. Milan, Brescia, Piacenza, Bologna, remained alone in arms; even they made overtures for submission. Their offers were in some respects sufficiently humiliating; to acknowledge themselves rebels, to surrender all their gold and silver, to place their banners at the feet of the Emperor, to furnish one thousand men for the Crusades; but they demanded in return a general amnesty and admission to the favor of the Emperor, the maintenance of the liberties of the citizens and of the cities. Frederick haughtily demanded absolute and unconditional surrender. They feared, they might well fear, Frederick's severity against rebels. With mistimed and impolitic rigor he had treated the captive Podestà of Milan as a rebel; Tiepolo was sent to Naples, and there publicly executed. The Republics declared that it was better to die by the sword than by the halter, by famine, or by fire.[1] Frederick, in the summer of the next year, undertook the siege of Brescia; at the end of two months, Aug. 2 to Oct. 1238. foiled by the valor of the citizens and the skill of their chief engineer, a Spaniard, Kalamandrino, he was obliged to burn his besieging machines, and retire humiliated to Padua.[2] But without aid the Lombard liberties must fall: the Emperor was master of Italy from the Alps to the straits of Messina; the knell of Italian independence was rung; the Pope a vassal at the mercy of Frederick.

The dauntless old man rose in courage with the danger. Temporal allies were not absolutely wanting. Venice, dreading her own safety, and enraged at the

[1] Rich. de San Germ.

[2] See B. Museum Chronicon, p. 177.

execution of her noble son, Tiepolo, sent proposals for alliance to the Pope. The treaty was framed; Venice agreed to furnish 25 galleys, 300 knights, 2000 foot-soldiers, 500 archers; she was to obtain, as the price of this aid, Bari and Salpi in Apulia, and all that she could conquer in Sicily.[1]

The Pope wrote to the confederate cities of Lombardy and Romagna, taking them formally under the protection of the Holy See.[2] Genoa, under the same fears as Venice, and jealous of Imperialist Pisa, was prepared with her fleets to join the cause. During these nine years of peace, even if the former transgressions of Frederick were absolutely annulled by the treaty and absolution of St. Germano, collisions between two parties both grasping and aggressive, and with rights the boundaries of which could not be precisely defined, had been inevitable: pretexts could be found, made, or exaggerated into crimes against the spiritual power, which would give some justification to that power to put forth, at such a crisis, its own peculiar weapons; and to recur to its only arms, the excommunication, the interdict, the absolution of subjects from their allegiance. Over this power Gregory had full command, in its employment no scruple.

Excommunication. March 20 to March 24, 1239.

On Palm Sunday, and on Thursday in Holy week, with all the civil and ecclesiastical state which he could assemble around him, Gregory pronounced excommunication against the Emperor; he gave over his body to Satan for the good of his soul, absolved all his subjects from their allegiance, laid under interdict every place in which he might be, degraded all ecclesiastics who should perform the ser-

[1] Dandolo, 356. Marin. iv. 223. [2] Greg. Epist. apud Hahn. xviii.

vices of the Church before him, or maintain any intercourse with him; and commanded the promulgation of this sentence with the utmost solemnity and publicity throughout Christendom. These were the main articles of the impeachment published some months before: — I. That in violation of his oath, he had stirred up insurrection in Rome against the Pope and the Cardinals. II. That he had arrested the Cardinal of Præneste while on the busines. of the Church among the Albigenses. III. That in the kingdom of Sicily he had kept benefices vacant to the ruin of men's souls; unjustly seized the goods of churches and monasteries, levied taxes on the clergy, imprisoned, banished, and even punished them with death. IV. That he had not restored their lands or goods to the Templars and Knights of St. John. V. That he had ill-treated, plundered, and expelled from his realm all the partisans of the Church. VI. That he had hindered the rebuilding of the church of Sora, favored the Saracens, and settled them among Christians. VII. That he had seized and prevented the nephew of the King of Tunis from proceeding to Rome for baptism, and imprisoned Peter, Ambassador of the King of England. VIII. That he had taken possession of Massa, Ferrara, and especially Sardinia, being part of the patrimony of St. Peter. IX. That he had thrown obstacles in the way of the recovery of the Holy Land and the restoration of the Latin Empire in Constantinople, and in the affairs of the Lombards rejected the interposition of the Pope.

Nov. 1238. Charges against the Emperor.

Frederick was at Padua, of which his most useful ally, Eccelin di Romano, had become Lord by all his characteristic treachery and barbarity. There were

great rejoicings and festivities on that Palm Sunday; races and tournaments in honor of the Emperor. But some few Guelfs were heard to murmur bitterly among themselves, "This will be a day of woe to Frederick; this day the Holy Father is uttering his ban against him, and delivering him over to the devil!" On the arrival of the intelligence from Rome, Frederick for a time restrained his wrath: Peter de Vineâ, the great Justiciary of the realm of Naples, pronounced in the presence of Frederick, who wore his crown, a long exculpatory sermon to the vast assembly, on a text out of Ovid — "Punishment when merited is to be borne with patience, but when it is undeserved, with sorrow."[1] He declared, "that since the days of Charlemagne, no Emperor had been more just, gentle, and magnanimous, or had given so little cause for the hostility of the Church." The Emperor himself rose and averred, that if the excommunication had been spoken on just grounds, and in a lawful manner, he would have given instant satisfaction. He could only lament that the Pope had inflicted so severe a censure, without grounds and with such precipitate haste; even before the excommunication he had refuted with the same quiet arguments all these accusations. His first reply had been in the same calm and dignified tone.[2]

Frederick's confutation of the charges

Nov. 1238. The Pope had commissioned the Bishops of Wurtzburg, Worms, Vercelli, and Parma to admonish the Emperor previous to the excommunication. In their presence, and in that of the Archbishops of Pa-

[1] Leniter ex merito quicquid patiare ferenda est
Quæ venit indigno pœna dolenda venit.

[2] Peter de Vineâ, i. 21, p. 156. The refutation of the charges, according to Matthew Paris (sub ann. 1239), was anterior to the excommunication.

lermo and Messina, the Bishops of Cremona, Lodi, Novara, and Mantua, many abbots, and some Dominican and Franciscan friars, he had made to all their charges a full and satisfactory answer, and delivered his justification to the Bishops: — I. He had encouraged no insurrection in Rome; he had assisted the Pope with men and money; he had no concern in the new feuds. II. He had never even dreamed of arresting the Cardinal of Praeneste, though he might have found just cause, since the Cardinal, acting for the Pope, had inflamed the Lombards to disobedience and rebellion. III. He could give no answer to the vague and unspecified charges as to the oppression of the clergy in the realm of Naples; and as to particular churches he entered into long and elaborate explanations.[1] IV. He had restored all the lands to which the Templars and Knights of St. John had just claim; all but those which they had unlawfully received from his enemies during his minority; they had been guilty of aiding his enemies during the invasion of the kingdom, and some had incurred forfeiture: their lands, in certain cases, were assessable; were this not so, they would soon acquire the whole realm, and that exempt from all taxation. V. No one was condemned as a partisan of the Pope; some had abandoned their estates from fear of being prosecuted for their crimes. VI. No church had been desecrated or destroyed in Lucera; that of Sora was an accident, arising out of the disobedience of the city; he would rebuild that, and all which had

[1] See especially, in a letter in Höfler, his justification for the refusal to rebuild the church at Sora. The city had rebelled, had been razed, church and all, and sown with salt. Frederick had sworn that the city should never be again inhabited: why build a church for an uninhabited wilderness?

fallen from age. The Saracens, who lived scattered over the whole realm, he had settled in one place, for the security of the Christians, and to protect rather than endanger the faith. VII. Abdelasis had fled from the court of the King of Tunis; he was not a prisoner, but living a free and pleasant life, furnished with horses, clothes, and money by the Emperor. He had never (he appealed to the Archbishops of Palermo and Messina) expressed any desire for baptism. Had he done so, no one would have rejoiced more than the Emperor. Peter was no Ambassador of the King of England. VIII. The pretensions of the Pope to Massa and Ferrara were groundless, still more to Sardinia, his son Enzio had married Adelasia, the heiress of that island; he was the rightful King. IX. The King prevents no one from preaching the Crusade; he only interferes with those who, under pretence of preaching the Crusade, preach rebellion against the Sovereign, or, like John of Vicenza, usurp civil power. As to the affairs of Lombardy, the Pope had but interposed delays, to the frustration of his military plans. He would willingly submit to just terms; but after the unmeasured demands of the Lombards, and such manifest hostility on the part of the Pope, it would be dangerous and degrading to submit to the unconditional arbitration of the Pope.

The indignation of Frederick might seem to burst out with greater fury from this short, stern suppression. March 10. He determined boldly, resolutely, to measure his strength, the strength of the Emperor, the King of Sicily, so far the conqueror (notwithstanding the failure before Brescia) of the Lombard republics, against the strength of the Popedom. The Pope had declared

war on causes vague, false or insignificant; the true cause of the war, Frederick's growing power and his successes in Lombardy, the Pope could not avow; Frederick would appeal to Christendom, to the world, on the justice of his cause and the unwarranted enmity of the Pope. He addressed strong and bitter remonstrances to the Cardinals, to the Roman people, to all the Sovereigns of Christendom. To the Cardinals he had already written, though his letter had not reached Rome before the promulgation of the excommunication, admonishing them to moderate the hasty resentment of the Pope. He endeavored to separate the cause of the Pope from that of the Church; but vengeance against Gregory and the family of Gregory could not satisfy the insulted dignity of the Empire; if the authority of the Holy See, and the weight of their venerable college, thus burst all restraint, he must use all measures of defence; injury must be repelled with injury.[1] Some of the Cardinals had endeavored to arrest the precipitate wrath of Gregory; he treated their timid prudence with scorn. To the Romans the Emperor expressed his indignant wonder that Rome being the head of the Empire, the people, without reverence for his majesty, ungrateful for all his munificence, had heard tamely the blasphemies of the Roman Pontiff against the Sovereign of Rome; that of the whole tribe of Romulus there was not one bold patrician, of so many thousand Roman citizens not one, who uttered a word of remonstrance, a word of sympathy with their insulted Lord. He called on them to rise and to revenge the blasphemy upon the blasphemer, and not to allow him to glory in his presumption, as if they consented to his audacity.[2] As he

[1] Apud Petrum de Vineâ, i. vi.

[2] "Quia cum idem blasphemator noster ausus non fuisset in nostri nominis

was bound to assert the honor of Rome, so were they to defend the dignity of the Roman Emperor.

Appeal to the Princes of Christendom. April 20.

Before all the temporal Sovereigns of the world, the Emperor entered into a long vindication of all his acts towards the Church and the Pope; he appealed to their justice against the unjust and tyrannous hierarchy. "Cast your eyes around! lift up your ears, O sons of men, that ye may hear! behold the universal scandal of the world, the dissensions of nations, lament the utter extinction of justice! Wickedness has gone out from the Elders of Babylon, who hitherto appeared to rule the people, whilst judgment is turned into bitterness, the fruits of justice into wormwood. Sit in judgment, ye Princes, ye People take cognizance of our cause; let judgment go forth from the face of the Lord and your eyes behold equity." The Papal excommunication had dwelt entirely on occurrences subsequent to the peace of St. Germano. The Emperor went back to the commencement of the Pope's hostility: he dwelt on his ingratitude, his causeless enmity. "He, who we hoped thought only of things above, contemplated only heavenly things, dwelt only in heaven, was suddenly found to be but a man; even worse, by his acts of inhumanity not only a stranger to truth, but without one feeling of humanity." He charged the Pope with the basest duplicity;[1] he had professed the firmest friendship for the Emperor, while by his letters and his Legates he was

blasphemiam prorumpere, de tantâ præsumptione gloriari non possit, quod valentibus et volentibus Romanis, contra nos talia perpetrasset," &c. — Apud Petr. de Vin. i. vii. Matth. Par. 332.

[1] "Asserens quod nobis omnia planissima faciebat, cujus contrarium per nuncios et literas manifeste procurarat; prout constat testimonio plurium nostrorum fidelium qui tunc temporis erant omnium conscii velut ex eis quidam participes, et alii principis factionis."

acting the most hostile part.[1] This charge rested on his own letters, and the testimony of his factious accomplices. The Pope had called on the Emperor to defy, and wage war against, the Romans on his behalf, and at the same time sent secret letters to Rome that this war was waged without his knowledge or command, in order to excite the hatred of the Romans against the Emperor. Rome, chiefly by his power, had been restored to the obedience of the Pope; what return had the Pope made?—befriending the Lombard rebels in every manner against their rightful Lord![2] No sooner had he raised a powerful army of Germans to subdue these rebels, than the Pope inhibited their march, alleging the general truce proclaimed for the Crusade. The Legate, the Cardinal of Præneste, whose holy life the Pope so commended, had encouraged the revolt of Piacenza. Because he could find no just cause for his excommunication, the Pope had secretly sent letters and Legates through the Empire, through the world, to seduce his subjects from their allegiance. He had promised the ambassadors of Frederick, the Archbishop of Palermo, the Bishops of Florence and Reggio, the Justiciary Thaddeus of Suessa, and the Archbishop of Messina, that he would send a Legate to the Emperor to urge the Lombards to obedience; but in the mean time he sent a Legate to Lombardy to encourage and inflame their resistance.

[1] He brought the charge against the Pope of writing letters to the Sultan, dissuading him from making peace, letters which he declared had fallen into his hands.

[2] "Audite mirabilem circumventionis modum ad depressionem nostræ justitiæ excogitatum. Dum pacem cum nobis habere velle se simularet ut Lombardos ad tempus, per treugarum suffragia, respirantes, contra nos fortius postmodum in rebellione confirmet." — Epist. ad H. R. Angliæ. Rymer, sub ann. 1238.

Notwithstanding his answer to all the charges against him, which had made the Bishops of the Papal party blush by their completeness;[1] notwithstanding this unanswerable refutation, the Pope had proceeded on Palm Sunday, and on Thursday in the Holy Week, to excommunicate him on these charges; this at the instigation of a few Lombard Cardinals, most of the better Cardinals, if report speaks true, remonstrating against the act. "Be it that we had offended the Pope by some public and singular insult, how violent and inordinate these proceedings, as though, if he had not vomited forth the wrath that boiled within him, he must have burst! We grieve from our reverence for our Mother the Church! Could we accept the Pope, thus our avowed enemy, no equitable judge to arbitrate in our dispute with Milan; Milan, favored by the Pope, though by the testimony of all religious men, swarming with heretics?"[2] "We hold Pope Gregory to be an unworthy Vicar of Christ, an unworthy successor of St. Peter; not in disrespect to his office, but of his person, who sits in his court like a merchant weighing out dispensations for gold, himself signing, writing the bulls, perhaps counting the money. He has but one real cause of enmity against me, that I refused to marry to his niece my natural son Enzio, now King of Sardinia. But ye, O Kings and Princes of the earth, lament not only for us, but for the whole Church; for her head is sick; her prince is like a roaring lion; in the midst of her sits a frantic prophet, a man of false-

[1] "Quanquam de patris instabilitate confusos se filii reputarent, ac verecundiâ capitis rubor ora perfunderet." — p. 156.

[2] This very year Frederick renewed his remorseless edicts against the Lombard heretics. — Feb. 22. Monument. Germ. l. 326, 7, 8.

hood, a polluted priest!" He concludes by calling all the princes of the world to his aid; not that his own forces are insufficient to repel such injuries, but that the world may know that when one temporal prince is thus attacked the honor of all is concerned.

Another Imperial address seems designed for a lower class, that class whose depths were stirred to hatred of the Emperor by the Preachers and the Franciscans. Its strong figurative language, its scriptural allusions, its invective against that rapacity of the Roman See which was working up a sullen discontent even among the clergy, is addressed to all Christendom. Some passages must illustrate this strange controversy. "The Chief Priests and the Pharisees have met in Council against their Lord, against the Roman Emperor. 'What shall we do, say they, for this man is triumphing over all his enemies?' If we let him alone, he will subdue the glory of the Lombards; and, like another Cæsar, he will not delay to take away our place and destroy our nation. He will hire out the vineyard of the Lord to other laborers, and condemn us without trial, and bring us to ruin." "Let us not await the fulfilment of these words of our Lord, but strike him quickly, say they, with our tongues; let our arrows be no more concealed, but go forth; so go forth as to strike, so strike as to wound; so be he wounded as to fall before us, so fall as never to rise again; and then will he see what profit he has in his dreams." Thus speak the Pharisees who sit in the seat of Moses. . . . "This father of fathers, who is called the servant of servants, shutting out all justice, is become a deaf adder; refuses to hear the vindication of the King of the Romans; hurls male-

Appeal to the commonalty.

diction into the world as a stone is hurled from a sling; and sternly, and heedless of all consequences, exclaims, 'What I have written, I have written.'"

In better keeping Frederick alludes to the words of our Lord to his disciples after his resurrection, "That Master of Masters said not, 'Take arms and shield, the arrow, and the sword;' but, 'Peace be with you.'" On the avarice of the Pope he is inexhaustible. "But thou having nothing, but possessing all things, art ever seeking what thou mayest devour and swallow up; the whole world cannot glut the rapacity of thy maw, for the whole world sufficeth thee not. The Apostle Peter, by the Beautiful Gate, said to the lame man, 'I have neither silver nor gold;' but thou, if thy heap of money, which thou adorest, begins to dwindle, immediately beginnest to limp with the lame man, seeking anxiously what is of this world.[1] . . . Let our Mother Church then bewail that the shepherd of the flock is become a ravening wolf, eating the fatlings of the flock; neither binding up the broken, nor bringing the wanderer home to the fold; but a lover of schism, the head and author of offence, the father of deceit; against the rights and honor of the Roman King he protects heretics, the enemies of God and of all the faithful in Christ; having cast aside all fear of God, all respect of man. But that he may better conceal the malice of his heart, he cherishes and protects these enemies of the Cross and of the faith, under a certain semblance of piety, saying that he only aids the Lombards lest the Emperor should slay them, and should judge more rigorously than his justice requires. But this fox-like craft will not deceive the skilful hunter. . . .

[1] In one place he calls him "Gregorius gregis disgregator potius."

O grief! rarely dost thou expend the vast treasures of the Church on the poor! But, as Anagni bears witness, thou hast commanded a wonderful mansion, as it were the Palace of the Sun, to be built, forgetful of Peter, who long had nothing but his net; and of Jerusalem, which lies the servant of dogs, tributary to the Saracens; 'All power is from God,' writes the Apostle; 'whoso resists the power resists the authority of God.' Either receive, then, into the bosom of the Church her elder son,[1] who without guile incessantly demands pardon; otherwise, the strong lion, who feigns sleep, with his terrible roar will draw all the fat bulls from the ends of the earth, will plant justice, take the rule over the Church, plucking up and destroying the horns of the proud!"[2]

The Pope, in his long and elaborate reply, exceeded even the violence of this fierce Philippic. It is thus that the Father of the Faithful commences his manifesto against the Emperor in the words of the Apocalypse: "Out of the sea is a beast arisen, whose name is all over written 'Blasphemy;' he has the feet of a bear, the jaws of a ravening lion, the mottled limbs of the panther. He opens his mouth to blaspheme the name of God; and shoots his poisoned arrows against the tabernacle of the Lord, and the saints that dwell therein. . . . Already has he laid his secret ambush against the Church, he openly sets up the battering engines of the Ishmaelites; builds schools for the perdition of souls,[3] lifts himself up against Christ the Redeemer of man, endeavoring to

Pope's reply.

1 "Filium singularem."

2 Peter de Vineâ, i. 1.

3 Gregory no doubt alludes to the universities founded by Frederick

efface the tablets of his testament with the pen of heretical wickedness. Cease to wonder that he has drawn against us the dagger of calumny, for he has risen up to extirpate from the earth the name of the Lord. Rather, to repel his lies by the simple truth, to refute his sophisms by the arguments of holiness, we exorcise the head, the body, the extremities of this beast, who is no other than the Emperor Frederick."

Then follows a full account of the whole of Frederick's former contest with Gregory, in which the Emperor is treated throughout as an unmeasured liar. "This shameless artisan of falsehood lies when he says that I was of old his friend." The history of the preparation for the Crusade, and the Crusade is related with the blackest calumny. To Frederick is attributed the death of the Crusaders at Brundusium, and the poisoning of the Landgrave of Thuringia, insinuated as the general belief. The suppression of heresy in Lombardy could not be intrusted to one himself tainted by heresy. The insurrections in Lombardy are attributed to the Emperor's want of clemency; the oppressions of the Church are become the most wanton and barbarous cruelties; "the dwellings of Christians are pulled down to build the walls of Babylon; churches are destroyed that edifices may be built where divine honors are offered to Mohammed." The kingdom of Sicily, so declares the Pope, is reduced to the utmost distress.[1] By his unexampled cruelties, barons, knights,

[1] Read the Canonico Gregorio's sensible account of the taxation of Sicily by Frederick II. "Occupato di continuo nelle guerre Italiane, intento a reprimere nei suoi stati i movimenti dei faziosi, e della implacabile ira dei suoi nemici oppresso e dai Romani Pontefici sempre consternato, ebbe cosi varia e travagliata fortuna, e fu in tali angustie di continuo redutto, ed ai suoi molti e pressanti e sempre nuovi bisogni più non trovò gli ordinari

and others have been degraded to the state and condition of slaves; already the greater part of the inhabitants have nothing to lie upon but hard straw, nothing to cover their nakedness but the coarsest clothes; nothing to appease their hunger but a little millet bread. The charge of dilapidation of the Papal revenues, of venal avarice, the Pope repels with indignation: "I, who by God's grace have greatly increased the patrimony of the Church. He falsely asserts that I was enraged at his refusing his consent to the marriage of my niece with his natural son.[1] He lies more impudently when he says that I have in return pledged my faith to the Lombards against the Empire." Throughout the whole document there is so much of the wild exaggeration of passion, and at the same time so much art in the dressing out of facts; such an absence of the grave majesty of religion and the calm simplicity of truth, as to be surprising even when the provocations of Frederick's addresses are taken into consideration. But the heaviest charge was reserved for the close. "In truth this pestilent King maintains, to use his own words, that the world has been deceived by three impostors;[2] Jesus Christ, Moses, and Mahomet: Charge about the three impostors.

proventi della corona, e le antiche rendite del regno sufficiente. Indi avvenne, chè da quel tempo in poi fu constretto ad ordinare i più sottili modi, perchè accrescesse le pubbliche entrate, e nuovi contribuzioni, comecchè fosse, si procacciasse: anzi le cose in processo di tempo aspramente e per molta irritazion di animo si exacerbarono." — t. iii. p. 110. No doubt, as his finances became more and more exhausted by war, the burdens must have been heavier. But the flourishing state of Sicilian commerce and agriculture during the peaceful period but now elapsed, confutes the virulent accusation of the Pope.

[1] This is not strictly a denial of the fact of such proposals, or at least of advances by the Pope. This charge of early nepotism is curious.

[2] A book was said to have existed at this time, with this title; it has never been discovered. I have seen a vulgar production with the title, of modern manufacture.

that two of these died in honor, the third was hanged on a tree. Even more, he has asserted distinctly and loudly that those are fools who aver that God, the Omnipotent Creator of the world, was born of a Virgin."

Such was the blasphemy of which the Pope arraigned the Emperor before Christendom. Popular rumor had scattered abroad through the jealousy of the active priesthood, and still more through the wandering Friars, many other sayings of Frederick equally revolting to the feelings of the age; not merely that which contrasted the fertility of his beloved Sicily with the Holy Land, but sayings which were especially scornful as to the presence of Christ in the sacrament. When he saw the host carried to a sick person, he is accused of saying, "How long will this mummery last?"[1] When a Saracen prince was present at the mass, he asked what was in the monstrance: "The people fable that it is our God." Passing once through a corn-field, he said, "How many Gods might be made out of this corn?" "If the princes of the world would stand by him he would easily make for all mankind a better faith and better rule of life."[2]

Frederick was not unconscious of the perilous workings of these direct and indirect accusations upon the popular mind. He hastened to repel them; and to turn the language of the Apocalypse against his accuser. He thus addressed the bishops of Christendom.

Frederick's rejoinder.

After declaring that God had created two great lights for the guidance of mankind, the Priesthood and the Empire: — "He, in name only

[1] "Quam diu durabit Truffa ista?"

[2] Peter de Vineâ, i. 31. He was said also to have laid down the maxim, "Homo nihil aliud debet credere, nisi quod potest vi et ratione naturæ probare." — Apud Raynald.

Pope, has called us the beast that arose out of the sea, whose name was Blasphemy, spotted as the panther. We again aver that he is the beast of whom it is written, 'And there went out another horse that was red, and power was given to him that sat thereon to take away peace from the earth, that the living should slay each other.' For from the time of his accession this Father, not of mercies but of discord, not of consolation but of desolation, has plunged the whole world in bitterness. If we rightly interpret the words, he is the great anti-Christ, who has deceived the whole world, the anti-Christ of whom he declares us the forerunner. He is a second Balaam hired by money to curse us; the prince of the princes of darkness who have abused the prophecies. He is the angel who issued from the abyss having the vials full of wormwood to waste earth and heaven." The Emperor disclaims in the most emphatic terms the speech about the three impostors; rehearses his creed, especially concerning the Incarnation, in the orthodox words; expresses the most reverential respect for Moses: "As to Mahomet, we have always maintained that his body is suspended in the air, possessed by devils, his soul tormented in hell, because his works were works of darkness and contrary to the laws of the Most High." The address closed with an appeal to the sounder wisdom of the Prelates, and significant threats of the terrors of his vengeance.

The effect of this war of proclamations, addressed, only with a separate superscription, to every July 1.
King in Christendom, circulated in every kingdom, was to fill the hearts of the faithful with terror, amazement, and perplexity. Those who had espoused neither the party of the Emperor nor of the Pope fluctuated

in painful doubt. The avarice of the Roman See had alienated to a great extent the devotion of mankind, otherwise the letter of the Pope would have exasperated the world to madness; they would have risen in one wide insurrection against the declared adversary of the Church, as the enemy of Christ. "But alas!" so writes a contemporary historian, "many sons of the Church separated themselves from their father the Pope, and joined the Emperor, well knowing the inexorable hatred between the Pope and the Emperor, and that from that hatred sprung these fierce, indecent and untrustworthy invectives. The Pope, some said, pretends that from his love to Frederick he had contributed to elevate him to the Empire, and reproaches him with ingratitude. But it is notorious that this was entirely out of hatred to Otho, whom the Pope persecuted to death for asserting the interests of the Empire, as Frederick now asserts them. Frederick fought the battle of the Church in Palestine, which is under greater obligation to him than he to the Church. The whole Western Church, especially the monasteries, are every day ground by the extortions of the Romans; they have never suffered any injustice from the Emperor. The people subjoined, 'What means this? A short time ago the Pope accused the Emperor of being more attached to Mohammedanism than to Christianity, now he is accused of calling Mohammed an impostor. He speaks in his letters in the most Catholic terms. He attacks the person of the Pope, not the Papal authority. We do not believe that he has ever avowed heretical or profane opinions; at all events he has never let loose upon us usurers and plunderers of our revenues.'" [1]

Public opinion in Christendom.

[1] Matt. Paris, sub ann. 1239.

This was written in an English monastery. In England as most heavily oppressed, there was the strongest discontent. The feeble Henry III., though brother-in-law of the Emperor, trembled before the faintest whisper of Papal authority. But the nobles, even the Churchmen, began to betray their Teutonic independence. Robert Twenge, the Yorkshire knight, the ringleader of the insurrection against the Italian intruders into the English benefices, ventured to Rome, not to throw himself at the Pope's feet and to entreat his pardon, but with a bold respectful letter from the Earls of Chester, Winchester, and other nobles, remonstrating against the invasion of their rights of patronage. Gregory was compelled to condescend to a more moderate tone; he renounced all intention of usurpation on the rights of the barons. Robert Twenge received the acknowledgment of his right to present to the church of Linton. All the Prelates of the realm, assembled at London, disdainfully rejected the claim made for procurations for the Papal Legate Otho, whom two years before they had allowed to sit as Dictator of the Church in the council of London.[1] "The greedy avarice of Rome," they said, "has exhausted the English church; it will not give it even breathing time; we can submit to no further exactions. What advantage have we from the visitation of this Legate? Let him that sent him here uninvited by the native clergy, maintain him as long as he remains here." The Legate, finding the Prelates obstinate, extorted a large sum for his procurations from the monasteries.

The Emperor highly resented the publication of the sentence of excommunication in the realm of the

[1] Wilkins, Concilia, 1237. Compare page 318.

brother of his Empress Isabella. He sent a haughty message,[1] expostulating with the King for permitting this insult upon his honor; he demanded the dismissal of the Legate, no less the enemy of the kingdom of England than his own;[2] the Legate who was exacting money from the whole realm to glut the avarice of the Pope, and to maintain the Papal arms against the Emperor. Henry III. sent a feeble request to Rome, imploring the Pope to act with greater mildness to Frederick; the Pope treated the message with sovereign contempt. Nor did the Legate behave with less insolent disdain to the King. Henry advised him to quit the kingdom; "You invited me here, find me a safe-conduct back." In the mean time he proceeded again to levy his own procurations, to sell (so low was the Pope reduced), by Gregory's own orders, dispensations to those who had taken on them vows to proceed to the Holy Land. At length, at a council held at Reading, he demanded a fifth of all the revenues of the English clergy, in the name of the Pope to assist him in his holy war against the Emperor. Edmund Rich the Primate yielded to the demand, and was followed by others of the bishops.[3] But Edmund, worn out with age and disgust, abandoned his see, withdrew into France,

[1] Letters to the Barons of England (Boehmer, Oct. 29, 1239), Rymer, 1238? To the King, March 16, 1240. Matt. Paris, 1239.

[2] Henry, before the declaration of the Pope against the Emperor, had sent a small force, under Henry de Turberville and the Bishop Elect of Valence, to aid Frederick against the insurgent Lombards. The army was accompanied by a citizen and a clerk of London, John Mansel and W. Hardel, with money. — Paris, sub ann. 1238. Matt. West. The Pope broke out into fury against the King.

[3] Edmund had aspired to be a second Becket; he had raised a quarrel with the King on the nomination to the benefices; but feebly supported by Gregory in his distress, he recoiled from the contest.

and in the same monastery of Pontigny, imitated the austerities and prayers, as he could not imitate the terrors, of his great predecessor Becket. The lower clergy were more impatient of the Papal demands. A crafty agent of the Pope, Pietro Rosso[1] (Peter the Red), travelled about all the monasteries extorting money; he falsely declared that all the bishops, and many of the higher abbots, had eagerly paid their contributions. But he exacted from them, as if from the Pope himself, a promise to keep his assessment secret for a year. The abbots appealed to the King, who treated them with utter disdain. He offered one of his castles to the Legate and Peter the Red, to imprison two of the appellants, the Abbots of St. Edmundsbury and of Beaulieu. At Northampton the Legate and Peter again assembled the bishops, and demanded the fifth from all the possessions of the Church. The bishops declared that they must consult their archdeacons. The clergy refused altogether this new levy; they would not contribute to a fund raised to shed Christian blood. The rectors of Berkshire were more bold; their answer has a singular tone of fearless English freedom; "they would not submit to contribute to funds raised against the Emperor as if he were a heretic; though excommunicated he had not been condemned by the judgment of the Church; even if he does occupy the patrimony of the Church, the Church does not employ the secular arm against heretics. The Church of Rome has its own patrimony, it has no right to tax the churches of other nations. The Pope has the general care over all churches, but no property in their estates. The Lord said to Peter, 'What you

[1] De Rubeis.

bind on earth shall be bound in heaven;' not 'What you exact on earth shall be exacted in heaven.' The revenues of the Church were assigned to peculiar uses, for the relief of the poor, not for maintenance of war, especially among Christians. Popes, even when they were exiles and the Church of England was at its wealthiest, had made no such demands." Yet partly by sowing discord among his adversaries, partly by flattery, partly by menace, the Legate continued, to the great indignation of the Emperor, to levy large sums for the Papal Crusade in the dominions of his brother-in-law.[1]

All Saints, 1240.

In France Pope Gregory attempted to play a loftier game by an appeal to the ambition of the royal house; he would raise up a new French Pepin or Charlemagne to the rescue of the endangered Papacy. He sent ambassadors to the court of St. Louis with this message: — "After mature deliberation with our brethren the Cardinals we have deposed from the imperial throne the reigning Emperor Frederick; we have chosen in his place Robert, brother of the King of France. Delay not to accept this dignity, for the attainment of which we offer all our treasures, and all our aid." The Pope could hardly expect the severe rebuke in which the pious King of France couched his refusal of this tempting offer. "Whence this pride and audacity of the Pope, which thus presumes to disinherit and depose a King who has no superior, nor even an equal, among Christians; a King neither convicted by others, nor by his own confession, of the crimes laid to his charge? Even if those crimes were proved, no power could de-

Offer of Imperial Crown to Robert of France.

[1] M. Paris, sub ann. 1240.

pose him but a general council. On his transgressions the judgment of his enemies is of no weight, and his deadliest enemy is the Pope. To us he has not only thus far appeared guiltless, he has been a good neighbor; we see no cause for suspicion either of his worldly loyalty, or his Catholic faith. This we know, that he has fought valiantly for our Lord Jesus Christ both by sea and land. So much religion we have not found in the Pope, who endeavored to confound and wickedly supplant him in his absence, while he was engaged in the cause of God."[1] The nobles of France did more, they sent ambassadors to Frederick to inform him of the Pope's proceedings, and to demand account of his faith. Frederick was moved by this noble conduct. He solemnly protested his orthodox belief. "May Jesus Christ grant that I never depart from the faith of my magnanimous ancestors, to follow the ways of perdition. The Lord judge between me and the man who has thus defamed me before the world." He lifted his hands to heaven, and said in a passion of tears: "The God of vengeance recompense him as he deserves. If," he added, "you are prepared to war against me, I will defend myself to the utmost of my power." "God forbid," said the ambassadors, "that we should wage war on any Christian without just cause. To be the brother of the King of France is sufficient honor for the noble Robert."

In Germany the attempt of the Pope to dethrone the Emperor awoke even stronger indignation. Two princes to whom Gregory made secret overtures refused the perilous honor. An appeal to the Prelates of the Empire was met even by the most respectful with earnest

[1] Paris, sub ann. 1239.

exhortations to peace. In one address they declared the universal opinion that the whole quarrel arose out of the unjustifiable support given by the Pope to the Milanese rebels; and they appealed to the continued residence of the Papal Legate, Gregory of Monte Longo, in Milan as manifesting the Pope's undeniable concern in that obstinate revolt.[1] Popular German poetry denounced the Pope as the favored of the Lombard heretics, who had made him drunk with their gold.[2] Gregory himself bitterly complains "that the German princes and prelates still adhered to Frederick, the oppressor, the worse than assassin, who imprisons them, places them under the ban of the Empire, even puts them to death. Nevertheless they despise the Papal anathema, and maintain his cause."[3] Gregory was not fortunate or not wise in the choice of his partisans. One of those partisans, Rainer of St. Quentin, presumed to summon the German prelates to answer at Paris for their disloyal conduct to the Pope. The Pope had invested Albert von Beham Archdeacon of Passau, a violent and dissolute man, with full power; he used it to threaten bishops and even archbishops, he dared to utter sentences of excommunication against them. He alarmed the Duke of Bavaria into the expression of a rash desire that they had another Emperor. It was on Otho of Bavaria that Albert strove to work with all the terrors of dele-

Albert of Beham.

[1] Apud Hahn. Monument. t. i. p. 234. "Testimonium generalis opinionis quod in favorem Mediolanensium, et suorum sequacium incessentis taliter in eum . . . . quod G. de Monte Longo legatus vester, apud Mediolanenses continuam moram trahens, fideles imperii modis omnibus, quibus potest, a fide et devotione debitâ nititur revocare."

[2] See the quotation from Bruder Weinher, the Minnesinger, in Gieseler

[3] Dumont apud Von Raumer.

gated papal power. There was a dispute between the Archbishop of Mentz and Otho concerning the convent of Laurisheim. Albert as Papal Legate summoned the Primate to appear at Heidelberg. The archbishop not appearing was declared contumacious; an interdict was laid on Mentz. In another quarrel of Otho with the Bishop of Freisingen, the imperialist judges awarded a heavy fine against Otho. Von Beham, irritated by songs in the streets, "The Pope is going down, the Emperor going up,"[1] rescinded the decree on the Pope's authority, and commanded the institution of a new suit. Von Beham ordered the Archbishop of Saltzburg and the Bishop of Passau to excommunicate Frederick of Austria for his adherence to the Emperor; summoned a council at Landshut; placed Siegfried Bishop of Ratisbon, the Chancellor of the Empire, under the ban; threatened to A.D. 1209. summon the Archbishop of Saltzburg and the Bishop to arraign them under processes of treason; "He would pluck their mitres from their heads." The Bishop of Passau, in his resentment, threatened to arm his men in a Crusade against Albert von Beham. Albert did not confine himself to Bavaria, he threatened the Bishops of Augsburg, Wurtzburg, Eichstadt, with the same haughty insolence. The consequence of all this contempt thus thrown on the greatest prelates was, that the imperialists everywhere gained courage. The Emperor, the Landgrave of Thuringia, the Marquis of Meissen, Frederick of Austria, treated the excommunication as a vulgar ghost, an old wives' tale.[2]

1 "Ruit pars Papalis, prævaluit Imperialis."

2 "Ut tremendum olim excommunicationis nomen, non magis quam conpitalem larvam, aut nutricularum nænias metuerent, probrosum rati

But the great prelates did not disguise their wrath, their dislike and contempt for Von Beham was extended to his master. "Let this Roman priest," said Conrad Bishop of Freisingen, "feed his own Italians; we who are set by God as dogs to watch our own folds, will keep off all wolves in sheep's clothing." Eberhard Archbishop of Saltzburg not only applied the same ignominious term to the Pope, but struck boldly at the whole edifice of the Papal power; we seem to hear a premature Luther. He describes the wars, the slaughters, the seditions, caused by these Roman Flamens, for their own ambitious and rapacious ends. "Hildebrand, one hundred and seventy years ago, under the semblance of religion, laid the foundations of Antichrist. He who is the servant of servants would be the Lord of Lords. . . . This accursed man, whom men are wont to call Antichrist, on whose contumelious forehead is written, 'I am God, I cannot err,' sits in the temple of God and pretends to universal dominion." [1] Frederick himself addressed a new proclamation to the princes of Germany. Its object was to separate the interests of the Church from those of the

cruda militarium hominum pectora capi, angique religionibus, quas sacrificuli ut vanissimas superstitiones despicerent." — Brunner, xii., quoted in the preface to the curious publication of Höfler, "Albert von Beham," Stuttgard, 1847. Frederick of Austria held a grave assembly of Teutonic Knights, Templars, and Hospitallers, three abbots, five mystæ. These "Alberti impudentia irrisa; exsibilati qui huic misero nundinatori operam præstarent cujus merces fumosque præter Bohemum Regem, et Bavariæ Ducem nemo æstimaret." — Ibid. "Neque deerant inter sacrificulos scurræ qui omnia Alberti fulmina, negarent se vel una piaculari faba procuratos, p. xix." Albert was in poverty and disgrace about the time of Gregory's death, May 6, 1241. — Höfler, p. 30.

[1] Aventinus, Annal. Brunner doubts the authenticity of this speech of the Archbishop of Saltzburg. It rests on the somewhat doubtful authority of Aventinus. It sounds rather of a later date.

Pope; those of the Bishop of Rome from Gregory. "Since his ancestors the Cæsars had lavished wealth and dignity on the Popes, they had become the Emperor's most implacable enemies. Because I will not recognize his sole unlimited power and honor him more than God, he, Antichrist himself, brands me, the truest friend of the Church, as a heretic. Who can wish more than I that the Christian community should resume its majesty, simplicity, and peace? but this cannot be, until the fundamental evil, the ambition, the pride, and prodigality of the Bishop of Rome, be rooted up. I am no enemy of the priesthood; I honor the priest, the humblest priest, as a father, if he will keep aloof from secular affairs. The Pope cries out that I would root out Christianity with force and by the sword. Folly! as if the kingdom of God could be rooted out by force and by the sword; it is by evil lusts, by avarice and rapacity, that it is weakened, polluted, corrupted. Against these evils it is my mission of God to contend with the sword. I will give back to the sheep their shepherd, to the people their bishop, to the world its spiritual father. I will tear the mask from the face of this wolfish tyrant, and force him to lay aside worldly affairs and earthly pomp, and tread in the holy footsteps of Christ."[1]

On the other hand, the Pope had now a force working in every realm of Christendom, on every class of mankind, down to the very lowest, with almost irresistible power. The hierarchical religion of the age, the Papal religion, with all its congenial imaginativeness, its burning and unquestioning faith, its superstitions,

[1] Frederick wrote to Otho of Bavaria (Oct. 4, 1240) to expel Albert von Behaim from his dominions. — Aventin. Ann. Boior. v. 3, 5.

was kept up in all its intensity by the preachers and the mendicant friars. Never did great man so hastily commit himself to so unwise a determination as Innocent III., that no new Orders should be admitted into that Church which has maintained its power by the constant succession of new Orders. Never was his greatness shown more than by his quick perception and total repudiation of that error. Gregory IX. might indeed have more extensive experience of the use of these new allies: on them he lavished his utmost favor; he had canonized both St. Dominic and St. Francis with extraordinary pomp; he intrusted the most important affairs to their disciples. The Dominicans, and still more the Franciscans, showed at once the wisdom of the Pope's conduct and their own gratitude by the most steadfast attachment to the Papal cause. They were the real dangerous enemies of Frederick in all lands. They were in kings' courts; the courtiers looked on them with jealousy, but were obliged to give them place; they were in the humblest and most retired villages. No danger could appal, no labors fatigue their incessant activity. The first act of Frederick was to expel, imprison, or take measures of precaution against those of the clergy who were avowed or suspected partisans of the Pope. The friars had the perilous distinction of being cast forth in a body from the realm, and forbidden under the severest penalties to violate its borders.[1] In every Guelfic city they openly, in every Ghibelline city, if they dared not openly, they secretly preached the crusade against

The Friars. May 6, 1241.

Nov. 1240.

[1] "Capitula edita sunt, in primis ut Fratres Prædicatores et Minores, qui sunt oriundi de terris infidelium Lombardiæ expellantur de regno." — Rich. de San Germ. Gregory asserts that one Friar Minor was burned. — Greg. Bull. apud Raynald. p. 220.

the Emperor.[1] Milan, chiefly through their preaching, redeemed herself from the charge of connivance at the progress of heresy, by a tremendous holocaust of victims, burned without mercy. The career of John of Vicenza had terminated before the last strife;[2] but John of Vicenza was the type of the friar preachers in their height of influence; that power cannot be understood without some such example: and though there might be but one John of Vicenza, there were hundreds working, if with less authority, conspiring to the same end, and swaying with their conjoint force the popular mind.

John of Vicenza.

Assuredly, of those extraordinary men who from time to time have appeared in Italy, and by their passionate religious eloquence seized and for a time bound down the fervent Italian mind, not the least extraordinary was Brother John (Fra Giovanni), of a noble house in Vicenza. He became a friar preacher: he appeared in Bologna. Before long, not only did the populace crowd in countless multitudes to his pulpit; the authorities, with their gonfalons and crosses, stood around him in mute and submissive homage. In a short time he preached down every feud in the city, in the district, in the county of Bologna. The women threw aside their ribbons, their flowers — their modest heads were shrouded in a veil. It was believed that he wrought daily miracles.[3] Under his care the body

[1] It is, however, very remarkable that even now the second Great Master of the Franciscans, expelled or having revolted from his Order, Brother Elias, a most popular preacher, was on the side of Frederick.

[2] There is an allusion to John of Vicenza in a letter of Frederick. — Höfler, p. 363.

[3] But, says an incredulous writer, "Dicevasi ancora ch' egli curasse ogni malattia, e che cacciasse i demoni; ma io non potei vedere alcuno da lui liberato, benchè pure usassi ogni mezzo per vederlo; nè potei parlare con

of St. Dominic was translated to its final resting-place with the utmost pomp. It was said, but said by unfriendly voices, that he boasted of personal conversation with Christ Jesus, with the Virgin Mary, and with the angels. The friar preachers gained above twenty thousand marks of silver from the prodigal munificence of his admirers. He ruled Bologna with despotic sway; released criminals; the Podestà stood awed before him; the envious Franciscans alone (their envy proves his power) denied his miracles, and made profane and buffoonish verses against the eloquent Dominican.[1]

But the limits of Bologna and her territory were too narrow for the holy ambition, for the wonderful powers of the great preacher. He made a progress through Lombardy. Lombardy was then distracted by fierce wars — city against city; in every city faction against faction. Wherever John appeared was peace. Padua advanced with her carroccio to Monselice to escort him into the city. Treviso, Feltre, Belluno, Vicenza, Verona, Mantua, Brescia, heard his magic words, and reconciled their feuds. On the shores of the Adige, about three miles from Verona, assembled the whole of Lombardy, to proclaim and to swear to a solemn act of peace. Verona, Mantua, Brescia, Padua, Vicenza, came with their carroccios; from Tre-

August 28, 1233.

alcuno chè affirmasse con sicurezza di aver veduto qualche miracolo da lui operato." — Salimbeni.

[1] "Et Johannes Johannisat
Et saltando choraizat:
Modo salta, modo salta,
Qui cælorum petis alta.
Saltat iste, saltat ille,
Resultant cohortes mille;
Saltat chorus Dominarum,
Saltat Dux Venetiarum."
— from Salimbeni, Von Raumer, iii. p. 656.

viso, Venice, Ferrara, Bologna, thronged numberless votaries of peace. The Bishops of Verona, Brescia, Mantua, Bologna, Modena, Reggio, Treviso, Vicenza, Padua, gave the sanction of their sacred presence. The Podestàs of Bologna, Treviso, Padua, Vicenza, Brescia, Ferrara, appeared, and other lords of note, the patriarch of Aquileia, the Marquis of Este. It was asserted that 400,000 persons stood around. John of Vicenza ascended a stage sixty feet high; it was said that his sermon on the valedictory words of the Lord, "My peace I leave with you," was distinctly heard, wafted or echoed by preternatural powers to every ear.[1] The terms of a general peace were read, and assented to by one universal and prolonged acclamation. Among these was the marriage of Rinaldo, son of the Marquis of Este, with Adelaide daughter of Alberic, brother of Eccelin di Romano. This was the gauge of universal amity; these two great houses would set the example of holy peace. Men rushed into each other's arms; the kiss of peace was interchanged by the deadliest enemies, amid acclamations which seemed as if they would never cease.

But the waters of the Po rise not with more sudden and overwhelming force, ebb not with greater rapidity, than the religious passions of the Italians, especially the passion for peace and concord. John of Vicenza split on the rock fatal always to the powerful spiritual demagogues, even the noblest demagogues, of Italy. He became a politician. He retired to his native Vicenza; entered into the Council, aspired to be Lord

[1] Even the Franciscans were carried away by the enthusiasm; they preached upon his miracles; they averred that he had in one day raised ten dead bodies to life.

and Count; all bowed before him. He proceeded to examine and reform the statutes of the city. He passed to Verona, demanded and obtained sovereign power; introduced the Count Boniface, received hostages for mutual peace from the conflicting parties; he took possession of some of the neighboring castles; waged fierce war with heretics; burned sixty males and females of some of the noble families; published laws. Vicenza became jealous of Verona; Padua leagued with Vicenza to throw off the yoke. The Preacher, at the head of an armed force, appeared at the gates, demanded the unconditional surrender of the walls, towers, strongholds of the city. He was repelled, discomfited, by the troops of Padua and Vicenza, taken, and cast into prison.

He was released by the intercession of Pope Gregory IX.[1] The peace of Lombardy was then accordant to the Papal policy, because it was embarrassing to Frederick II. He returned to Verona; but the spell of his power was broken. He retired to Bologna, to obscurity. Bologna even mocked his former miracles. Florence refused to receive him: "Their city was populous enough; they had no room for the dead which he would raise."[2]

Christendom awaited in intense anxiety the issue of this war — a war which, according to the declaration

[1] It is said that he was afterwards commissioned by Innocent IV. to pro claim the Papal absolution in Vicenza, from excommunication incurred by the succors furnished by that city to Frederick II. and Eccelin di Romano. Tiraboschi has collected all the authorities on John of Bologna with his usual industry. — Storia della Lit. Ital. vol. xiv. p. 2.

[2] See in Von Raumer how the Grammarian Buoncompagni assembled the people to see him fly, on wings which he had prepared. After keeping them some time in suspense, he coolly said, "This is a miracle after the fashion of John of Vicenza." — Von Raumer, from Salimbeni.

of the Emperor, would not respect the sacred person of the Pope, and would enforce, if Frederick were victorious, the absolute, unlimited supremacy of the temporal power. This war was now proclaimed and inevitable. The Pope must depend on his own armies and on those of his Italian allies. The tenths and the fifths of England and of France might swell the Papal treasury, and enable him to pay his mercenary troops; but there was no sovereign, no army of Papal partisans beyond the Alps which would descend to his rescue. The Lombards might indeed defend their own cities against the Emperor,[1] and his son King Enzio, who was declared imperial vicar in the north May 25. 1239
of Italy, was at the head of the Germans and Saracens of the Imperial army, and had begun to display his great military skill and activity. The strength of the maritime powers, who had entered into the league, was in their fleets; though at a later period Venetian forces appeared before Ferrara. The execution of Tiepolo the podestà of Milan, taken at the battle of Corte Nuova, had inflamed the resentment of that republic: they seemed determined to avenge the insult and wrong to that powerful and honored family. But the Pope, though not only his own personal dignity, but even the stability of the Roman See was on the hazard, with the calm dauntlessness which implied his full reliance on his cause as the cause of God, confronted the appalling crisis. Some bishops sent to Rome by Frederick were repelled with scorn. The Pope, as the

[1] The legate of the Pope, Gregory of Monte Longo, at Milan, raised the banner of the Cross — sumpto mandato ejus signo crucis, et paratis duobus vexillis cum crucibus et clavibus intus — marched towards Lodi, destroying church-towers (turres ecclesiarum) and ravaging the harvests. — B. Museum Chronicon, p. 177.

summer heats came on, feared not to leave fickle Rome: he retired, as usual, to his splendid palace at Anagni. During the rest of that year successes and April, 1239. failures seemed nearly balanced.[1] Treviso threw off the Imperial yoke; even Ravenna, supported by a Venetian fleet, rebelled. The Emperor sat down before Bologna, obtained some great advantages humiliating to the Bolognese, but, as usual, failed in his attempt to capture the town. These successes before September. Bologna were balanced by failure, if not defeat, before Milan. Bologna was not so far discomfited but that she could make an attack on Modena. In November the Pope returned to Rome: he was received with the utmost honor, with popular rejoicings. Nov. 1239. He renewed in the most impressive form the excommunication of the Emperor and all his sons, distinguishing with peculiar rigor the King Enzio.

The Emperor passed the winter in restoring peace in Ghibelline Pisa. The feud in Pisa was closely connected with the affairs of Sardinia.[2] Pisa claimed the sovereignty of that island, which the all-grasping Papacy declared a fief of the Roman See. Ubaldo, of

[1] The castles of Piumazzo and Crevacuore were taken. Piumazzo was burned; the captain of the garrison was burned in the castle: 500 taken prisoners. — July.

[2] The Sardinian affair was another instance of the way in which an assertion once made that a certain territory or right belonged to the See of St. Peter, grew up into what was held to be an indefeasible title. The Popes had made themselves the successors of the Eastern Emperors. Their own declaration that Naples was a fief of the Holy See (having been acknowledged by the Normans to piece out their own usurpation) became a legal inalienable dominion. The claim to Sardinia rested on nothing more than the assertion that it was a part of the territory of the Roman See (it was no acknowledged part of the inheritance of the Countess Matilda). — Rich. de San Germ. The strange pretension that all islands belonged to the See of Rome, as well as all lands conquered from heretics, if already heard was not yet an axiom of the canon law.

the noble Guelfic house of Visconti, had married Adelasia, the heiress of the native Judge or Potentate of Gallura and of Tura: he bought the Papal absolution from a sentence of excommunication and the recognition of his title by abandoning the right of Pisa, and acknowledging the Papal sovereignty. Pisa heard this act of treason with the utmost indignation. The Gherardesci, the rival Ghibelline house, rose against the Visconti. Ubaldo died; and Frederick (this was among the causes of Gregory's deadly hatred) married the heiress Adelasia to his natural son, whom he proclaimed king of Sardinia. The Ghibellines of Pisa recognized his title. 1238.

With the early spring the Emperor, at the head of an imposing, it might seem irresistible force, February. advanced into the territories of the Church. Foligno threw open her gates to welcome him. Other cities from fear or affection, Viterbo from hatred of Rome, hailed his approach. Ostia, Civita Castellana, Corneto, Sutri, Montefiascone, Toscanella received the enemy of the Pope. The army of John of Colonna, which during the last year had moved into the March against King Enzio, was probably occupied at some distance: Rome might seem to lie open; the Pope was at the mercy of his foe. Could he depend on the fickle Romans, never without a strong Imperial faction? Gregory, like his predecessors, made his last bold, desperate, and successful appeal to the religion of the Romans. The hoary Pontiff set forth in solemn procession, encircled by all the cardinals, the whole long way from the Lateran to St. Peter's. The wood of the true cross, the heads of St. Peter and St. Paul were borne before him; all alike crowded to receive his benedic-

tion. The Guelfs were in a paroxysm of devotion, which spread even among the overawed and unresisting Ghibellines.[1] In every church of the city was the solemn mass; in every pulpit of the city the friars of St. Dominic and St. Francis appealed to the people not to desert the Vicar of Christ, Christ himself in his Vicar; they preached the new Crusade, they distributed crosses to which were attached the same privileges of pardon, and so of eternal life, if the wearers should fall in the glorious conflict, awarded to those who fought or fell for the holy sepulchre of Christ.

To these new crusaders Frederick showed no compassion; whoever was taken with the cross was put to death without mercy, even if he escaped more cruel and ignominious indignities before his death.

The Emperor was awed, or was moved by respect March, 1240. for his venerable adversary: he was either not strong enough, or not bold enough to march at once on Rome, and so to fulfil his own menaces. He retired into Apulia; some overtures for reconciliation were made; Frederick endeavored to detach the Pope from his allies, and to induce him to make a separate peace. But the Pope, perhaps emboldened by the return of some of his legates with vast sums of money from England and other foreign countries, resolutely refused to abandon the Lombard League.[2] Up to this time he had affected to disavow his close alliance, still to hold the lofty tone of a mediator; now he nobly determined to be true to their cause. He bore the remonstrances,

[1] According to the B. Museum Chronicle, he laid down his crown on the relics and appealed to them — "Vos, Sancti, defendite Romam, si homines Romani nolunt defendere." The greater part of the Romans at once took the Cross, p. 182.

[2] Peter de Vineâ, i. 36. Canis. Lect. Œfele Script. Bohem. i. 668.

on this, perhaps on some other cause of quarrel, of his ablest general, the Cardinal John Colonna. Colonna had agreed to a suspension of arms, which did not include the Lombards; this the Pope refused to ratify. Colonna declared that he would not break his plighted faith to the Emperor. "If thou obeyest not," said the angry Pope, "I will no longer own thee for a cardinal." "Nor I thee," replied Colonna, "for Pope." Colonna joined the Ghibelline cause, and carried over the greater part of his troops.[1]

Ferrara in the mean time was forever lost to the Imperialist side. Salinguerra, the aged and faithful partisan of the Emperor, was compelled to capitulate to a strong force, chiefly of Venetians. They April. seized his person by an act of flagrant treachery: for five years Salinguerra languished in a Venetian prison.

The Emperor advanced again from the South, wasted the Roman territory, and laid siege to Bene- May. vento, which made an obstinate resistance. The Emperor was at St. Germano; but instead of ad- August. vancing towards Rome, he formed the siege of Faenza.

The Pope meditated new means of defence. Imperial armies were not at his command; he determined to environ himself with all the majesty of a spiritual sovereign; he would confront the Emperor at the head of the hierarchy of Christendom; he issued A.D. 1211. a summons to all the prelates of Europe for a General Council to be held in the Lateran palace at Easter in the ensuing year; they were to consult on the important affairs of the Church.

The Emperor and the partisans of the Emperor had appealed to a general Council against the Pope; but a

[1] This quarrel was perhaps rather later in point of time.

Council in Rome, presided over by the Pope, was not the tribunal to which they would submit. Frederick would not permit the Pope, now almost in his power, thus to array himself in all the imposing dignity of the acknowledged Vicar of Christ. He wrote a circular letter to the Kings and Princes of Europe, declaring that he could not recognize nor suffer a Council to assemble, summoned by his archenemy, to which those only were cited who were his declared foes, either in actual revolt, or who, like the English prelates, had lavished their wealth to enable the Pope to carry on the war. "The Council was convened not for peace but for war." Nor had the summons been confined to hostile ecclesiastics. His temporal enemies, the Counts of Provence and St. Bonifazio, the Marquis of Este, the Doge of Venice, Alberic di Romano, Paul Traversaria, the Milanese, were invited to join this unhallowed assembly. So soon as the Pope would abandon the heretical Milanese, reconciliation might at once take place; he was prepared to deliver his son Conrad as hostage for the conclusion of such peace. He called on the Cardinals to stand forth; they were bound by their duty to the Pope, but not to be the slaves of his passion. He appealed to their pride, for the Pope, not content with their counsel, had summoned prelates from all, even the remotest parts of the world, to sit in judgment on affairs of which they knew nothing.[1] To the Prelates of Europe he issued a more singular warning. All coasts, harbors, and ways were beset by his fleet, which covered the seas: "From him who spared not his own son, ye may fear the worst. If ye reach

Sept. 13, 1240.

[1] Quoted from Pet. de Vin. in Bibl. Barberina, No. 2138, by Von Raumer, p. 96.

Rome, what perils await you! Intolerable heat, foul water, unwholesome food, a dense atmosphere, flies, scorpions, serpents, and men filthy, revolting, lost to shame, frantic. The whole city is mined beneath, the hollows are full of venomous snakes, which the summer heat quickens to life. And what would the Pope of you? Use you as cloaks for his iniquities, the organ-pipes on which he may play at will. He seeks but his own advantage, and for that would undermine the freedom of the higher clergy; of all these perils, perils to your revenues, your liberties, your bodies, and your souls, the Emperor, in true kindness, would give you this earnest warning." Many no doubt were deterred by these remonstrances and admonitions. Yet zeal or fear gathered together at Genoa a great concourse of ecclesiastics. The Legate, Cardinal Otho, brought many English prelates; the Cardinal of Palestrina appeared at the head of some of the greatest dignitaries of France; the Cardinal Gregory, of Monte Longo, with some Lombard Bishops, hastened to Genoa, to urge the instant preparation of the fleet, which was to convey the foreign prelates to Rome.[1] Frederick was seized with apprehension at the meeting of the Council. He tried to persuade the prelates to pass by land through the territories occupied by his forces; he offered them safe conduct. The answer was that they could have no faith in one under excommunication. They embarked on board the hostile galleys of Genoa. But Frederick had prepared a powerful fleet in Sicily and Apulia, under the command of his son Enzio. Pisa

[1] The Pope expressed great anger against the Cardinal Gregory of Monte Longo, for not having provided a fleet of overwhelming force. See his consolatory letter to the captive bishops, Raynald. p. 273.

May 3, 1241. joined him with all her galleys. The Genoese Admiral, who had the ill-omened name Ubbriaco, the Drunkard, was too proud or too negligent to avoid the hostile armament. They met off the island of Meloria; the heavily laden Genoese vessels were worsted after a sharp contest; three galleys were sunk, twenty-two taken, with four thousand Genoese.[1] Some of the prelates perished in the sunken galleys; among the prisoners were three Cardinals, the Archbishops of Rouen, Bordeaux, Auch, and Besançon; the Bishops of Carcassonne, Agde, Nismes, Tortona, Asti, Pavia, the Abbots of Clairvaux, Citeaux, and Clugny; and the delegates from the Lombard cities, Milan, Brescia, Piacenza, Genoa.[2] The vast wealth which the Cardinal Otho had heaped up in England was the prize of the conqueror. The Prelates, already half dead with sea-sickness and fright, no doubt with very narrow accommodation, crowded together in the heat and closeness of the holds of narrow vessels, exposed to the insults of the rude seamen and the lawless Ghibelline soldiery, had to finish their voyage to Naples, where they were treated with greater or less hardship, according as they had provoked the animosity of the Emperor. But all were kept in rigid custody.[3] Letters from Louis of France, almost rising to menace, and afterwards an embassy, at the head of which was the Abbot

[1] The battle was not likely to be fought without fury. The Genoese boasted to the Pope that they had taken three galleys before the battle began, beheaded all the men, and sunk the ships. They then complain of the barbarity of Frederick's sailors, not only to the innocent prelates, but to their conductors.

[2] The Archbishops of St. James (of Compostella), of Arles, of Tarragona, of Braga, the Bishops of Placentia, Salamanca, Orense, Astorga, got back safely to Genoa. — Epist. Laurent. apud Raynald. p. 270.

[3] Matth. Paris, sub ann. 1241.

of Clugny (who himself was released before), demanded and obtained at length the liberation of the French prelates; but the cardinals still languished in prison till the death of Gregory.

Faenza and Benevento had withstood the Imperial arms throughout the winter. Faenza had A.D. 1241. now fallen; the inhabitants had been treated April 11. with unwonted clemency by Frederick. Benevento too had fallen. The Papal malediction might seem to have hovered in vain over the head of Frederick; Heaven ratified not the decree of its Vicar on earth. On one side the victorious troops of Frederick, on the other those of John of Colonna, were wasting the Papal dominions; the toils were gathering around the lair of the imprisoned Pope. At that time arrived the terrible tidings of the progress made by the Mongols in Eastern Europe: already the appalling rumors of their conquests in Poland, Moravia, Hungary, had reached Italy. The Papal party were loud in their wonder that the Emperor did not at once break off his war against the Pope, and hasten to the relief of Christendom. So blind was their animosity that he was actually accused of secret dealings with the Mongols; the wicked Emperor had brought the desolating hordes of Zengis-Khan upon Christian Europe.[1] But Frederick would not abandon what now appeared a certain, an immediate triumph.

Even this awful news seemed as unheard in the camp of the Emperor, and in the city where the unsubdued Pope, disdaining any offer of capitulation, defied the terrors of capture and of imprisonment; he was near one hundred years old, but his dauntless spirit dictated

[1] Matth. Paris, sub ann.

these words: "Permit not yourselves, ye faithful, to be cast down by the unfavorable appearances of the present moment; be neither depressed by calamity nor elated by prosperity. The bark of Peter is for a time tossed by tempests and dashed against breakers; but soon it emerges unexpectedly from the foaming billows, and sails in uninjured majesty over the glassy surface."[1] The Emperor was at Fano, at Narni, at Reate, at Tivoli: Palestrina submitted to John of Colonna. Even then the Pope named Matteo Rosso Senator of Rome in place of the traitor Colonna. Matteo Rosso made a sally from Rome, and threw a garrison into Lagosta. July. The fires of the marauders might be seen from the walls of Rome; the castle of Monteforte, built by Gregory from the contributions of the Crusaders and of his own kindred, as a stronghold in which the person of the Pope might be secure from danger, fell into the hands of the conqueror; but still no sign of surrender; still nothing but harsh defiance. The August 21. Pope was released by death from this degradation. His death has been attributed to vexation; but extreme age, with the hot and unwholesome air of Rome in August, might well break the stubborn frame of Gregory at that advanced time of life. Frederick, in a circular letter addressed to the Sovereigns of Europe, informed them of the event. "The Pope Gregory IX. is taken away from this world, and has escaped the vengeance of the Emperor, of whom he was the implacable enemy. He is dead, through whom peace was banished from the earth, and discord prospered. For his death, though so deeply injured and implacably

[1] See letter to the Venetians, Lombards, and Bolognese. — Apud Raynald. p. 271.

persecuted, we feel compassion; that compassion had been more profound if he had lived to establish peace between the Empire and the Papacy. God, we trust, will raise up a Pope of more pacific temper; whom we are prepared to defend as a devout son, if he follow not the fatal crime and animosity of his predecessor. In these times we more earnestly desire peace, when the Catholic Church and the Empire are alike threatened by the invasion of the Tartars; against their pride it becomes us, the monarchs of Europe, to take up arms."[1] Frederick acted up to this great part of delivering Christendom from the yoke of these terrible savages. Immediately on the death of Gregory he detached King Enzio with four thousand knights, to aid the army of his son Conrad, King of the Romans. The Mongols were totally defeated near the Delphos, a stream which flows into the Danube; to the house of Hohenstaufen Europe and civilization and Christendom owed this great deliverance.

Frederick suspended the progress of his victorious arms in the Roman territory that the Cardinals might proceed to the election of a new Pope. There were but six Cardinals in Rome; Frederick consented to their supplication that the two imprisoned Cardinals, James and Otho, giving hostages for their return to captivity, should join the conclave. There were fierce dissensions among these eight churchmen; five were for Godfrey of Milan, favored by the Emperor, three for Romanus. One died, not without suspicion of poison; the Cardinal Otho returned to his captivity the Emperor, delighted with his honorable conduct, treated him with respectful lenity.[2] In Sep- Sept. 23.

[1] Peter de Vin. i. 11.

[2] Raynald. p. 277.

tember, the choice to which the Cardinals were compelled by famine, sickness and violence, fell on Godfrey of Milan, a prelate of gentle character and profound learning; in October Cœlestine IV. was dead. The few remaining cardinals left Rome and fled to Anagni.

Oct. 6, 1241.

For nearly two years the Papal throne was vacant. The King of England remonstrated with the Emperor, on whom all seemed disposed to throw the blame; the ambassadors returned to England, if not convinced of the injustice, abashed by the lofty tone of Frederick. The King of France sent a more singular menace. He signified his determination, by some right which he asserted to belong to the Church of France, through St. Denys, himself to proceed to the election of a Pope. Frederick became convinced of the necessity of such election; none but a Pope could repeal the excommunication of a Pope. In addresses, which rose above each other in vehemence, he reproached the cardinals for their dissensions. "Sons of Belial! animals without heads! sons of Ephraim who basely turned back in the day of battle! Not Jesus Christ the author of Peace, but Satan the Prince of the North, sits in the midst of their conclave, inflaming their discords, their mutual jealousies. The smallest creatures might read them a salutary lesson; birds fly not without a leader; bees live not without a King. They abandon the bark of the Church to the waves, without a pilot."[1] In the mean time, he used more effective arguments; he advanced on Rome, seized and ravaged the estates, even the churches, belonging to the Cardinals. At length they met at Anagni, and in an evil hour for

July, 1242.

[1] Pet. de Vin. xiv. 17.

Frederick the turbulent conclave closed its labors. The choice fell on a cardinal once connected with the interests, and supposed to be attached to the per- June, 1243.
son of Frederick, Sinibald Fiesco, of the Genoese house of Lavagna. He took the name of Innocent IV., an omen and a menace that he would tread in the footsteps of Innocent III. Frederick was congratulated on the accession of his declared partisan; he answered coldly, and in a prophetic spirit: "In the Cardinal I have lost my best friend; in the Pope I shall find my worst enemy. No Pope can be a Ghibelline."

## CHAPTER V.

### FREDERICK AND INNOCENT IV.

Yet Frederick received the tidings of the accession of Innocent IV. with all outward appearance of joy. He was at Amalfi; he ordered Te Deum to be sung in all the churches; he despatched the highest persons of his realm, the Archbishop of Palermo, the Chancellor Peter de Vineâ, Thaddeus of Suessa, and the Admiral Ansaldo, to bear his congratulations to the Pope. "An ancient friend of the noble sons of the Empire, you are raised into a Father, by whom the Empire may hope that her earnest prayers for peace and justice may be fulfilled."

June 26

Innocent could not reject these pacific overtures; he sent as his ambassadors to Frederick at Amalfi, the Archbishop of Rouen, William formerly Bishop of Modena, and the Abbot of St. Facundus. They were to demand first the release of all the captive prelates and ecclesiastics; to inquire what satisfaction the Emperor was disposed to offer for the crimes, on account of which he lay under excommunication; if the Church (this could scarcely be thought) had done him any wrong, she was prepared to redress such wrong; they were to propose a General Council of temporal and spiritual persons, Kings, Princes, and Prelates. All the adherents of the Church were to be

Offers of peace.

included in the peace. Frederick demanded the withdrawal of the Papal Legate, Gregory di Monte Longo, from Lombardy; he demanded the release of Salinguerra, the Lord of Ferrara; he complained that honor was shown to the Archbishop of Mentz, who was under the ban of the Empire (he had been appointed Papal Legate in Germany); that the Pope took no steps to suppress heresy among the Lombards; that Aug. 26. the Imperial ambassadors were not admitted to the presence of the Pope. It was answered by Innocent, that the Pope had full right to send his Legates into every part of Christendom; Salinguerra was the prisoner of the Venetians, not of the Pope; the Archbishop of Mentz was a prelate of the highest character, one whom the Pope delighted to honor; the war waged by the Emperor prevented the Church from extirpating the Lombard heretics; it was not the usage of Rome to admit persons under excommunication to the holy presence of the Pope.

Frederick might seem now at the summit of his power and glory: his fame was untarnished by any humiliating discomfiture; Italy unable to cope with his victorious armies: the Milanese had suffered a severe check in the territory of Pavia: King Enzio had displayed his great military talents with success: the Papal territories were either in his occupation, or with Rome itself were seemingly capable of no vigorous resistance: his hereditary dominions were attached to him by affection, the Empire by respect and awe. He might think that he had full right to demand, full power to enforce, in the first place, the repeal of his excommunication. But the star of the Hohenstaufen had reached its height; it began to decline, to

Frederick's power.

darken; its fall was almost as rapid and precipitate as its rise had been slow and stately.[1]

Defection of Viterbo.

The first inauspicious sign was the defection of Viterbo. The Cardinal Rainier, at the head of the Guelfic party, drove Frederick's garrison into the citadel, destroyed the houses of the Ghibellines, and gathered all the troops which he could to defend the city. Frederick was so enraged at this revolt, that he declared, if he had one foot in Paradise, he would turn back to avenge himself on the treacherous Viterbans. He immediately, unwarned by perpetual failures, formed the siege. The defence was stubborn, obstinate, successful; his engines were burned, he was compelled to retire, stipulating only for the safe retreat of his garrison from the citadel. Notwithstanding the efforts of Cardinal Otho of Palestrina, who had guaranteed the treaty, the garrison was assailed, plundered, massacred. To the remonstrance of Frederick, the Pope, who was still under a kind of truce with the Emperor, coldly answered, that he ought not to be surprised if a city returned to its allegiance to its rightful Lord. The fatal example of the revolt of Viterbo spread in many quarters: the Marquises of Montferrat and Malespina, the cities of Vercelli and Alexandria deserted the Imperial party. Even Adelasia, the wife of King Enzio, sought to be reconciled with the Holy See. Innocent himself ventured to leave Anagni, and to enter Rome: the Imperialists were awed at his presence; his reception, as usual, especially with newly crowned Popes, was tumultuously joyful. The only sullen murmurs, which soon after almost broke out into open discontent,

Sept. 9 to Nov. 13.

Nov. 15.

[1] Von Raumer, iv. 67.

were among the wealthy, it was said mostly the Jews, who demanded the payment of 40,000 marks, borrowed in his distress by Gregory IX. Innocent had authority enough to wrest from the Frangipanis half of the Colosseum, and parts of the adjacent palace, where they no doubt hoped to raise a strong fortress in the Imperial interest.

The Emperor again inclined to peace, at least to negotiations for peace. The Count of Toulouse, the Chancellor Peter de Vinea, and Thaddeus of Suessa, appeared in Rome with full powers to conclude, and even to swear and guarantee the fulfilment of a treaty. The terms were hard and humiliating; the Emperor was to restore all the lands possessed by the Pope and the Pope's adherents at the time of the excommunication; the Emperor was to proclaim to all the sovereigns of Christendom that he had not scorned the Papal censure out of contempt for the Pope's predecessor, or the rights of the Church; but, by the advice of the prelates and nobles of Germany and Italy, treated it as not uttered, since it had not been formally served upon him; he owned his error on this point, and acknowledged the plenitude of the Papal authority in spiritual matters. For this offence he was to make such compensation in men or money as the Pope might require; offer such alms and observe such fasts as the Pope should appoint; and respect the excommunication until absolved by the Pope's command. He was to release all the captive Prelates, and compensate them for their losses. These losses and all other damages were to be left to the estimation of three Cardinals. Full amnesty was to be granted, the imperial ban revoked against all who had adhered to the

Treaty. March 31. 1241.

Church since the excommunication. This was to be applied, as far as such offences, to all who were in a state of rebellion against the Emperor. The differences between the Emperor and his revolted subjects were to be settled by the Pope and the College of Cardinals within a limited time to be fixed by the Pope But there was a saving clause, which appeared to extend over the whole treaty, of the full undiminished rights of the Empire.[1] The Emperor was to be released from the excommunication by a public decree of the Church. To these and the other articles the imperial ambassadors swore in the presence of the Emperor Baldwin of Constantinople, the Cardinals, the Senators, and people of Rome. The Emperor did not disclaim the terms proposed by his ambassadors; but in the treaty there were some fatal flaws, which parties each so mistrustful, and justly mistrustful of the other, could not but discern, and which rendered the fulfilment of the treaty almost impossible. Was the Emperor to abandon all his advantages, to release all his prisoners (one of the stipulations), surrender all the fortresses he held in the Papal dominions, grant amnesty to all rebels, fulfil in short all these hard conditions at once, and so leave himself at the mercy of the Pope: then and not till then, not till the Pope had exacted the scrupulous discharge of every article, was he to receive his tardy absolution? Nor was the affair of the Lombards clearly defined. Innocent (perhaps the Emperor knew this) had from the first de-

March 31, 1244.

[1] "Jurabit præcise stare mandatis domini Papæ: salva tamen sint ei honores et jura quoad conservationem integram sine aliqua diminutione Imperii et honorum suorum." — If these undefined rights were to be respected, the Pope's decisions concerning the Lombards were still liable to be called in question.

clared that he would not abandon their cause. Was the Emperor to be humiliated before the Lombards as he had been before the Pope, first to make every concession, with the remote hope of regaining his imperial rights by the Papal arbitration?[1] According to the Papal account, Frederick began to shrink back from the treaty to which he had sworn; the Pope was fully prepared on his part for the last extremity.[2] He left Rome, where his motions had perhaps been watched; he advanced to Civita Castellana under the pretext of approaching the Emperor. The bickerings, however, still continued; the Emperor complained that all the secret terms agreed on with the Pope were publicly sold for six pennies in the Lateran; the Pope demanded 400,000 marks as satisfaction for the imprisonment of the Prelates. The Lombard affairs were still in dispute. The Pope having seemingly made some slight concession, proceeded still further to Sutri. There at midnight he suddenly rose, stole out of the town in disguise, mounted a powerful horse, like the proud Sinibald the Genoese noble he pressed its reeking flanks, so as to escape a troop of 300 cavalry which the Emperor — to whom perhaps his design had been betrayed — sent to intercept him, out- June 28

Flight of the Pope.

[1] "Si latenti morbo, videlicet de negotio Lombardorum, medicina non esset opposita, pax omnino precedere non valebat." — Cod. Epist. Vatic. MS., quoted by Von Raumer.

[2] See Matth. Paris, sub ann. 1244. "Imperator, illo instigante, qui primus superbivit, a forma jurata et humilitate satisfactionis compromisse superbiendo penitens infeliciter resiluit." Of course, the biographers of Pope Innocent are loud on the deceit and treachery of Frederick (Vit. Innocent IV.). But if Innocent resolutely refused (and this seems clear) to revoke the excommunication until Frederick had absolutely fulfilled all the stipulations, the charge of duplicity must be at least equally shared. In truth, if Frederick was not too religiously faithful to his oaths, the Pope openly asserted his power of annulling all oaths.

rode all his followers, and reached Civita Vecchia, where the Genoese fleet of twenty-three well-armed galleys, which had been long prepared for his flight (so
June 29. little did Innocent calculate on a lasting treaty), was in the roads.[1] He was in an instant on board one of the galleys. The next morning, before the anchor was weighed, arrived five cardinals, who had been outstripped by the more active Pope. Seven others made their way to the north of Italy. The Pope's galleys set sail, a terrible storm came on, which
July 7. threatened to cast them on an island which belonged to Pisa. After seven days they entered the haven of Genoa. The Genoese had heard of the arrival of their illustrious fellow-citizen at Porto Venere. They received him with a grand procession of the nobles with the Podestà, the clergy with the Archbishop at their head. The bells clanged, music played, the priests chanted "Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord." The Pope's followers replied, "Our soul is escaped, even as a bird out of the snare of the fowler: the snare is broken, and we are delivered."[2]

The Emperor was furious at this intelligence; he too had his scriptural phrase — "The wicked flees when no man pursueth." He complained bitterly of the negligent watch kept up by his armies and his fleets. He sent the Count of Toulouse to invite, to press the Pope to return, and to promise the fulfilment of all the conditions of the truce. Innocent replied

[1] It was given out that he fled to avoid being captured by those 300 Tuscan horse, who were sent to seize him. But the flight must have been prearranged with the Genoese fleet.

[2] Psalm cxxiv. 7

that after such flagrant violations of faith, he would not expose himself or the Church to the imminent perils escaped with such difficulty. Frederick, in an address to Mantua, denounced the flight of the Pope as a faithless revolt to the insurgents against the Empire, as though he supposed that Innocent at Genoa, where he remained three months, would place himself at the head of his Lombard League.

But he was not safe in Genoa. The Emperor was in Pisa. Through the revolted cities of Asti July 7.
and Alexandria, by secret ways Innocent crossed the Alps, and on the 2d of December arrived at Lyons.

The Pope at Lyons became an independent potentate. Lyons was not yet within the realm of France, though to a certain degree under her protection. It belonged in name to the Roman Empire; but it was almost a free city, owning no authority but that of the Archbishop. It was proud to become the residence of the Supreme Pontiff.

His reception in France was somewhat more cool than his hopes might have anticipated from August. Innocent in France.
the renowned piety of Queen Blanche and her son Saint Louis. The King with his mother visited the monastery of Citeaux; as they approached the church they were met by a long procession of five hundred monks from the convent of that saintly Order, entreating the King with tears and groans to aid the Holy Father of the Faithful against that son of Satan his persecutor, as his ancestor Louis VII. had received Pope Alexander. The first emotion of the King was to kneel in the profoundest reverence. But his more deliberate reply was, that he was prepared to protect the Pope against the Emperor so far as might seem

fit to the nobles, his counsellors. The counsellors of Louis refused at once to grant permission that so dangerous and costly a guest should take up his residence in Rheims. The King of Arragon repelled the advances of the Pope. We shall hereafter see the conduct of Henry and the Barons of England. Innocent remained at Lyons; though thus partially baffled, he lost no time in striking at his foe. He summoned all kings, princes, and prelates to a Council on St. John Dec. 27, 1244. the Baptist's day, upon the weighty affairs of Christendom; he cited Frederick to appear in person, or by his representatives, to hear the charges on which he might be arraigned, and to give the satisfaction A.D. 1245. which might be demanded. In the mean time meditating a still heavier penalty, and without awaiting the decree of the Council, he renewed the excommunication, and commanded it to be published again throughout Christendom. In France, Spain, and England many of the clergy obeyed, but a priest in Paris seems to have created a strong impression on men's wavering minds. "The Emperor and the Pope mutually condemn each other; that one then of the two who is guilty I excommunicate, that one who is guiltless I absolve."[1] But even in Lyons the haughty demeanor, the immoderate pretensions, and the insatiable rapacity of Innocent IV. almost endangered his safety; it is the greatest proof of the deep-rooted strength of the Papal power, that with a sullen discontent throughout Christendom, with a stern impatience of the intolerable burdens imposed on the Church as well as on the laity, with open menaces of revolt, it still proceeded and successfully proceeded to the most enormous act

[1] Matt. Paris. Fleury, lxxxix. c. 17.

of authority, the deposition of the Emperor in what claimed to be a full Council of the Church.

In the short period, since the Pontificate of Innocent III., a great but silent change had taken place in the Papacy. Innocent III. was a mighty feudal monarch at the head of a loyal spiritual aristocracy: the whole clergy rose, with their head, in power; they took pride in the exaltation of the Pope; the Pope not merely respected but elevated the dignity of the bishops and abbots; each in his sphere displayed his pomp, exercised his power, enjoyed his wealth, and willingly laid his unforced, unextorted benevolences at the foot of the Papal throne. But already the Pope had begun to be — Innocent IV. aspired fully to become — an absolute monarch with an immense standing army, which enabled him to depress, to humiliate, to tax at his pleasure the higher feudatories of the spiritual realm; that standing army was the two new Orders, not more servilely attached to the Pope than encroaching on the privileges as well as on the duties of the clergy. The elevation of an Italian noble to the Papacy already gave signs of that growing nepotism which at last sunk the Head of Christendom in the Italian sovereign.[1] Throughout the contest Pope Innocent blended with the inflexible haughtiness of the Churchman[2] the inexorable passionate hatred of a Guelfic Burgher towards a rival Ghibelline, the hereditary foe

[1] Nic. de Curbio, in Vit. Innocent IV.

[2] Innocent held high views of the omnipotence of the Papacy: — "Cum teneat omnium credulitas pia fidelium quod apostolicæ sedis auctoritas in ecclesiis universis liberam habeat a Dei providentia potestatem: nec arbitrio principum stare cogitur, ut eorum in electionem vel postulationem negotiis requirat assensum." — Ad Regem Henric. MS. B. M. v. 19. Lateran, Feb. 1244.

of his house, that of the Sinibaldi of Genoa. There had been rumors at least that Gregory IX. resented the scornful rejection of his niece as a fit bride for a natural son of the Emperor. It was now declared that Frederick had offered to wed his son Conrad to a niece of Sinibald Fiesco, the Pope Innocent IV. That scheme of Papal ambition was afterwards renewed. Among the English clergy the encroachments of the Pope, especially in two ways, the direct taxation and usurpation of benefices for strangers, had kindled such violent resentment, alike among the Barons and the Prelates, as almost to threaten that the realm would altogether throw off the Papal yoke. It was tauntingly said that England was the Pope's farm. At this time the collector of the Papal revenues, Master Martin, was driven ignominiously, and in peril of his life, from the shores of the kingdom. Martin had taken up his residence in the house of the Templars in London. Fulk Fitzwarenne suddenly appeared before him, and, with a stern look, said, "Arise — get thee forth! Depart at once from England!" "In whose name speakest thou?" "In the name of the Barons of England assembled at Luton and at Dunstable. If you are not gone in three days, you and yours will be cut in pieces." Martin sought the King: "Is this done by your command, or by the insolence of your subjects?" "It is not by my command; but my Barons will no longer endure your depredations and iniquities. They will rise in insurrection, and I have no power to save you from being torn in pieces." The trembling priest implored a safe-conduct. "The devil take thee away to hell," said the indignant King, ashamed of his own impotence. One of the King's officers with difficulty

conveyed Martin to the coast; but he left others behind to insist on the Papal demands. Yet so great was the terror, that many of the Italians, who had been forced (this was the second grievance) into the richest benefices of England, were glad to conceal themselves from the popular fury. The Pope, it is said, gnashed his teeth at the report from Martin of his insulting expulsion from England. Innocent, once beyond the Alps, had expected a welcome reception from all the great monarchs except his deadly foe. But to the King of England the Cardinal had made artful suggestions of the honor and benefit which his presence might confer on the realm. "What an immortal glory for your reign, if (unexampled honor!) the Father of Fathers should personally appear in England! He has often said that it would give him great pleasure to see the pleasant city of Westminster, and wealthy London." The King's Council, if not the King, returned the ungracious answer, "We have already suffered too much from the usuries and simonies of Rome; we do not want the Pope to pillage us."[1] More than this, Innocent must listen in patience, with suppressed indignation, to the "grievances" against which the Nobles and whole realm of England solemnly protested by their proctors: the subsidies exacted beyond the Peter's-pence, granted by the generosity of England; the usurpation of benefices by Italians, of whom there was an infinite number; the insolence and rapacity of the Nuncio Martin.[2]

[1] Matth. Paris, however in some respects not an absolutely trustworthy authority for events which happened out of England, is the best unquestionably for the rumors and impressions prevalent in Christendom — rumors, which as rumors, and showing the state of the public mind, are not to be disdained by history.

[2] Matth. Paris, 1245.

The King of France, as has been seen, and the King of Arragon courteously declined this costly and dangerous visit of the fugitive Pope. The Pope, it was reported, was deeply offended at this stately and cautious reserve; on this occasion he betrayed the violence of his temper: "We must first crush or pacify the great dragon, and then we shall easily trample these small basilisks under foot." Such at least were the rumors spread abroad, and believed by all who were disposed to assert the dignity of the temporal power, or who groaned under the heavy burdens of the Church. Even Lyons had become, through the Pope's ill-timed favoritism, hardly a safe refuge. He had endeavored to force some of his Italian followers into the Chapter of Lyons, the Canons swore in the face of the Pope that if they appeared, neither the Archbishop nor the Canons themselves could prevent their being cast into the Rhone. Some indeed of the French prelates and abbots (their enemies accused them of seeking preferment and promotion by their adulatory homage) hastened to show their devout attachment to the Pope, their sympathy for his perils and sufferings, and their compassion for the destitution of which he loudly complained. The Prior of Clugny astonished even the Pope's followers by the amount of his gifts in money. Besides these he gave eighty palfreys splendidly caparisoned to the Pope, one to each of the twelve Cardinals. The Pope appointed the Abbot to the office, no doubt not thought unseemly, of his Master of the Horse: he received soon after the more appropriate reward, the Bishopric of Langres. The Cistercian Abbot would not be outdone by his rival of Clugny. The Archbishop of Rouen for the

Church of Lyons.

same purpose loaded his see with debts: he became Cardinal Bishop of Albano. The Abbot of St. Denys, who aspired to and attained the vacant Archbishopric, extorted many thousand livres from his see, which he presented to the Pope. But the King of France, the special patron of the church of St. Denys, forced the Abbot to regorge his exactions, and to beg them in other quarters. Yet with all these forced benevolences and lavish offerings it was bruited abroad that the Church of Rome had a capital debt, not including interest, of 150,000*l.*

The Council met at Lyons, in the convent of St. Just, on the Nativity of St. John the Baptist. Council of Lyons. June 24. Around the Pope appeared his twelve Cardinals, two Patriarchs, the Latin of Constantinople, who claimed likewise to be Patriarch of Antioch, and declared that the heretical Greeks had reduced by their conquests his suffragans from thirty to three, and the Patriarch of Aquileia, who represented the church of Venice; the Emperor of Constantinople, the Count of Toulouse, Roger Bigod and other ambassadors of England who had their own object at the Council, the redress of their grievances from Papal exactions, and the canonization of Edmund Archbishop of Canterbury. Only one hundred and forty prelates represented the whole of Christendom, of whom but very few were Germans. The Council and the person of the Pope were under the protection of Philip of Savoy at the head of a strong body of men-at-arms, of Knights of the Temple and of the Hospital. Philip, brother of the Count of Savoy, was in his character a chief of Condottieri, in his profession an ecclesiastic; he enjoyed vast riches from spiritual benefices, was high

in the confidence of the Pope. Aymeri Archbishop of Lyons, a pious and gentle prelate, beheld with deep sorrow the Pope as it were trampling upon him in his own diocese, despoiling his see, as he was laying intolerable burdens on the whole church of Christ. He resigned his see and retired into a convent. Philip of Savoy, yet but in deacon's orders, was advanced to the metropolitan dignity; he was at once Archbishop of Lyons, Bishop of Valence, Provost of Bruges, Dean of Vienne. Of these benefices he drained with remorseless rapacity all the rich revenues, and remained at the head of the Papal forces. And this was the act of a Pope who convulsed the world with his assertion of ecclesiastical immunities, of the sacrilegious intrusion of secular princes into the affairs of the Church. During four pontificates Philip of Savoy enjoyed the title, and spent the revenues of the Archbishopric of Lyons. At length Clement IV. insisted on his ordination and on his consecration. Philip of Savoy threw off, under this compulsion, the dress (he had never even pretended to the decencies) of a bishop, married first the heiress of Franche Comté, and afterwards a niece of Pope Innocent IV., and died Duke of Savoy. And the brother of Philip and of Amadeus Duke of Savoy, Boniface, was Primate of England.[1]

This then was the Council which was to depose the Emperor, and award the Empire. Even before the opening of the Council the intrepid, learned, and eloquent jurisconsult Thaddeus of Suessa, the principal proctor of the Emperor,[2] advanced and made great

[1] Gallia Christiana, iv. 144. M. Paris, sub ann. 1251.

[2] Sismondi says that Peter de Vineâ was one of the Emperor's representatives; that his silence raised suspicion of his treason. Was he there? The whole defence seems to have been intrusted to Thaddeus.

offers in the name of his master: to compel the Eastern Empire to enter into the unity of the Church: to raise a vast army and to take the field in person against the Tartars, the Charismians, and the Saracens, the foes which threatened the life of Christendom; at his own cost, and in his own person, to reëstablish the kingdom of Jerusalem; to restore all her territories to the See of Rome; to give satisfaction for all injuries. "Fine words and specious promises!" replied the Pope. "The axe is at the root of the tree, and he would avert it. If we were weak enough to believe this deceiver, who would guarantee his truth?" "The Kings of France and England," answered Thaddeus. "And if he violated the treaty, as he assuredly would, we should have instead of one, the three greatest monarchs of Christendom for our enemies." At the next session the Pope in full attire mounted the pulpit; this was his text: "See, ye who pass this way, was ever sorrow like unto my sorrow." He compared his five afflictions to the five wounds of the Lord: the desolations of the Mongols; the revolt of the Greek Church; the progress of heresy, especially that of the Paterins in Lombardy; the capture and destruction of Jerusalem and the devastation of the Holy Land by the Charismians; the persecutions of the Emperor. He wept himself; the tears of others interrupted his discourse. On this last head he enlarged with bitter eloquence; he accused the Emperor of heresy and sacrilege, of having built a great and strong city and peopled it with Saracens, of joining in their superstitious rites; of his close alliance with the Sultan of Egypt; of his voluptuous life, and shameless intercourse with Saracen courtesans; of his unnumbered

perjuries, his violation of treaties: he produced a vast number of letters, sealed with the imperial seal, as irrefragable proofs of these perjuries.

Thaddeus of Suessa rose with calm dauntlessness. He too had letters with the Papal seal, damning proofs of the Pope's insincerity. The assembly professed to examine these conflicting documents; they came to the singular conclusion that all the Pope's letters, and all his offers of peace were conditional; those of the Emperor all absolute. But Thaddeus was not to be overawed; he alleged the clashing and contradictory letters of the Pope which justified his master in not observing his promises. On no point did the bold advocate hesitate to defend his sovereign; he ventured to make reprisals. "My lord and master is arraigned of heresy; for this no one can answer but himself; he must be present to declare his creed: who shall presume to read the secrets of his heart? But there is one strong argument that he is not guilty of heresy (he fixed his eyes on the prelates); he endures no usurer in his dominions." The audience knew his meaning — that was the heresy with which the whole world charged the Court of Rome. The orator justified the treaties of the Emperor with the Saracens as entered into for the good of Christendom; he denied all criminal intercourse with Saracen women; he had permitted them in his presence as jongleurs and dancers, but on account of the offence taken against them he had banished them forever from his court. Thaddeus ended by demanding delay, that the Emperor his master might appear in person before the Council. The Pope shrunk from this proposal: "I have hardly escaped his snares. If

Thaddeus of Suessa.

June 26.

he comes hither I must withdraw. I have July.
no desire for martyrdom or for captivity." But the ambassadors of France and England insisted on the justice of the demand: Innocent was forced to consent to an adjournment of fourteen days. The Pontiff was relieved of his fears. Frederick had advanced as far as Turin. But the hostile character of the assembly would not allow of his appearance. "I see that the Pope has sworn my ruin; he would revenge himself for my victory over his relatives, the pirates of Genoa. It becomes not the Emperor to appear before an assembly constituted of such persons." On the next meeting this determination encouraged the foes of Frederick. New accusers arose to multiply charges against the absent sovereign: many voices broke out against the contumacious rebel against the Church. But Thaddeus, though almost alone, having stood unabashed before the Pope, was not to be silenced by this clamor of accusations. The Bishop of Catana[1] was among the loudest; he charged Frederick with treason against the Church for his imprisonment of the Prelates, and with other heinous crimes. "I can no longer keep silence," broke in Thaddeus, "thou son of a traitor, who was convicted and hanged by the justiciary of my Lord, thou art but following the example of thy father." Thaddeus took up the desperate defence, before such an assembly, of the seizure of the Prelates. The Pope again mingled in the fray; but Thaddeus assumed a lofty tone. "God delivered them into the June 29.
hands of my master; God took away the strength of the rebels, and showed by this abandonment that their imprisonment was just." "If," replied the Pope, "the

[1] Carinola in Giannone.

Emperor had not mistrusted his own cause, he would not have declined the judgment of such holy and righteous men: he was condemned by his own guilty conscience." "What could my lord hope from a council in which presided his capital enemy, the Pope Gregory IX., or from judges who even in their prison breathed nothing but menace?" "If one has broken out into violence, all should not have been treated with this indignity. Nothing remains but ignominiously to depose a man laden with such manifold offences."

Thaddeus felt that he was losing ground; at the
July 17. third sitting he had heard that the daughter of the Duke of Austria, whom Frederick proposed to take as his fourth wife (the sister of the King of England had died in childbed), had haughtily refused the hand of an Emperor tainted with excommunication, and in danger of being deposed. The impatient Assembly would hardly hear again this perilous adversary; he entered therefore a solemn appeal: "I appeal from this Council, from which are absent so many great prelates and secular sovereigns, to a general and impartial Council. I appeal from this Pope, the declared enemy of my Lord, to a future, more gentle, more Christian Pope."[1] This appeal the Pope haughtily overruled: "it was fear of the treachery and the cruelty of the Emperor which had kept some prelates away: it was not for him to take advantage of the consequences of his own guilt." The proceedings were interrupted by a long and bitter remonstrance of England against the Papal exactions. The Pope adjourned this question as requiring grave and mature consideration.

[1] Annal. Cæsen. Concil. sub ann.

With no further deliberation, without further investigation, with no vote, apparently with no participation of the Council, the Pope proceeded at great length, and rehearsing in the darkest terms all the crimes at any time charged against Frederick, to pronounce his solemn, irretragable decree: "The sentence of God must precede our sentence: we declare Frederick excommunicated of God, and deposed from all the dignity of Empire, and from the kingdom of Naples. We add our own sentence to that of God: we excommunicate Frederick, and depose him from all the dignity of the Empire, and from the kingdom of Naples." The Emperor's subjects in both realms were declared absolved from all their oaths and allegiance. All who should aid or abet him were by the act itself involved in the same sentence of excommunication. The Princes of Germany were ordered to proceed at once to the election of a new Emperor. The kingdom of Naples was reserved to be disposed of, as might seem to them most fit, by the Pope and the Cardinals. Sentence of deposition.

The Council at this sentence, at least the greater part, sat panic-stricken; the imperial ambassadors uttered loud groans, beat their heads and their breasts in sorrow. Thaddeus cried aloud, "Oh, day of wrath, of tribulation, and of agony! Now will the heretics rejoice, the Charismians prevail; the foul Mongols pursue their ravages." "I have done my part," said the Pope, "God must do the rest." He began the hymn, "We glorify thee, O God!" His partisans lifted up their voices with him; the hymn ended, there was profound silence. Innocent and the prelates turned down their blazing torches to the ground till they smouldered

and went out. "So be the glory and the fortune of the Emperor extinguished upon earth."

Frederick received at Turin the report of his dethronement; he was seated in the midst of a splendid court. "The Pope has deprived me of my crown? Whence this presumption, this audacity? Bring hither my treasure chests." He opened them. "Not one of my crowns but is here." He took out one, placed it on his own head, and with a terrible voice, menacing gesture, and heart bursting with wrath, exclaimed, "I July 31. hold my crown of God alone; neither the Pope, the Council, nor the devil shall rend it from me! What! shall the pride of a man of low birth degrade the Emperor, who has no superior nor equal on earth? I am now released from all respect; no longer need I keep any measure with this man."[1]

Frederick addressed his justification to all the kings and princes of Christendom, to his own chief officers and justiciaries. He called on all temporal princes to make common cause against this common enemy of the temporal power. "What might not all Kings fear from the presumption of a Pope like Innocent IV.?" He inveighed against the injustice of the Pope in all the proceedings of the Council. The Pope was accuser, witness, and judge. He denounced crimes as notorious which the Emperor utterly denied. "How long has the word of an Emperor been so despicable as not to be heard against that of a priest?" "Among the Pope's few witnesses one had his father, son and nephew convicted of high treason. Of the others, some came from Spain to bear witness on the affairs of Italy. The utter falsehood of all the charges was proved by irrefragable

[1] Peter de Vineâ, i. 3.

documents. But were they all true, how will they justify the monstrous absurdity, that the Emperor, in whom dwells the supreme majesty, can be adjudged guilty of high treason? that he who as the source of law is above all law, should be subject to law? To condemn him to temporal penalties who has but one superior in temporal things, God! We submit ourselves to spiritual penances, not only to the Pope, but to the humblest priest; but, alas! how unlike the clergy of our day to those of the primitive church, who led Apostolic lives, imitating the humility of the Lord! Then were they visited of angels, then shone around by miracles, then did they heal the sick and raise the dead, and subdue princes by their holiness not by arms! Now they are abandoned to this world, and to drunkenness; their religion is choked by their riches. It were a work of charity to relieve them from this noxious wealth; it is the interest of all princes to deprive them of these vain superfluities, to compel them to salutary poverty." [1]

The former arguments were addressed to the pride of France; the latter to England, which had so long groaned under the rapacity of the clergy. But it was a fatal error not to dissever the cause of the Pope from that of the clergy. To all the Emperor declared his steadfast determination to resist with unyielding firmness: "Before this generation and the generations to come I will have the glory of resisting this tyranny; let others who shrink from my support have the disgrace as well as the galling burden of slavery." The humiliation of Pope Innocent might have been endured even by the most devout sons of the Church; his

[1] Peter de Vin. lib. i. 3.

haughtiness and obstinacy had almost alienated the pious Louis; his rapacity forced the timid Henry of England to resistance. Perhaps the Papacy itself might have been assailed without a general outburst of indignation; but a war against the clergy, a war of sacrilegious spoliation, a war which avowed the necessity, the expediency of reducing them to Apostolic simplicity and Apostolic poverty, was in itself the heresy of heresies. To exasperate this indignation to the utmost, every instance of Frederick's severity, doubtless of his cruelty, to ecclesiastics, was spread abroad with restless activity. He is said to have burned them by a slow fire, drowned them in the sea, dragged them at the tails of horses. No doubt in Apulia and Sicily Frederick kept no terms with the rebellious priests and friars who were preaching the Crusade against him; urging upon his subjects that it was their right, their duty to withdraw their allegiance. But under all circumstances the violation of the hallowed person of a priest was sacrilege: while they denounced him as a Pharaoh, a Herod, a Nero, it was an outrage against law, against religion, against God, to do violence to a hair of their heads. And all these rumors, true or untrue, in their terrible simplicity, or in the gathered blackness of rumor, propagated by hostile tongues, confirmed the notion that Frederick contemplated a revolution, a new era, which by degrading the Clergy would destroy the Church.[1]

The Pope kept not silence; he was not the man

[1] "De hæresi per id ipsum se reddens suspectum, merito omnem quem hactenus habebat in omnes populos igniculum famæ propriæ et sapientiæ impudenter et imprudenter extinxit atque delevit." — Mat. Par. p. 459 Höfler quotes Albert of Beham's MS.

who would not profit to the utmost by this error. He replied to the Imperial manifesto: "When the sick man who has scorned milder remedies is subjected to the knife and the cautery, he complains of the cruelty of the physician: when the evil doer, who has despised all warning, is at length punished, he arraigns his judge. But the physician only looks to the welfare of the sick man, the judge regards the crime, not the person of the criminal. The Emperor doubts and denies that all things and all men are subject to the See of Rome. As if we who are to judge angels are not to give sentence on all earthly things. In the Old Testament priests dethroned unworthy kings; how much more is the Vicar of Christ justified in proceeding against him who, expelled from the Church as a heretic, is already the portion of hell! Ignorant persons aver that Constantine first gave temporal power to the See of Rome; it was already bestowed by Christ himself, the true king and priest, as inalienable from its nature and absolutely unconditional. Christ founded not only a pontifical but a royal sovereignty, and committed to Peter the rule both of an earthly and a heavenly kingdom, as is indicated and visibly proved by the plurality of the keys.[1] 'The power of the sword is in the Church and derived from the Church;' she gives it to the Emperor at his coronation, that he may use it lawfully and in her defence; she has the right to say, 'Put up thy sword into its sheath.' He strives to awaken the jealousy of other temporal kings, as if the relation of their kingdoms to

[1] "Non solum pontificalem, sed regalem constituit principatum, beato Petro ejusque successoribus terreni simul ac cœlestis imperii commissis habenis, quod in pluralitate clavium competenter innuitur." This passage is quoted by Von Raumer from the Vatican archives, No. 4957, 47, and from the Codex Vindobon. Philol. p. 178. See also Höfler, Albert von Beham

the Pope were the same as those of the electoral kingdom of Germany and the kingdom of Naples. The latter is a Papal fief; the former inseparable from the Empire, which the Pope transferred as a fief from the East to the West.[1] To the Pope belongs the coronation of the Emperor, who is thereby bound by the consent of ancient and modern times to allegiance and subjection."

War was declared, and neither the Emperor nor the Pope now attempted to disguise their mutual immitigable hatred. Everywhere the Pope called on the subjects of the Emperor to revolt from their deposed and excommunicated monarch. He assumed the power of dispensing with all treaties; he cancelled that of the city of Treviso with the Emperor as extorted by force; thus almost compelling a war of extermination;[2] for if
April 26. treaties with a conqueror were thus to be cast aside, what opening remained for mercy? In a long and solemn address, he called on the bishops, barons, cities, people of the kingdom of Naples and Sicily to throw off the yoke under which they had so long groaned of the tyrant Frederick. Two Cardinals, Rainier Capoccio and Stephen di Romanis, had full powers to raise troops, and to pursue any hostile measures against the King. The Crusade was publicly preached throughout Italy against the enemy of the Church. The Emperor on his side levied a third from the clergy to relieve them from the tyranny of the Pope. He issued inflexible orders that every clerk or religious person who, in obedience to the command of the Pope or his Legate, should cease to celebrate mass or any other religious function, should be expelled at

[1] "In feodum transtulit occidentis." [2] Raynald. sub ann.

once from his place and from his city, and despoiled of all his goods, whether his own or those of the Church. He promised his protection and many advantages to all who should adhere to his party; he declared that he would make no peace with the Pope till all those ecclesiastics who might be deposed for his cause should be put in full possession of their orders, their rank, and their benefices.[1] The Mendicant Friars, as they would keep no terms of peace with Frederick, could expect no terms from him; they were seized and driven beyond the borders. The summons of the Pope to the barons of the realm of Sicily to revolt found some few hearers. A dark conspiracy was formed in which were engaged Pandolph of Fasanella, Frederick's vicar in Tuscany, Jacob Morra of the family of the great justiciary, Andrew of Ayala, the Counts San Severino, Theobald Francisco, and other Apulian barons. It was a conspiracy not only against the realm, but against the life of Frederick. On its detection Pandolph of Fasanella and De Morra, the leaders of the plot, fled to, and were received by, the Pope's Legate. The Cardinal Rainier, Theobald and San Severino seized the castles of Capoccio and of Scala, and stood on their defence. The loyal subjects of Frederick instantly reduced Scala; Capoccio with the rebels fell soon after. Frederick arraigned the Pope before the world, July 18 he declared him guilty on the full and voluntary avowal of the rebels,[2] as having given his direct sanc-

[1] Peter de Vin. i. 4.

[2] See in Höfler the letter of the Pope to Theobald Francisco, and all the others of the kingdom of Sicily who returned to their loyalty to the Roman See: "God has made his face to shine upon you, by withdrawing your persons from the dominion of Pharaoh. From the soldiers of the reprobate tyrant, you have become champions of our Lord Jesus Christ." — Appendix, p. 372.

tion not only to the revolt, but to the murder of the Emperor.[1] "This they had acknowledged in confession, this in public on the scaffold. They had received the cross from the hands of some Mendicant Friars; they were acting under the express authority of the See of Rome." Frederick at first proposed to parade the chief criminals with the Papal bull upon their foreheads through all the realms of Christendom as an awful example and a solemn rebuke of the murderous Pope; he found it more prudent to proceed to immediate execution, an execution with all the horrible cruelty of the times; their eyes were struck out, their hands hewn off, their noses slit, they were then broken on the wheel.[2] The Pope denied in strong terms the charge of meditated assassination; on the other hand, he declared to Christendom that three distinct attempts had been designed against his life, in all which Frederick was the acknowledged accomplice. On both sides probably these accusations were groundless. On one part, no doubt, fanatic Guelfs might think themselves called upon even by the bull of excommunication, which was an act of outlawry, to deliver the Church, the Pope, and the world from a monster of perfidy and iniquity such as Frederick was described in the manifestoes of the Pope. Fanatic Ghibellines might in like manner think that they were doing good service, and would meet ample even if secret reward, should they relieve the Emperor from his deadly foe. They might draw a strong distinction between the rebellious subject of the Empire, and the sacred head of Christendom.

[1] "Et prædictæ mortis et exhæreditationis nostræ summum pontificem asserunt authorem." — Peter de Vin. ii. x.

[2] Matth. Paris, sub ann. 1246, 7.

The Pope pledged himself solemnly to all who would revolt from Frederick never to abandon them to his wrath, never on any terms to make peace with the perfidious tyrant; "no feigned penitence, no simulated humility shall so deceive us, as that, when he is cast down from the height of his imperial and royal dignity, he should be restored to his throne. His sentence is absolutely irrevocable! his reprobation is the voice of God by his Church: he is condemned and forever! His viper progeny are included under this eternal immitigable proscription. Whoever then loves justice should rejoice that vengeance is thus declared against the common enemy, and wash his hands in the blood of the transgressor." So wrote the Vicar of Christ![1]

Frederick took measures to relieve himself from the odious imputation of heresy. The Arch- A.D. 1246.
bishop of Palermo, the Bishop of Pavia, the Abbots of Monte Casino, Cava, and Casanova, the Friar Preachers Roland and Nicolas, men of high repute, appeared before the Pope at Lyons, and declared themselves ready to attest on oath the orthodox belief of the Emperor. Innocent sternly answered, that they deserved punishment for holding conference with an excommunicated person, still severer penalty for treating him as Emperor. They rejoined in humility, "Receive us then as only representing a Christian."

The Pope was compelled to appoint a commission of three cardinals. These not only avouched the report of the ambassadors, but averred the Emperor prepared to assert his orthodoxy in the presence of the Pope. Innocent extricated himself with address: he May 23. 1246
declared the whole proceeding, as unauthorized by

[1] Apud Höfler, p. 383.

himself, hasty, and presumptuous: "If he shall appear unarmed and with but few attendants before us, we will hear him, if it be according to law, according to law."[1] Even the religious Louis of France could not move the rigid Pope. In his own crusading enthusiasm, as strong as that of his ancestors in the days of Urban, Louis urged the Pope to make peace with the Emperor, that the united forces of Christendom might make head in Europe and in Palestine against the unbelieving enemies of the Cross. He had a long and secret interview with the Pope in the monastery of Clugny. Innocent declared that he could have no dealings with the perfidious Frederick. Louis retired, disgusted at finding such merciless inflexibility in the Vicar of Christ.[2] But not yet had the spell of the great magician begun to work. The conspiracy in the kingdom of Sicily was crushed; Frederick did not think it wise to invade the territories of Rome, where the Cardinal Rainier kept up an active partisan war. But even Viterbo yielded; the Guelfs were compelled to submit by the people clamoring for bread. Prince Theodore of Antioch entered Florence in triumph. The Milanese had suffered discomfiture; Venice had become more amicable. Innocent had not been wanting in attempts to raise up a rival sovereign in Germany to supplant the deposed Emperor. All the greater princes coldly, almost contemptuously, refused to become the instruments of the Papal vengeance: they resented the presumption of the Pope in dethroning an Emperor of Germany.

[1] "Ipsum super hoc, si de jure, et sicut de jure fuerit audiamus." — Apud Raynald. 1246.

[2] Matt. Paris, 1246.

The Papal Legate, Philip Bishop of Ferrara, in less troubled times would hardly have wrought powerfully on the minds of Churchmen. He was born of poor parents in Pistoia, and raised himself by extraordinary vigor and versatility of mind. He was a dark, melancholy, utterly unscrupulous man, of stern and cruel temper; a great drinker;[1] even during his orisons he had strong wine standing in cold water by his side. His gloomy temperament may have needed this excitement. But the strength of the Papal cause was Albert von Beham.[2] Up to the accession of Innocent IV., if not to the Council of Lyons, the Archbishops of Saltzburg, the Bishops of Freisingen and Ratisbon and Passau, had been the most loyal subjects of Frederick. They had counteracted all the schemes of Albert von Beham, driven him, amid the universal execration for his insolence in excommunicating the highest prelates, and rapacity in his measureless extortions, from Southern Germany. We have heard him bitterly lamenting his poverty. Otho of Bavaria, who when once he embraced the cause of the Hohenstaufen adhered to it with honorable fidelity, had convicted him of gross bribery, and hunted him out of his dominions. Albert now appeared again in all his former activity. He had been ordained priest by the Cardinal Albano; he was nomi-

[1] "Multas crudelitates exercuit. Melancholicus, et tristis et furiosus, et filius Belial. Magnus potator." — Salimbeni, a Papal writer quoted by Von Raumer, p. 212.

[2] Höfler affirms that because Albert von Beham, in one of his furious letters to Otho, calls Frederick the parricide, the murderer of Otho's father, that it is a striking *proof* that Frederick was guilty of that murder. — p. 118. The letter is a remarkable one. Höfler's is one of those melancholy books, showing how undying is religious hatred. Innocent himself might be satisfied with the rancor of his apologist, and his merciless antipathy to Frederick.

nated Dean of Passau; but the insatiable Albert knew his own value, or rather the price at which the Pope and his cardinals calculated his services: he insisted on receiving back all his other preferments. The Pope and the Cardinals held it as a point of honor to maintain their useful emissary.[1]

Already before the elevation of Innocent, at a meet- Sept. 1241. ing at Budweis, a league of Austria, Bohemia, and Bavaria, had proposed the nomination of a new Emperor. Eric King of Denmark had refused it for his son, in words of singular force and dignity. At Budweis Wenceslaus of Bohemia had fallen off to the interests of the Emperor: there were fears among the Papalists, fears speedily realized, of the Imperialism of Otho of Bavaria. A most audacious vision of Poppo, the Provost of Munster, had not succeeded in appalling Otho into fidelity to the Pope. The Queen of Heaven and the Twelve Apostles sent down from Heaven ivory statues of themselves, which contained oracles confirming all the acts of Albert; writings were shown with the Apostolic seals, containing the celestial decree.[2] Albert had threatened, that if the electors refused, the Pope would name a French or Lombard King or Patrician, without regard to the Germans.

The meeting at Budweis so far had failed; but a

[1] He complains that they prevented him from collecting 300 marks of silver, which otherwise he might have obtained. Höfler cannot deny the venality of Albert von Beham, but makes a long apology, absolutely startling in a respectable writer of our own day. The new letters of Albert seem to me more fatal to his character than the partial extracts in Aventinus.

[2] "Quorum decreta cum divinæ mentis decretis examussim conspirantia, ambobus cælestis senatus-consulti in eburneis descripta sigillis, inspiciendi copiam factam." The sense is not quite clear; I doubt my own rendering.

dangerous approximation had even then been made between Sifried of Mentz, hitherto loyal to Frederick, who had condemned and denounced the rapacious quaestorship of Albert von Beham, and Conrad of Cologne, a high Papalist.[1] This approximation grew up into an Anti-Imperialist League, strengthened as it April 20 was, before long, by the courageous demeanor, the flight, the high position taken by Innocent at Lyons; still more by the unwise denunciations against the whole hierarchy by Frederick in his wrath. Now the three great rebellious temporal princes — Otho of Bavaria, the King of Bohemia, the Duke of Austria — are the faithful subjects of Frederick; his loyal prelates, Saltzburg, Freisingen, Ratisbon, are his mortal enemies. Not content with embracing the Papal cause, they endeavored by the most stirring incitements to revenge for doubtful or mendaciously asserted wrongs, by the dread of excommunication, by brilliant promises, to stir up Otho of Bavaria to assume the Imperial crown. Otho replied, "When I was on the side of the Pope you called him Antichrist; you declared him the source of all evil and all guilt: by your counsels I turned to the Emperor, and now you brand him as the most enormous transgressor. What is just to-day is unjust to-morrow: in scorn of all principle and all truth, you blindly follow your selfish interests. I shall hold to my pledges and my oaths, and not allow myself to be blown about by every changing wind." Otho of Bavaria persisted in his agreement to wed his daughter with Conrad, son of Frederick. Every argument was used to dissuade him from this connection. Three alternatives were laid before him: I. To renounce the marriage of

[1] Boehmer, p. 390. See citations.

his daughter with Conrad, Frederick's son; if so, the Pope will provide a nobler bridegroom, and reconcile him fully with Henry, elected King of the Romans. II. To let the marriage proceed if Conrad will renounce his father. Albert von Beham was busy in inciting the unnatural revolt of Conrad from his father. III. The third possibility was the restoration of Frederick to the Pope's favor: he must await this; but in the mean time bear in mind that the victory of the Church is inevitable.[1] The King of Bohemia, the Dukes of Austria, Brabant, and Saxony, the Margraves of Meissen and Brandenburg, repelled with the same contemptuous firmness the tempting offer of the Imperial crown. At last an Emperor was found in Henry Raspe, Landgrave of Thuringia. Henry of Thuringia was a man of courage and ability; but his earlier life did not designate him as the champion of Holy Church.[2] He was the brother-in-law of the sainted Elizabeth of Hungary, now the object of the most passionate religious enthusiasm, sanctioned by the Pope himself. To her, in her desolate widowhood, Henry had shown little of the affection of a brother or the reverence of a wor-

[1] "Quia si omne aurum haberetis, quod Rex Solomon habuit, ordinationi Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ, et divinæ potentiæ non poteritis repugnare, quia necesse est ut in omni negotio semper Ecclesia Dei vincat." — p. 120. The marriage took place, Sept 6, 1246. The rhetorical figures in this address of Albert of Beham, if it came not from the Pope himself, were sufficiently bold: "The Pope would not swerve from his purpose though the stars should fall from their spheres, and rivers be turned into blood. Angels and archangels would in vain attempt to abrogate his determination." "Nec credo angelos aut archangelos sufficere illi articulo, ut eum possint ad vestrum bene placitum inclinare."

[2] The electors to the Kingdom of Germany were almost all ecclesiastics. The Archbishops of Mentz, Cologne, Trèves, Bremen; the Bishops of Wurtzburg, Naumbourg, Ratisbon, Strasburg, Henry (Elect) of Spires; Dukes Henry of Brabant, Albert of Saxony; with some Counts. — May 22.

shipper; dark rumors charged him with having poisoned her son, his nephew, to obtain his inheritance. He had been at one time the Lieutenant of the Emperor in Germany. Even Henry at first declined the perilous honor. He yielded at length as to a sacrifice: "I obey, but I shall not live a year."

Innocent issued his mandate,[1] his solemn adjuration to the prelates to elect, with one consent, Henry of Thuringia to the Imperial crown. He employed more powerful arguments: all the vast wealth which he still drew, more especially from England, was devoted to this great end. The sum is variously stated at 25,000 and 50,000 marks, which was spread through Germany by means of letters of exchange from Venice. The greater princes still stood aloof; the prelates espoused, from religious zeal, the Papal champion; among the lower princes and nobles the gold of England worked wonders. On Ascension Day the Archbishops A.D. 1246. of Mentz, Cologne, Trèves, and Bremen, the Bishops of Metz, Spires, and Strasburg, anointed Henry of Thuringia as King of Germany at Hochem, August 5 near Wurtzburg. His enemies called him in scorn the priest king.[2] The sermons of the prelates and clergy, who preached the Crusade against the godless Frederick, and the money of the Pope, raised a powerful army; King Conrad was worsted in a great battle near Frankfort; two thousand of his own Swabian soldiers passed over to the enemy. But the cities, now rising to wealth and freedom, stood firm to Frederick: they defied, in some cases expelled, their bishops. Henry

[1] See the very curious letter in Höfler, p. 195, on the determination of the Pope.

[2] Matt. Paris. Chronic. Erphurt. Ann. Argentin. apud Boehmer, Fontes

of Thuringia attempted to besiege first Reutlingen, then Feb. 17, 1247. Ulm; was totally defeated near that city, fled to his Castle of Wartburg, and died of grief and vexation working on a frame shattered by a fall from his horse.

Frederick was still in the ascendant, the cause of the Pope still without prevailing power. The indefatigable Innocent sought throughout Germany, throughout Europe: he even summoned from the remote and barbarous North Hakim King of Norway to assume the crown of Germany.[1] At last William of Holland, a Oct. 3, 1247. youth of twenty years of age, under happier auspices, listened to the tempting offers of the Pope; but even Aix-la-Chapelle refused, till after a siege of some length, to admit the Papal Emperor to receive the crown within her walls: he was crowned, however, by the Papal Legate, the Cardinal of St. Sabina.

From this time till Frederick lay dying, four years after, at Fiorentino, some dire fatality seemed to hang over the house of Hohenstaufen. Frederick had advanced to Turin; his design no one knew; all conjectured according to their wishes or their fears. It was rumored in England that he was at the head of a powerful force, intending to dash down the Alps and seize the Pope at Lyons. The Papalists gave out that he had some dark designs, less violent but more treacherous, to circumvent the Pontiff. Innocent had demanded succor from Louis, who might, with his brothers and the nobles of France, no doubt have been moved by the personal danger of the Pope to take up arms in his cause.[2] Frederick had succeeded, by the surrender of

[1] Letter to William of Holland.

[2] Matt. Paris. In the letters to Louis and to his mother Blanche the

the strong castle of Rivoli to Thomas Duke of Savoy, in removing the obstructions raised by that prince to the passage of the Alps. The Duke of Savoy played a double game: he attacked the Cardinal Octavian, who was despatched by the Pope with a strong chosen body of troops and 15,000 marks to aid the Milanese. The Cardinal reached Lombardy with hardly a man: his whole treasure fell into the hands of the Duke of Savoy. Others declared that Frederick was weary of the war, and had determined on the humblest submission. He himself may have had no fixed and settled object. He declared that he had resolved to proceed to Lyons to bring his cause to issue in the face of the Pope, and before the eyes of all mankind.[1] He was roused from his irresolution by the first of those disasters which went on darkening to his end. June, 1247. The Pope was not only Pope; he had powerful compatriots and kindred among the great Guelfic houses of Italy. This, not his spiritual powers alone, gave the first impulse to the downfall of Frederick. In Parma itself the Rossi, the Correggi, the Lupi, connected with the Genoese family of the Sinibaldi, maintained a secret correspondence with their party within the city. The exiles appeared before Parma with a strong force; the Imperialist Podestà, Henry Testa of Arezzo, sallied forth, was repulsed and slain; the Guelfs entered the city with the flying troops, became masters of the citadel: Gherardo Correggio was Lord of Parma.

This was the turning-point in the fortunes of Fred-

Pope intimates that they were ready to march an army not only to defend him in Lyons, but to cross the Alps.

[1] Nicolas de Curbio, in Vit. Innoc. IV. "Causæ nostræ justitiam præsentialiter et potenter in adversarii nostri facie, coram transalpinis gentibus posituri." — Petr. de Vin. ii. 49.

erick; and Frederick, by the horrible barbarity of his revenge against the revolted Parmesans, might seem smitten with a judicial blindness, and to have labored to extinguish the generous sympathies of mankind in his favor. His wrath against the ungrateful city, which he had endowed with many privileges, knew no bounds. He had made about one thousand prisoners: on one day he executed four, on the next two, before the walls, and declared that such should be the spectacle offered to the rebels every day during the siege. He was with difficulty persuaded to desist from this inhuman warfare. Parma became the centre of the war; on its capture depended all the terrors of the Imperial arms, on its relief the cause of the Guelfs. Around Frederick assembled King Enzio, Eccelin di Romano, Frederick of Antioch, Count Lancia, the Marquis Pallavicini, Thaddeus of Suessa, and Peter de Vineâ. On the other hand, the Marquis Boniface threw himself with a squadron of knights into the city. The troops of Mantua, the Marquis of Este, Alberic di Romano, the martial Cardinal Gregory of Monte Longo at the head of the Milanese; the Count of Lavagna, the Pope's nephew, at the head of four hundred and thirty cross-bowmen of Genoa and three hundred of his own, hovered on all sides to aid the beleaguered city. Parma endured the storm, the famine: Frederick had almost encircled Parma by his works, and called the strong point of his fortifications by the haughty but ill-omened name of Vittoria. After many months' siege, one fatal night the troops of Parma issued from the city, and surprised the strong line of forts, the Vittoria, which contained all the battering engines,

Turning-point in Frederick's fortunes.

August 2.

Feb. 18, 1248.

stores, provisions, arms, tents, treasures, of the Imperial forces. So little alarm was at first caused, that Thaddeus of Suessa, who commanded in Vittoria, exclaimed, "What! have the mice left their holes?" In a few moments the whole fortress was in flames, it was a heap of ashes, the Imperial garrison slain or prisoners; two thousand were reckoned as killed, including the Marquis Lancia; three thousand prisoners.[1] Among the inestimable booty in money, jewels, vessels of gold and silver, were the carroccio of Cremona, the Imperial fillet, the great seal, the sceptre and the crown. The crown of gold and jewels was found by a mean man, called in derision "Sanctus." He put the crown on his head, was raised on the shoulders of his comrades, and entered Parma, in mockery of the Emperor. Among the prisoners was the faithful and eloquent Thaddeus of Suessa. The hatred of his master's enemies was in proportion to his value to his master. Already both his hands were struck off; and in this state, faint with loss of blood, he was hewn in pieces.[2] And yet could Frederick hardly complain of the cruelty of his foes — cruelties shown when the blood was still hot from battle. Only three days before the loss of the Vittoria, Marcellino, Bishop of Arezzo, a dangerous and active partisan of the Pope, who had been taken prisoner, and confined for months in a dungeon, was brought forth to be hanged. His death was a strange wild confusion of the pious prelate and the intrepid Guelf. He was commanded to anathematize the Pope, he broke out into an anathema against the Emperor. He then

[1] Muratori, Annal. sub ann.

[2] Compare in Hefler's 'Albert von Beham" the curious Latin songs on the defeat of Frederick before Parma. All the monkish bards broke out in gratulant hymns.

began to chant the Te Deum, while the furious Saracen soldiers tied him to the tail of a horse, bound his hands, blindfolded his eyes, dragged him to the gibbet, where he hung an awful example to the rebels of Parma. He was hanged, says the indignant Legate of the Pope, "like a villain, a plebeian, a nightman, a parricide, a murderer, a slave-dealer, a midnight robber." [1]

This was but the first of those reverses, which not only obscured the fame, but wrung with bitterest anguish the heart of Frederick. Still his gallant son Enzio made head against all his father's foes: in a skirmish before Bologna Enzio was wounded and taken prisoner. Implacable Bologna condemned him to perpetual punishment. All the entreaties to which his father humbled himself; all his own splendid promises that for his ransom he would gird the city with a ring of gold, neither melted nor dazzled the stubborn animosity of the Guelfs; a captive at the age of twenty-four, this youth, of beauty equal to his bravery — the poet, the musician, as well as the most valiant soldier and consummate captain — pined out twenty-three years of life, if not in a squalid dungeon, in miserable inactivity. Romance, by no means improbable, has darkened his fate. The passion of Lucia Biadagoli, the most beautiful and high-born maiden of Bologna, for the captive, her attempts to release him, were equally vain: once he had almost escaped, concealed in a cask; a lock of his bright hair betrayed the secret.[2] Nor had Frederick yet exhausted the cup of affliction; the worst was

May 26, 1249

Imprisonment of Enzio.

[1] Matt. Paris, sub ann. 1249. Letter of Cardinal Rainier. However extravagant this letter, the fact can hardly have been invention.

[2] Bologna gave him the mockery of a splendid funeral. "Sepultus est maximo cum honore." — B. Museum Chronicon, p. 340.

to come: suspected, at least, if unproved treachery in another of his most tried and faithful servants. Thaddeus of Suessa had been severed from him by death, his son by imprisonment, Peter de Vineâ was to be so, by the most galling stroke of all, either foul treason in De Vineâ, or in himself blind, ungrateful injustice. Peter de Vineâ had been raised by the wise choice of Frederick to the highest rank and influence. All the acts of Frederick were attributed to his chancellor.[1] De Vineâ, like his master, was a poet; he was one of the counsellors in his great scheme of legislation. Some rumors spread abroad that at the Council of Lyons, though Frederick had forbidden all his representatives from holding private intercourse with the Pope, De Vineâ had many secret conferences with Innocent, and was accused of betraying his master's interests. Yet there was no seeming diminution in the trust placed in De Vineâ. Still to the end the Emperor's letters concerning the disaster at Parma are by the same hand. Over the cause of his disgrace and death, even in his own day, there was deep doubt and obscurity. The popular rumor ran that Frederick was ill; the physician of De Vineâ prescribed for him; the Emperor, having received some warning, addressed De Vineâ: "My friend, in thee I have full trust; art thou sure that this is medicine, not poison?" De Vineâ replied: "How often has my physician ministered healthful medicines! — why are you now afraid?" Frederick took the cup, sternly commanded the physician to drink half of it. The physician threw himself at the King's feet, and as he fell overthrew the liquor. But what was left was administered to some criminals,

Peter de Vineâ.

[1] There is some doubt whether he was actually chancellor.

who died in agony. The Emperor wrung his hands and wept bitterly: "Whom can I now trust, betrayed by my own familiar friend? Never can I know security, never can I know joy more." By one account Peter de Vineâ was led ignominiously on an ass through Pisa, and thrown into prison, where he dashed his brains out against the wall. Dante's immortal verse has saved the fame of De Vineâ: according to the poet, he was the victim of wicked and calumnious jealousy.[1]

The next year Frederick himself lay dying at Fio-
June, 1250. rentino. His spirit was broken by the defeat
Death of Frederick II. of Parma; a strange wayward irresolution came over him: now he would march fiercely to Lyons and dethrone the Pope; now he was ready to make the humblest submission; now he seemed to break out into paroxysms of cruelty — prisoners were put to the torture, hung. Frederick, if at times rebellious against the religion, was not above the superstition of his times. He had faith in astrology: it had also been foretold that he should die in Firenze (Florence). In Fioren-
Dec. 13, 1250. tino, a town not far from Lucera, he was seized with a mortal sickness. The hatred which pursued him to the grave, and far beyond the grave, described him as dying unreconciled to the Church, miserable, deserted, conscious of the desertion of all. The

[1] "I son colui, che tenne ambo le chiavi
Del cuor di Frederigo, e che le volsi
Serrando e desserando, si soavi * *
* * * * * * *
La meretrice, che mai dal ospizio
Di Cesare non torse gli occhi putti,
Morte commune, e delle corte vizio
Infiammò contra me l' animi tutti.
E gl' infiammati infiammar si Augusto,
Che i lieti onori tornaro in tristi lutti."
*et seq.* — *Inferno*, xiii. 58.

inexorable hatred pursued his family, and charged his son Manfred with hastening his death by smothering him with a pillow. By more credible accounts he died in Manfred's arms, having confessed and received absolution from the faithful Archbishop of Palermo. His body was carried to Palermo in great state, a magnificent tomb raised over his remains, an epitaph proclaiming his glory and his virtues was inscribed by his son Manfred.[1] In his last will he directed that all her rights and honors should be restored to the Holy Church of Rome, his mother; under the condition that the Church should restore all the rights and honors of the Empire. In this provision the Church refused to see any concession, it was the still stubborn and perfidious act of a rebel. All his other pious legacies for the rebuilding and endowment of churches passed for nothing.

The world might suppose that with the death of Frederick the great cause of hostility had been removed; but he left to his whole race the inheritance of the implacable hatred of the Papal See; it was extinguished only in the blood of the last of the house of Hohenstaufen on the scaffold at Naples.

It might indeed seem as if, in this great conflict, each had done all in his power to justify the extreme suspicion, the immitigable aversion, of his adversary; to stir up the elements of strife, so that the whole world was arrayed one half against the other in defence of vital and absorbing principles of action. It was a war of ideas, as well as of men; and those ideas, on each

1 "Si probitas, sensus, virtutum gratia, census
Nobilitas orti possent obsistere morti
Non foret extinctus Fredericus qui jacet intus."

side, maintained to the utmost imaginable height. That the justice of Frederick was a stern absolutism cannot be denied; that his notion of the Imperial power was not merely irreconcilable with the fierce and partisan liberties of the Italian republics, but with all true freedom; that he aspired to crush mankind into order and happiness with the iron hand of autocracy. Still no less than autocracy in those times could coerce the countless religious and temporal feudal tyrannies which oppressed and retarded civilization. The Sicilian legislation of Frederick shows that order and happiness were the ultimate aim of his rule: the assertion of the absolute supremacy of law; premature advance towards representative government; the regard to the welfare of all classes; the wise commercial regulations; the cultivation of letters, arts, natural philosophy, science; all these if despotically enforced, were enforced by a wise and beneficent despotism. That Frederick was honored, admired, loved by a great part of his subjects; that if by one party he was looked on with the bitterest abhorrence, to others he was no less the object of wonder and of profound attachment, appears from his whole history. In Sicily and Naples, though the nobles had been held down with an inflexible hand, though he was compelled to impose still heavier taxation, though his German house had contracted a large debt of unpopularity, though there might be more than one conspiracy instantly and sternly suppressed, yet there was in both countries a fond, almost romantic attachment, to his name and that of his descendants. The crown of Germany, which he won by his gallant enterprise, he secured by his affability, courtesy, chivalrous nobleness of character. In Germany, not all the

influence of the Pope could for a long time raise up a formidable opposition; the feeble rebellion of his son, unlike most parricidal rebellions of old, was crushed on his appearance. For a long time many of the highest churchmen were on his side: and when all the churchmen arrayed themselves against him, all, even his most dangerous enemies among the temporal princes, rallied round his banner: the Empire was one; it was difficult to find an obscure insignificant prince, with all the hierarchy on his side, to hazard the assumption of the Imperial crown.

The religion of Frederick is a more curious problem. If it exercised no rigorous control over his luxurious life, there was in his day no indissoluble alliance between Christian morals and Christian religion. This holy influence was no less wanting to the religion of many other kings, who lived and died in the arms of the Church. Frederick, if he had not been Emperor and King of Sicily, and so formidable to the Papal power, might have dallied away his life in unrebuked voluptuousness. If he had not threatened the patrimony of St. Peter, he might have infringed on the pure precepts of St. Peter. Frederick was a persecutor of the worst kind — a persecutor without bigotry: but the heretics were not only misbelievers, they were Lombard rebels. How far he may have been goaded into general scepticism by the doubts forced upon him by the unchristian conduct of the great churchmen: how far, in his heart, he had sunk to the miserable mocking indifference betrayed by some of the sarcasms, current, as from his lips, and which, even if merely gay and careless words, jarred so harshly on the sensitive religion of his age, cannot be known. Frederick cer- Religion of Frederick.

tainly made no open profession of unbelief; he repeatedly offered to assert and vindicate the orthodoxy of his creed before the Pope himself. He was not superior, it is manifest, to some of the superstitions of his time; he is accused of studying the influence of the stars, but it may have been astrology aspiring (under Arabic teaching) to astronomy, rather than astronomy grovelling down to astrology. That which most revolted his own age, his liberality towards the Mohammedans, his intercourse by negotiation, and in the Holy Land, with the Sultan and his viziers, and with his own enlightened Saracen subjects, as well as his terrible body-guard at Nocera, will find a fairer construction in modern times. How much Europe had then to learn from Arabian letters, arts and sciences; how much of her own wisdom to receive back through those channels, appeared during the present and the succeeding centuries. Frederick's, in my judgment, was neither scornful and godless infidelity, nor certainly a more advanced and enlightened Christianity, yearning after holiness and purity not then attainable. It was the shattered, dubious, at times trembling faith, at times desperately reckless incredulity, of a man forever under the burden of an undeserved excommunication, of which he could not but discern the injustice, but could not quite shake off the terrors: of a man, whom a better age of Christianity might not have made religious; whom his own made irreligious. Perhaps the strongest argument in favor of Frederick, is the generous love which he inspired to many of the noblest minds of his time; not merely such bold and eloquent legists as Thaddeus of Suessa, whose pride and conscious power might conspire with his zeal for the Im-

perial cause, to make him confront so intrepidly, so eloquently, the Council at Lyons; it was the first bold encounter of the Roman lawyer with the host of Canon lawyers. Nor was it merely Peter de Vineâ, whose melancholy fate revenged itself for its injustice, if he ever discovered its injustice, on the stricken and desolate heart of the King: but of men, like Herman of Salza, the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order. Herman was, by all accounts, one of the most blameless, the noblest, the most experienced, most religious of men. If his Teutonic Order owed the foundation of its greatness, with lavish grants and immunities, to Frederick, it owed its no less valuable religious existence, its privileges, its support against the hostile clergy, to the Popes. Honorius and Gregory vied with the Emperor in heaping honors on De Salza and his Order. Yet throughout his first conflict, De Salza is the firm, unswerving friend of Frederick. He follows his excommunicated master to the Holy Land, adheres to his person in good report and evil report; death alone separates the friends.[1] The Archbishop of Palermo (against whom no breath of calumny) is no less, to the close of Frederick's life, his tried and inseparable friend; he never seems to have denied him, though excommunicate, the offices of religion; buried him, though yet unabsolved, in his cathedral; inscribed on his tomb an epitaph, which, if no favorable proof of the Archbishop's poetic powers, is the lasting tribute of his fervent, faithful admiration.

On the other hand, Innocent IV. not only carried the Papal claims to the utmost, and asserted them with a kind of ostentatious intrepidity: Pope Innocent IV.

[1] In Voigt, Geschichte Preussens, is a very elaborate and interesting account of Herman of Salza, and the rise of the Teutonic Order.

"We are no mere man, we have the place of God upon earth!" but there was a personal arrogance in his demeanor, and an implacability which revolted even the most awe-struck worshippers of the Papal power. Towards Frederick he showed, blended with the haughtiness of the Pope, the fierceness of a Guelfic partisan; he hated him with something of the personal hatred of a chief of the opposite faction in one of the Italian republics. Never was the rapacity of the Roman See so insatiate as under Innocent IV.; the taxes levied in England alone, her most profitable spiritual estate, amounted to incredible sums. Never was aggression so open or so daring on the rights and exemptions of the clergy (during the greater part of the strife the support of the two new Orders enabled the Pope to trample on the clergy, and to compel them to submit to extortionate contributions towards his wars): never was the spiritual character so entirely merged in the temporal as among his Legates. They were no longer the austere and pious, if haughty churchmen. Cardinal Rainier commanded the Papal forces in the states of St. Peter with something of the ability and all the ferocity and mercilessness of a later Captain of Condottieri; Albert von Beham, the Archdeacon of Passau, had not merely been detected, as we have seen, in fraudulent malversation and shamefully expelled from Bavaria, but when he appeared again as Dean of Passau, his own despatches, which describe his negotiations with the Duke of Bavaria, show a repulsive depth of arrogant iniquity. The incitement of Conrad to rebellion against his father seems to him but an ordinary proceeding. The Bishop of Ferrara, the Legate in Germany, was a drunkard, if not worse. Gregory of

Monte Longo, during the whole period Papal representative in Lombardy, the conductor of all the negotiations with the republics, the republics which swarmed with heretics, was a man of notorious incontinence; Frederick himself had hardly more concubines than the Cardinal Legate.

Immediately on the death of Frederick, the Pope began to announce his intention of returning to Italy. Peter Capoccio was ordered to ascertain the state of feeling in the kingdom of Sicily. The Pope himself raised a song of triumph, addressed to all the prelates and all the nobles of the realm: "Earth and heaven were to break out into joy at this great deliverance."[1] But the greater number of both orders seem to have been insensible to the blessing; they were mourning over the grave of him whom the Pope described as the hammer of persecution. The aged Archbishop of Palermo and the Archbishop of Salerno openly espoused the cause of Conrad; the Archbishop of Bari, Frederick's deadly enemy, seemed to stand alone in the Papal interest. Strangers, the Subdeacon Matthew, and a Dominican friar, were sent into Calabria and Sicily to stir up the clergy to a sense of their wrongs. In Germany Conrad was arraigned as a rebellious usurper for presuming to offer resistance to William of Holland. He was again solemnly excommunicated; a crusade was preached against him. The Pope even endeavored to estrange the Swabians from their liege lord: "Herod is dead; Archelaus aspires to reign in his stead." In an attempt to murder Conrad at Ratisbon, the Abbot Ulric is supposed to have been the chief actor; the Bishop

The Pope after the death of Frederick.

Dec. 25, 1253.

[1] Raynald. sub ann. 1251.

of Ratisbon was awaiting without the walls the glad tidings of the accomplishment of the assassination.[1] The Archbishop of Mentz, Christian, a prelate of great piety, broaches the unpalatable doctrine that, as far as spiritual enemies, the word of God is the only lawful sword; but as for drawing the sword of steel, he held it unbefitting his priestly character. He is deposed for these strange opinions.[2] A youth, the Subdeacon Gerard, is placed on the Primate's throne of Germany.

The kings do honor to Innocent IV.

Monarchs, however, seemed to vie in giving honor to the triumphant Pontiff on his proposed return to Rome. The Queen-mother Blanche of France (Louis IX., her son, was now prisoner in the East) offered to accompany him with a strong body of French troops. Henry of England expressed his earnest desire to prostrate himself at the feet of the Holy Father before he departed for the south. Alphonso of Castile entreated him to trust to the arms, fleets, and protection of Spain rather than of France. Before he bade farewell to the city of Lyons, whose pious hospitality he rewarded with high praise and some valuable privileges,[3] he had an interview within the city with his own Emperor William of Holland.

[1] "Qui episcopus foras muros civitatis cum multis armatis eventum rei solicitus expectabat." — Herm. Alt. apud Boehmer, ii. 507. See Chron. Salis. Pez. i. 362.

[2] "At jure episcopatu dejectum ob principatum conjunctum exploratum est; cum non modo præsulem sed etiam principem agere, ac vim insultantium ecclesiæ vi repellere oporteret." Such is the comment of the ecclesiastical annalist Raynaldus, sub ann.

[3] The morals of Lyons were not improved by the residence of the Papal court. It was openly declared by Cardinal Hugo, "Magnam fecimus, postquam in hanc urbem venimus, utilitatem et eleemosynam: quando enim primo huc venimus, tria vel quatuor prostibula invenimus; sed nunc recedentes unum solam relinquimus; verum ipsum durat continuatum ab orientali parte civitatis usque ad occidentalem." — Matt. Paris, p. 819.

After that he descended the Rhone to Vienne, to Orange, and then proceeded to Marseilles. April 19. He arrived at Genoa; the city hailed her holy son with the utmost honors. The knights and nobles of the territory supported a silken canopy over his head to protect him from the sun. On Ascension May 17. Day he received the delegates from the cities of Lombardy. Ghibellinism held down its awe-struck and discomfited head. Rome alone was not as yet thought worthy, or sought not to be admitted to the favor of his presence, or he dared not trust,[1] notwithstanding his close alliance with the Frangipani (whom he had bought), that unruly city. He visited Milan, Brescia, Mantua, Ferrara, Modena, every- His return to Italy. July 24. where there was tumultuous joy among the Guelfs. While he was at Milan Lodi made her submission: the Count of Savoy abandoned the party of the Hohenstaufen. On All-Saints'-Day he was at Faenza; on the 5th of November he stayed his steps, and fixed his court at Perugia. For a year and a half he remained in that city; Rome was not honored with the presence of her Pontiff till Rome compelled that presence.

Among the first resolutions of Innocent was the suppression of heresy, more especially in the Ghibelline cities, such as Cremona. A holocaust of these outcasts would be a fit offering of gratitude to heaven for the removal of the perfidious Frederick. It was his design to strike in this manner at the head of the Ghibelline interests in Lombardy. The sum of Eccelin di Romano's atrocities, atrocities which, even if blackened by Guelfic hatred, are the most frightful in these frightful

[1] Nic. de Curbio, c. 30.

times, must be still aggravated by the charge of hereditary heresy. It may well be doubted if such a monster could have religion enough to be a heretic; but Eccelin was dead to spiritual censures as to the reproaches of his own conscience.

But the affairs of the kingdom of Naples occupied the thoughts of Innocent. Though the firm hand of Manfred had maintained almost the whole realm in allegiance, the nominal rule was intrusted by King Conrad to his younger brother Henry. The denunciations, intrigues, and censures of the Pope had wrought on certain nobles and cities. A conspiracy broke out simultaneously in many places, at the head of which was the Count of Aquino; in Apulia the cities of Foggia, Andrea, and Barletta; in the Terra di Lavoro Capua and Naples were in open rebellion. Capua and Naples defied all the forces of Manfred. The Pope had already assumed a sovereign power, as if the forfeited realm had reverted to the Holy See. He had revoked all Frederick's decrees which were hostile to the Church: he had invested Henry Frangipani with Manfred's principality of Tarentum and the land of Otranto; he had bestowed on the Venetian Marco Ziani, the kinsman of the captain executed by Frederick, the principality of Lecce.

Conrad had already with some forces crossed the Alps; he had been received by the few faithful Ghibelline cities in Lombardy, Verona, Padua, Vicenza. But throughout Central Italy the Guelfic faction prevailed; the Papal forces were strong. He demanded of the Venetians, and as they were glad to get rid of Conrad from the north of Italy, he obtained ships to convey him to the south; he landed at

Conrad in Italy. Oct. 1251.

Siponto, near Manfredonia. He was received by Manfred and by the principal nobility as their deliverer. Aquino, Suessa, San Germano fell before him, and Capua opened her gates; Naples was stormed, sacked, and treated with the utmost cruelty. Innocent beheld the son of Frederick, though under excommunication, in full and undisturbed possession of his hereditary kingdom. Innocent looked in vain for aid in Italy; his own forces, those of the Guelfs, had not obeyed the summons to relieve Naples. Eccelin di Romano and the Ghibellines occupied those of Lombardy; the Guelfs of Tuscany and Romagna, now superior to the Ghibellines, had broken out into factions among themselves; the fleets of Genoa were engaged against the infidels. Innocent looked abroad; the wealth of England had been his stay in former adversities. He had already sent an offer of the kingdom of Naples to the brother of King Henry, Richard of Cornwall; but Richard, from timidity or prudence, shrunk from this remote enterprise. He alleged the power of Conrad; his own relationship with the house of Swabia: in his mistrust he went so far as to demand guarantees and hostages for the fulfilment of his contract on the part of the Pope. But his feeble brother, Henry of England, was not embarrassed by this prudence. He accepted the offer of the investiture for his second son Edmund; in his weak vanity he addressed Edmund in his court, and treated him as already the King of Sicily. The more prudent Nuncio of the Pope enjoined greater caution; but all that the King could abstract from his own exchequer, borrow of his brother Richard, extort from the Jews, exact by his

Jan. 8, 1252 March, Naples, Oct. 1253.

Papal decree, May 14, 1254. Henry III. accepts the crown of Apulia for his son, Aug. 1252.

justices on their circuit, was faithfully transmitted to Rome, and defrayed the cost of the Papal armament against Conrad. For this vain title, which the Pope resumed at his earliest convenience, Henry III. endangered his own throne: these exactions precipitated the revolt of his Barons, which ended in the battle of Lewes.

But while Innocent IV. was thus triumphing over the fall of his great enemy; while he was levying taxes on the tributary world; while he was bestowing the empire of Germany on William of Holland, assuming the kingdom of Naples as an appanage escheated to the See of Rome, and selling it to one foreign prince after another, he was himself submitting to the stern dictation of the people and the Senator of Rome. The Frangipanis could no longer repay with their vigorous support the honors bestowed upon their family by the grant of the principality of Tarentum. The popular party was in the ascendant; Brancaleone, a Bolognese of great fame as a lawyer, was summoned to assume the dignity of Senator of Rome. He refused for a time to place himself at the head of the unruly people; he consented only on the prudent condition that thirty hostages of the noblest families in Rome should be sent to Bologna. Nor would he condescend to accept the office but for the period of three years. He exacted a solemn oath of obedience from every citizen. At first the nobles as well as the people appear to have acquiesced in the stern, just rule of the Senator. No rank, no power could protect the high-born; no obscurity, nor the favor of the populace, the meaner criminal. His first act was to hang from the windows of their castles some citizens notorious and

The Senator Brancaleone.

convicted as homicides; other rebels he suspended on gibbets.[1] Among his first acts was to summon the Bishop of Rome to take up his residence in his diocese; it was not becoming that the Queen of cities should sit as a widow without her Pontiff. Innocent hesitated; a more imperious message summoned him to instant obedience; at the same time the Perugians received a significant menace; that if they persisted in entertaining the Pope, the Romans would treat them May 25, 1253. as they had already treated other cities in the neighborhood, whom they had subdued by force of arms. Innocent trembled and complied; he entered Rome with a serene countenance but heavy heart. He was received with triumph by the Senator and the whole people. In the spring Innocent again withdrew from Rome to Assisi; the pretext was the consecration of the magnificent church of St. Francis.[2] But the impatient people murmured at his delay; the Senator Brancaleone again sent messengers to expostulate in haughty humility with the Pope; "it became not the pastor to abandon his flock: he was the Bishop not of Lyons, of Perugia, of Anagni, but of Rome." The people of Assisi, like those of Perugia, were warned by the fate of Ostia, Porto, Tusculum, Albano, Sabina, and of Tivoli, against which last the Romans were in arms. Innocent was compelled to return; he passed by Narni, and again he was received with outward demonstrations of joy; but now secret murmurs and even violent reclamations were heard that the Pope owed the people of Rome great sums for the losses sustained by his long

[1] Raynald. sub ann. 1254.

[2] Matt. Paris, sub ann. 1252. Curbio, Vit. Innocent. IV. Compare Gibbon, xii. 278, ch. lxix.

absence. Pilgrims and suitors had been few; they had let no lodgings; their shops had been without customers; their provisions unsold; their old usurious profits of lending money had failed. The Pope could only take refuge in the rigid justice of the Senator; Brancaleone allayed or awed the tumult to peace.

Early in 1254. Conrad in Naples.

Yet at the same time Innocent was pursuing his schemes upon the kingdom of Naples without fear or scruple. Conrad at first had made overtures of submission.[1] He was strong enough to indulge the hereditary cruelty which he unhappily displayed in a far higher degree than the ability and splendor of his forefathers,[2] and to foster ignoble jealousy against his bastard brother, Manfred, to whom he owed the preservation of his realm, but whose fame, extraordinary powers of body and mind, influence, popularity overshadowed the authority of the King. He gradually withdrew his confidence from Manfred, and despoiled him of his power and honors.[3] With admirable prudence Manfred quietly let fall title after title, post after post, possession after possession; nothing remained to him but the principality of Tarentum, and that burdened with a heavy tax raised for the royal treasury. The King dismissed, under various pretexts, the kindred of Manfred, Galvaneo and Frederico Lancia, Bonifacio di Argoino, his maternal uncle. The noble exiles found refuge with the Empress Constantia, Manfred's

[1] To the Pope's first envoy, according to Spinelli, Conrad haughtily replied, "Chè farei meglio ad impacciarsi con la chierica rasa." — Diario, apud Muratori.

[2] "Vi fece gran giustizia, e grande uccisione." — M. Spinelli, Diario, apud Muratori, R. I. S. xii. Bartholomeo di Neocastro, c. iii. Murat. R. I. S. xiii.

[3] Giannone, p. 485.

sister, at Constantinople: Conrad, by his ambassadors, insisted on their expulsion from that court.

But the Pope, in his despair at this unexpected strength displayed by the House of Swabia, had recourse to new measures of hostility. Conrad, like his ally Eccelin, was attainted of heresy; both were summoned to appear before the presence of the Pope to answer these charges; and to surrender themselves unarmed, unprotected into the hands of their enemy. Conrad, whose policy it was rather to conciliate than irreconcilably to break with the Pope, condescended to make his appearance by his proctor in the Papal Court.

But death was on the house of Hohenstaufen. Henry, the younger son of Frederick, a youth of twelve years old, came from Sicily to visit his brother Conrad; he sickened and died.[1] No death could take place in this doomed family, the object of such unextinguishable hate, without being darkened from a calamity into a crime. Conrad was accused of poisoning his brother, and by the Pope himself. Even the melancholy of Conrad at the loss of his brother, perhaps a presentiment of his own approaching end, was attributed to remorse. He hardly raised his head again; he wrote letters to the court of England, full of the most passionate grief. In another year Conrad himself was in his grave: he was seized with a violent fever, and died in a few days. Of his death the guilt, for guilt the Guelfs were

Death of Prince Henry. Dec. 1253.

Of Conrad. May 21. 1254.

[1] Matt. Paris, sub ann. Nic. de Jamsilla. The Pope is said to have proposed to marry his niece to Henry (Paris, p. 832). A treaty was begun. Conrad during the negotiations was poisoned, but recovered. He accused the Pope of this poisoning (ibid. 852). The Pope himself accused Conrad of poisoning Henry.

determined to see, was laid on Manfred.[1] Conradin, almost an infant, not three years old, was the one legitimate heir of Barbarossa and of Frederick II. The consummate sagacity of Manfred led him to declare that he would not accept the Regency of the realm which Conrad (perhaps in some late remorse, or in the desperate conviction enforced on his death-bed, that Manfred alone could protect his son) had thought of bequeathing to him. Manfred awaited his time: he left to Berthold, Marquis of Homburg, the commander of the German auxiliaries of Conrad, the perilous post, knowing perhaps at once the incapacity of Berthold, and the odiousness of the Germans to the subjects of Sicily. Berthold, according to the will of Conrad, assumed the Regency, took possession of the royal treasures, and, in obedience to the dying instructions of Conrad, sent a humble message entreating peace and the parental protection of the Pope for the fatherless orphan. Innocent was said to have broken out into a paroxysm of joy on hearing the death of Conrad. But he assumed a lofty tone of compassion; enlarged upon his own merciful disposition; granted to Conradin the barren title of King of Jerusalem, and acknowledged his right to the Dukedom of Swabia. But the absolute dominion of the kingdom of Naples had devolved to the Roman See: when Conradin should be of age, the See of Rome might then, if he should appear not undeserving, condescend to take his claims into her gracious consideration.

Conradin.

June 19.

Innocent had again, perhaps on account of the summer heats, escaped from Rome, and was holding his court at Anagni. He spared no measures to become

[1] Jamsilla, Malespina.

master of the kingdom of Naples. He issued extraordinary powers to William, Cardinal of St. Eustachio, to raise money and troops for this enterprise. The Cardinal was authorized to impawn as security to the Roman merchants, the Church of Rome, all the castles and possessions of the separate churches of the city, of the Campagna and the Maritima, and of the kingdom of Sicily. He was to seize and appropriate to the use of the war the possessions and revenues of all the vacant Bishopries; and of all the Bishopries, though not vacant, whose prelates did not espouse the Papal cause. He had power to levy taxes, and even money throughout the realm; to confiscate all the estates of the adherents of Frederick and of his son, who should not, after due admonition, return to their allegiance to the Pope. He might annul all grants, seize all fiefs, and regrant them to the partisans of Rome. By these exertions, a great army was gathered on the frontier. From Anagni the Pope issued his bull of excommunication against Manfred, the Marquis of Homburg, and all the partisans of the house of Conrad.[1] The Regent, the Marquis of Homburg, found that many of the nobles were in secret treaty with the Pope; he let the sceptre of Regency fall from his feeble hands; and amidst the general contempt abdicated his trust.

All eyes were turned on Manfred; all who were attached to the house of Swabia, all who abhorred or despised the Papal government, all who desired the independence of the realm, counts, barons, many of the higher clergy, at least in secret, implored Manfred to assume the Regency. Manfred, consummate in the art of self-command, could only be

Manfred Regent.

[1] Apud Raynald. 1254, Sept. 2.

forced in these calamitous times to imperil his honor by taking up this dangerous post. Rumors indeed were abroad of the death of Conradin; and Manfred was the next successor, according to the will of his father Frederick.[1] He assumed the Regency; threw a strong force of Germans into St. Germano; fortified Capua and the adjacent towns to check the progress of the Papal arms. But everywhere was rebellion, defection, treachery. The Papal agents had persuaded or bribed Pietro Roffo, the Regent, under Berthold of Homburg, of Calabria and Sicily, and raised the Papal standard. Berthold's own conduct indicated treachery; he sent no troops to the aid of Manfred, but roved about with his Germans, committing acts of plunder, and so estranging the people from the Swabian rule. He retained possession of the royal treasures. Richard of Monte Negro had already, in hatred of Berthold, made his peace with the Pope; other nobles were secretly dealing for the renewal of their fiefs, or for the grant of escheated fiefs, with the Pope, who claimed the right of universal sovereign. Even in Capua a conspiracy was discovered against the power and against the life of Manfred.

Date doubtful, 1254

Manfred was as great a master in the arts of dissimulation as the Pope himself. He found it necessary at least to appear to yield. Already the Papal agents had sounded his fidelity; he now openly appealed to the magnanimity of the Pope

Conduct of Manfred.

[1] Nic. Jamsilla makes Manfred legitimate; his mother, Bianca Lancia, was the *fifth* wife of Frederick. But Manfred does not seem to have asserted his own legitimacy. Malespina (though Papalist) writes, "Tanquam ex damnato coitu derivatus, defectum natalium paciatur, nobilis tamen naturæ decus utriusque parentis, qua ortus ejus esse meruerat generosus, maculam fere defectûs hujus expiabat." — Apud Hurter, viii. 787

as the protector of the orphan; he expressed his willingness to admit the Pope into the realm, reserving his own rights and those of his royal ward. Innocent was in a transport of joy. In his most luxuriant language he dwelt on the moderation, the delight in mercy, the parental tenderness of the Roman See: he received Manfred into his highest favor. Not regarding his grant to the Frangipani, he invested Manfred (Galvaneo Fiamma, his uncle, receiving in his name the ring of investiture) with the Principality of Tarentum, with the County of Gravina, Tricarico, and the Honor of Monte St. Angelo: he added the Countship of Andrea, which he had obtained in exchange for other territories from the Marquis of Homburg: with this he invested Frederick Lancia, Manfred's other uncle. Manfred met all these advances with his consummate self-command. He received the Pope on his entrance into his kingdom at Ceperano, prostrated himself at his feet, led his horse, as he passed the bridge over the Garigliano.[1] The pride of Innocent was at its height in seeing Naples in his power, the son of Frederick at his feet. He lavished honors on Manfred; proclaimed him Vicar of the realm as far as the Faro. Manfred persuaded the Pope to scatter his forces all through the provinces, and by their means controlled the Germans, whom he could not trust, and who began quietly to withdraw to their own country.[2] The people hailed Manfred as Vicar of the Pope. They enjoyed again, and under a Swabian Prince not environed by German soldiery, their full religious ceremonies.

[1] On this homage, says Spinelli, "et onneuno se ne meravigliao assai." — Apud Muratori.

[2] Giannone, *in loc.*

The Pope entered the kingdom as though to take possession of the realm: after a short delay at Theano from indisposition, he entered Capua in state; he entered Naples in still greater pomp. His nephew, William Fiesco, Cardinal of St. Eustachio, his Legate, received the homage of the prelates and the nobles, with no reservation of the rights of the King or of the Prince, but absolutely in the name of the Pope, to whom had devolved the full sovereignty. Manfred himself was summoned to take the oath of allegiance. In his deep dissimulation he might have eluded this trial; he was perhaps awaiting the death of the Pope, now old and in bad health; but an accidental circumstance compelled him prematurely to throw off the mask. Borello d' Anglone, as the reward of his revolt to the Pope, had received the grant of the county of Lesina, an under-fief of Manfred's principality. Manfred summoned him to do homage; Anglone, confident in the Pope's favor, returned a haughty denial. Manfred appealed to the Pope. The oracle spoke with his usual cautious ambiguity, he had granted to Borello none of the rights of Manfred. Berthold of Homburg was on his way to do homage to the Pope; Manfred withdrew, lest he should encounter him in Capua; his guards fell in with those of Borello; strife arose, Borello, unknown to Manfred, was slain.

The Pope in Naples. Oct. 27, 1254.

Death of Borello d' Anglone Flight of Manfred.

Manfred sent his messengers, declaring himself ready to prove himself before the Pope guiltless of the death of Borello. He was summoned to answer in person. He received secret intelligence from his uncle Galvaneo Lancia, that the treacherous Berthold of Homburg, instead of espousing his cause, had secretly betrayed it; that his liberty at

least was threatened, if not his life. He mounted his horse, with few followers; after many wild adventures, he reached the city of Lucera, occupied chiefly by the Saracenic allies of his father. In despite of the German knights who commanded in the city in the name of Berthold of Homburg, he was received with the loudest acclamations. He was proclaimed Prince and Sovereign. Before the people he swore to maintain and defend the rights and title of the King his nephew, and his own, the liberty and the good estate of the realm, and of the city.

In a short time he was master of Foggia, had gained a brilliant victory over the Papal troops, and those of the Marquis of Homburg.

Innocent had already entered into negotiations with that enemy afterwards so fatal to Manfred. He had once sold the realm of Sicily to Edmund of England, and received at least some part of the price: he had now, regardless of his former obligations, or Dec. 1254. supposing them forfeited by the inactivity or less lavish subsidies of England, offered the realm to Charles of Anjou, the brother of the King of France. All his solemn engagements were, to Innocent IV., but means to advance his immediate interests. He might seem as if he would try to the utmost his own power of absolution, to release himself from the most sacred obligations.[1]

But death, which had prostrated the enemies of Innocent before his feet, and had reduced the house of Swabia to a child and a bastard, Death of Innocent Dec. 7. 1254.

[1] Petr. de Vineâ, Epist. ii. 45. I here agree with M. Cherrier: "Trop de faits attestent qu'Innocent IV. n'était sincère avec personne; qu'il promettait et se rétractait avec une égale facilité, suivant l'état de ses affaires." — t. iii. p. 394.

now laid his hand on Innocent himself. He died master of Naples, the city of his great adversary, in the palace of Peter de Vineâ, the minister of that adversary. He left a name odious for ambition, rapacity, implacable pride, to part, at least, of Christendom. In England, where his hand had been the heaviest, strange tales were accredited of his dying hours, and of what followed his death. It was said that he died in an agony of terror and remorse; his kindred were bitterly wailing around his bed, rending their garments and tearing their hair: he woke up from a state seemingly senseless, "Wretches, why are ye weeping? have I not made you all rich enough?" He had been, indeed, one of the first Popes, himself of noble family, who by the marriage of his nieces, by heaping up civil and ecclesiastical dignities on his relatives, had made a Papal family. On the very night of his death a monk, whose name the English historian conceals from prudence, had a vision. He was in Heaven, and saw God seated on his throne. On his right was the Holy Virgin, on his left a stately and venerable matron, who held what seemed a temple in her outstretched hand. On the pediment of this temple was written in letters of gold, "The Church." Innocent was prostrate before the throne, with clasped and lifted hands and bowed knees, imploring pardon, not judgment. But the noble matron said, "O, equitable judge, render just judgment. I arraign this man on three charges: Thou hast founded the Church upon earth and bestowed upon her precious liberties; this man has made her the vilest of slaves. The Church was founded for the salvation of sinners; he has degraded it to a counting-house of money-changers. The Church has been built on the foundation-

stones of faith, justice, and truth; he has shaken alike faith and morals, destroyed justice, darkened truth." And the Lord said, "Depart and receive the recompense thou hast deserved;" and Innocent was dragged away. "Whether this was an unreal vision, we know not," adds the historian, "but it alarmed many. God grant it may have amended them."

Nor was this all. The successor of Innocent was himself warned and terrified by a dream of not less awful import. In a spacious palace sat a judge of venerable majesty; by his side a stately matron, environed by a countless company. A bier was carried out by mean-looking bearers; upon it rested a corpse of sad appearance. The dead arose, cast himself before the throne, "O God of might and mercy, have pity upon me!" The judge was silent, the matron spoke: "The time of repentance is passed, the day of judgment is come. Woe to thee, for thou shalt have justice, not mercy. Thou hast wasted the Church of God during thy life; thou hast become a carnal man; disdained, despised, annulled the acts of thy holy predecessors; therefore shall thine own acts be held annulled." The severe judge uttered his sentence! The bier was hurried away. The dead, sent to a place which the Christian may charitably hope was Purgatory. Pope Alexander tremblingly inquired who was the dead man. His guide replied, "Sinibald, thy predecessor, who died of grief, not for his sins, but for the defeat of his army." The affrighted Alexander, when he awoke, ordered masses and alms to mitigate the purgatorial suffering of his predecessor; he endeavored to retrieve Innocent's sins by cancelling some of his acts; to one who offered rich presents to buy a benefice, the Pope

replied, "No, my friend, he who sold churches is dead."[1]

Such were the current and popular tales, which showed that even the Pope could not violate the great principles of Christian justice and generosity and mercy, with impunity, or without some strong remonstrance finding its expression. If Innocent, indeed, had not trampled on the rights of the clergy, these murmurs had not been so deep and loud: it was this that impersonated, as it were, the Church, to demand his condemnation. It was not Imperialist or Ghibelline hatred, but the hatred of churchmen which invented or propagated these legends.

In England, indeed, not only after his death, but during his life, the courageous English spirit had allied itself with the profoundest religious feeling to protest against the rapacity and usurpation of the Italian Pope. It had found a powerful and intrepid voice in Robert Grostête Bishop of Lincoln. Robert Grostête, during his life, had manfully resisted and fearlessly condemned the acts of the haughty Pontiff: after his death he had been permitted, it was believed, to appear in a vision.

Robert Grostête was of humble birth: at Oxford his profound learning won the admiration of Roger Bacon. He translated the book called the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs. He went to France to make himself master of that language. He became Archdeacon of Leicester, Bishop of Lincoln. As Bishop of that vast diocese he began to act with a holy rigor unprecedented in his times. With him Christian morals were inseparable from Christian faith. He endeavored to bring back the festivals of the Church, which had

[1] All these are from Matt. Paris.

grown into days of idleness and debauchery, to their sacred character; he would put down the Feast of Fools, held on New-Year's Day. But it was against the clergy, as on them altogether depended the holiness of the people, that he acted with the most impartial severity. He was a Churchman of the highest hierarchical notions. Becket himself did not assert the immunities and privileges of the Church with greater intrepidity: rebellion against the clergy was as the sin of witchcraft; but those immunities, those privileges, implied heavier responsibility; that authority belonged justly only to a holy, exemplary, unworldly clergy. Everywhere he was encountered with sullen, stubborn, or open resistance. He was condemned as restless, harsh, passionate: he was the Ishmael of the hierarchy, with his hand against every man, every man's hand against him. The Dean and Chapter of Lincoln were his foremost and most obstinate opponents; the clergy asserted their privileges, the monasteries their Papal exemptions; the nobles complained of his interference with their rights of patronage, the King himself that he sternly prohibited the clergy from all secular offices; they must not act as the King's justiciaries, or sit to adjudge capital offences. His allies were the new Orders, the Preachers and Mendicants. He addressed letters of confidence to the generals of both Orders. He resolutely took his stand on his right of refusing institution to unworthy clergy.[1] He absolutely refused to admit to benefices pluralists, boys, those employed in the King's secular service, in the courts of judicature or the collection of the revenue; in many cases foreigners; he resisted alike Churchmen, the Chancellor

[1] Godwin. de Præsul. Matt. Paris.

of Exeter; nobles, he would not admit a son of the Earl of Ferrars, as under age; the King, whose indignation knew no bounds; he resisted the Cardinal Legates, the Pope himself.

As a Churchman, Grostête held the loftiest views of the power of the Pope: his earlier letters to the Pope are in the most submissive, almost adulatory tone; to the Cardinals they are full of the most profound reverence. The Canon Law is as eternal, immutable, universal as the law of God. The Pope has undoubted power to dispose of all benefices; but for the abuse of that power hell-fire is the doom.[1] The resistance of the clergy to their Bishop involved the bishops and themselves in vast expense; there was a perpetual appeal to Rome. Twice Grostête appeared in Lyons: the second time he was received with respect and courtesy by the Pope and Cardinals. The Pope even permitted him to read in his own presence and in the full consistory, a memorial against the abuses of the Court of Rome (the Curia), of its avarice and venality, its usurpations and exemptions, hardly surpassed in its rigorous invective in later times. Grostête returned to England with a decree against the refractory Chapter of Lincoln, ample powers to reform his diocese, and the strong support of the seeming favor of the Pope. The Pope even condescended to limit to some extent the demands of the Italian clergy on English benefices. Yet on his return even the firm mind of Grostête was shaken by the difficulties of his position: he meditated

[1] "Scio et veraciter scio, domini Papæ et sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ hanc esse potestatem, ut de omnibus beneficiis ecclesiasticis libere possit ordinare, scio quoque quod quicquid abutitur hac potestate, . . . ædificat ad ignem Gehennæ." — Epist. 49, apud Brown. Fasciculus ii. 339.

retirement from the intractable world; but he shook off the unworthy sloth, and commenced and carried through a visitation of his diocese unprecedented in its stern severity. The contumacious clergy were compelled to submit, and accepted his conditions; the monasteries opened their reluctant gates, and acknowledged his authority. In the convents of nuns he is said to have put their chastity to a strange and indelicate test, which shows at once the coarseness of the times and the laxity of morals. Yet he extorted from the monkish historian, who perhaps had suffered under his rigor, the admission that his sole object was the salvation of souls.[1]

On Innocent's triumphal return to Italy he had become, as it were, wanton in his invasions on the impoverished English Church. It was rumored, incredible as it seems, that he demanded provision for three hundred of the Roman clergy.[2] Robert Grostête was summoned to the test of his obedience to the See of Rome. He had ordered a calculation to be made of the ecclesiastical revenues possessed by strangers in England. It amounted to 70,000 marks: the King's income was not one third of the sum. Grostête received command, through his Nuncio, to confer a canonry of Lincoln on the nephew of Innocent, a boy, Frederick of Louvain. Grostête was not daunted by the ascendant power of the Pope.[3] His answer

[1] Paris, sub ann.

[2] There are many mandates for benefices in favor of Italians. — MS. B. M. *E. g.* Stephen the Pope's chaplain to hold the rich archdeaconry of Canterbury with the archdeaconry of Vienne, et alia beneficia. vii. sub ann. 1252, p. 110; a Colonna, 213. An Annibaldi De ——, and John of Civitella, 289; one or more prebends, *with* or *without* cure of souls.

[3] Paris.

was a firm, resolute, argumentative refusal: "I am bound by filial reverence to obey all commands of the Apostolic See; but those are not Apostolic commands which are not consonant to the doctrine of the Apostles, and the Master of the Apostles, Christ Jesus. The most holy Apostolic See cannot command that which verges on the odious detestable abomination, pernicious to mankind, opposed to the sanctity of the Apostolic See, contrary to the Catholic faith. You cannot in your discretion enact any penalty against me, for my resistance is neither strife nor rebellion, but filial affection to my father, and veneration for my mother the Church." [1]

It was reported in England, that when this letter reached the Pope, he cried out in a passion of wrath, "Who is this old dotard who presumes to judge our acts? By St. Peter and St. Paul, if we were not restrained by our generosity, we would make him a fable, an astonishment, an example, and a warning to the world? Is not the King of England our vassal, rather our slave? Would he not, at a sign from us, throw this Bishop into prison and reduce him to the lowest disgrace?" With difficulty the Cardinals allayed his wrath: they pleaded the Bishop's irreproachable life, his Catholic doctrine; they more than insinuated the truth of his charges. The condemnation of Grostête might revolt the whole clergy of

[1] The letter in Brown. Fasciculus, p. 400.

There is a point which I find it difficult to explain. In the former epistle to the Legate Otho (quoted above), Epist. 49 — seemingly of an earlier period — Grostête writes: "Licet post meam consecrationem in Episcopum nepos Domini Papæ promotus sit in unâ de optimis præbendis in Lincolniensi Ecclesiâ." This could not be another nephew of Innocent; at the time of his nomination he must have been a boy indeed. Another writer (Ann. Burton) calls him puerulus.

France and England, "for he is held a great philosopher, deeply learned in Greek and Latin letters, a reader in theology, a devout preacher, an admirer of chastity, a persecutor of Simoniacs." The more moderate or more astute counsels prevailed. Papal letters were framed which in some degree mitigated the abuses of these Papal provisions. The Pope acknowledged, almost in apologetic tone, that he had been driven by the difficulties of the times and the irresistible urgency of partisans to measures which he did not altogether approve. All who possessed such benefices were to be guaranteed in their free enjoyment, all who had expectancies were to be preferred to other persons, but these benefices were not to go down, as it were, by hereditary descent from Italian to Italian: on decease or vacancy the patron, prelate, monastery, or layman, might at once present.[1]

On Grostête's death it was believed that music was heard in the air, bells of distant churches tolled of their own accord, miracles were wrought at his grave and in his church at Lincoln. But it was said likewise that the inexorable Pontiff entertained the design of having his body disinterred and his bones scattered. But Robert Grostête himself appeared in a vision, dressed in his pontifical robes before the Pope. "Is it thou,

[1] This letter is dated Perugia, Ann. Pontific. 10, 1252. It is in the Burton Annals, and in the Additamenta to Paris. In Rymer there is another quite different in its provisions. There the Pope asserts that he has made very few appointments. But Westminster adds to Paris: "Inventum est quod nunquam aliquis predecessorum suorum in triplo aliquos sui generis vel patriæ tot ditaverat." There is a strange clause in Innocent's letter, expressive of the wild times and the exasperation of the public mind: if a papal expectant should be murdered (si perimi contigerit, as if it were an usual occurrence), no one should be appointed who had not previously cleared himself of all concern in the murder.

Sinibald, thou miserable Pope, who wilt cast my bones out of their cemetery, to thy disgrace and that of the Church of Lincoln? Better were it for thee to respect after their death the zealous servants of God. Thou hast despised the advice which I gave thee in times of respectful humility. Woe to thee who hast despised, thou shalt be despised in thy turn!" The Pope felt as if each word pierced him like a spear. From that night he was wasted by a slow fever. The hand of God was upon him. All his schemes failed, his armies were defeated, he passed neither day nor night undisturbed. Such was believed by a large part of Christendom to have been the end of Pope Innocent IV.[1]

[1] It is a significant fact that Grostête was never canonized. This honor was granted to the cloistral virtues of his predecessor, Hugh of Lincoln; to his contemporary, Edmund Rich of Canterbury. Edmund had ingloriously retired from his difficult post of primate; his timid piety despaired of reforming his clergy; he was embarrassed between the King and his Barons between the King compelled to resist the exactions of the Pope, and the Pope whose demands Edmund would have gratified to the full. He took refuge in the retreat of Becket, Pontigny; but with nothing of Becket's character. Yet the mild prelate shared with Becket the honors of a saint. Grostête was canonized only by the reverence of his country. Even Paris after his death found out his virtues. Of these not the least was his opposition to the King and to Rome (fuit Domini Papæ et Regis redargutor manifestus; Romanorum malleus et contemptor); the instructor of the clergy, the support of scholars; the preacher of the people; persecutor only of the incontinent. At table he was liberal, plentiful, courteous, cheerful, and affable; in church, devout, tearful, penitent; as a prelate, sedulous venerable, indefatigable.

END OF VOL. V

# HISTORY OF LATIN CHRISTIANITY;

INCLUDING THAT OF

# THE POPES

TO THE PONTIFICATE OF NICHOLAS V.

VOLUME VI.

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# HISTORY

OF

# LATIN CHRISTIANITY.

## BOOK XI.

### CHAPTER I.

#### ST. LOUIS.

The great fabric of mediæval religion might have suffered a shock from the haughtiness, the rapacity, the implacability of Innocent IV., which had raised a deep and sullen alienation even among the clergy in parts of Christendom, especially in England and Germany. The Teutonic pride revolted at the absolute nomination of an obscure prince to the Empire by the will of the Pope. The bold speculations, the enlightened studies, promoted by Frederick II., even the contemptuous indifference ascribed to him, though outwardly rejected, were working no doubt in the depths of many minds. Heresy, crushed in blood in Languedoc, was spreading elsewhere the more extensively in defiance of the Inquisition, which was already becoming odious throughout Europe. The strife of the new Orders with the clergy had weakened their influence over the popular mind, influence not altogether replaced by the wonderful numbers, activity, learning, ubiquity of the Mendi-

cants. In the Franciscan Order had already begun that schism, which was of far greater importance than is commonly supposed in religious history.

St. Louis. But there was not wanting the great example of religion to awe and to allure mankind: it was not in the chair of St. Peter, not at the head of a new Order, but on the throne of France: the Saint of this period was a King. The unbounded admiration of St. Louis in his own days, the worship of the canonized Sovereign in later times, was a religious power, of which it is impossible to trace or define the limits. Difficult, indeed, it is to imagine that at the same historic period lived Frederick II. and Louis IX. Louis was a monk upon the throne, but a monk with none of the harshness, bitterness, or pride of monkery. His was a frank playfulness, or amenity at least of manner, which Henry IV. never surpassed, and a blamelessness hardly ever before, till very recent times never after, seen on the throne of France. Nor was he only a monk: he had kingly qualities of the noblest order, gentleness, affability, humanity towards all his believing subjects, a kind of dignity of justice, a loftiness of virtue, which prevented the most religious of men from degenerating into a slave of the clergy; a simple sincerity even in his lowest superstitions, an honest frankness, an utter absence of malignity even in his intolerance, which holds even these failings and errors high above contempt, or even aversion. Who can read the Seneschal Joinville without love and veneration of his master?

A.D. 1226. Blanche of Castile Louis was ten years old at the death of his father Louis VIII. His mother, Blanche of Castile, took possession at once of the regency.

Her firm demeanor awed all ranks; her vigorous administration at once established her power. Philip the Rough, the brother of Louis VIII. (the son of Philip Augustus, by Agnes of Meran, but who had been acknowledged as a legitimate prince), submitted sullenly, yet submitted, to the female rule. It is strange to contrast the severe court of the Queen-mother Blanche with that of Marie de Medicis, or Anne of Austria; the youth of Louis IX. with that of Louis XIV. or Louis XV.: and to suppose that the same religion was preached in the churches, then by a rude Dominican or a homely Franciscan, afterwards in the exquisite and finished language of Bossuet and Massillon. Blanche of Castile did not entirely escape the malicious slanders of her enemies. She was accused of too close an intimacy with the Legate himself. She fell under stronger suspicion as the idol of the amorous poetry of the gallant Thiebault, Count of Champagne, afterwards King of Navarre. But Thiebault's Platonic raptures were breathed in vain to the inaccessible matron; it was the policy not the heart of the Queen Regent which led her not to disdain the poetic suit of a dangerous subject, constantly falling off to the enemies of her son, and recalled to his allegiance by the authority of his mistress. The historian guarantees her chaste and cleanly life.[1] Her treatment of her son showed no indulgence for such weaknesses. Once in his early youth he had looked with kindling eye on some fair damsels. "I had rather he were dead," said the rigid mother, "than that he should commit sin." Thus bred a monk, the congenial disposition of Louis embraced with ardor the austere rule. Had he not been early married, he

[1] "Sa vie bonne et nette." — Joinville.

would have vowed perpetual chastity. The jealousy of his mother of any other influence than her own was constantly watching his most familiar intercourse with his wife, Marguerite of Provence. He bore it, even the harshness with which Blanche treated her daughter-in-law at times when woman's sympathies are usually most tender, with the meekest filial submission. At all the great religious periods, Advent, Lent, the high Festivals, and all holy days (which now filled no small part of the year), the youthful King denied himself all connubial indulgences; he would rise from his bed, and pace the cold chamber till he was frozen into virtue. His other appetites he controlled with equal inflexibility. Besides the most rigorous observance of the ordinary fasts, once only in the year would he allow himself to taste fruit: he wore the roughest sackcloth next to his skin. His spiritual teachers persuaded him to less severe observance, to deny himself only unripe fruit, to wear haircloth of less coarse texture. On Fridays he never laughed; if he detected himself in laughter he repressed and mourned over the light emotion. On Friday he never changed his raiment. In his girdle he wore an ivory case of iron-chain scourges (such boxes were his favorite presents to his courtiers), not for idle display. Every Friday during the year, and in Lent on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, he shut himself up in his chamber, searching every corner, lest any one should be present, with his confessor, the Dominican Godfrey of Beaulieu. The bleeding shoulders of the King attested his own sincerity, and the singular adulation of the confessor, who knew the King too well not to administer the discipline with unsparing hand. These more secret acts

Austerities of Louis.

of holiness were no doubt too admirable for the clergy to allow them to remain secret; but the people were no less edified by his acts of public devotion. It was his constant practice to visit distant churches with bare feet, or, to disguise his piety, in sandals without soles. On every altar he offered profuse alms. One day he walked barefoot from Nogent l'Erembert to the church of Our Lady at Chartres, a distance of four leagues; he was obliged to lean on his attendants for support. He constantly washed the feet of beggars; he invited the poor and the sick to his table; he attended the hospitals, and performed the most menial and loathsome offices. A leper on the farther side of a swamp begged of him; the King crossed over, not only gave him alms, but kissed his hand. He heard daily two, sometimes three or four, masses; his whole day might seem one unbroken service; as he rode, his chaplain chanted or recited the offices. Even in this respect his teachers attempted to repress his zeal. A Dominican preacher urged him from the pulpit not to lower too much the royal dignity, not to spend the whole day in church, to content himself with one mass: "whoever counselled him otherwise was a fool, and guilty of a deadly sin." "If I spent twice as much time in dice and hawking, should I be so rebuked?"[1] answered the gentle King. He bore even reproach with meekness. A woman named Sarrette, pleading in the King's court, said "Fie! you are not King of France; you are only a king of friars, of priests, and of clerks. It is a great pity that you are King of France; you should be turned out of the kingship."[2] The blessed King

[1] Notices et Extraits, ix. 406.

[2] Life, by the Confessor of Queen Margaret, in Bouquet, p. 366.

would not allow his attendants to chastise the woman. "You say true! It has pleased the Lord to make me king; it had been well if it had pleased him to make some one who had better ruled the realm." He then ordered his chamberlain to give her money, as much as forty pence.

Louis had the most religious aversion for all lighter amusements, the juggler, the minstrel. He was profoundly ignorant of polite letters. His whole time might seem fully occupied in rehearsing over and over the same prayers; yet he is said to have read perpetually in a Latin Bible with devotional notes, and to have been deeply versed in the writings of some of the Fathers, especially St. Augustine. But this learning, whatever it might be, he acquired with the most reverential humility; it tempted him to no daring religious speculation, emboldened him to no polemic zeal. "Even clerks, if not profoundly learned, ought to abstain from controversy with unbelievers; the layman had but one argument, his good sword. If he heard a man to be an unbeliever, he should not dispute with him, he should at once run that sword into his entrails, and drive it home." [1] He related with special approbation the anecdote of a brave old knight, who broke up a discussion on the relative excellence of their law between some Catholic doctors and some Jewish Rabbis by bringing down his mace upon the head of the principal Jew teacher. Louis loved all mankind with a boundless love except Jews, heretics, and infidels, whom he hated with as boundless hatred.

[1] "Mais lomme loy (laic) quand il ot mesdire de la ley crestienne, ne doit desputer a eulz, ne doit pas defendre la ley crestienne, ne mais (si non) de l'espee, de quoi il doit donner parmi le ventre dedans, tant comme il peut entrer." — Joinville, in Bouquet, t. xx. p. 198.

But above all these weaknesses or exaggerated virtues there were the high Christian graces, conscientiousness such as few kings are able or dare to display on the throne, which never swerved either through ambition or policy from strict rectitude. No acquisition of territory, no extension of the royal power, would have tempted Louis IX. to unjust aggression. He was strongly urged to put to death the son of the chief of the rebels in arms against him, the Count de la Marche, who had fallen into his hands; he nobly replied: "A son could not refuse to obey his father's orders." The one great war in which he was involved, before his departure for the Crusade, which ended in the humiliation of the great vassals of the Crown and of the leader in that revolt, Henry III. of England, the chief of these great vassals, was provoked by no oppression or injustice on his part, was conducted with moderation unusual in that age; and his victory was not sullied by any act of wanton revenge or abuse of power. He had no rapacity; he coveted but one kind of treasure, relics; and no doubt when he bought the real crown of thorns (the abbey of St. Denys had already boasted their possession of the authentic crown, but their crown sank into obscurity, when that of Constantinople arrived in Paris),[1] when he obtained this inestimable prize at such enormous cost, there was no abstemiousness which he would not have practised, in order so to enrich his beloved France. He plundered the Jews, but that was on religious grounds; their tainted wealth might not infect the royal treasury; he bestowed the whole on Baldwin of Constantinople.

His virtues

Yet Louis was no slave of the hierarchy. His relig-

[1] Compare Tillemont, Vie de Saint Louis, ii. 337.

ion was of too lofty a cast to submit to the dictates of a worldly clergy. His own great objects of admiration were the yet uncorrupt Mendicants, the Preachers and Minorites; half his body he would give to St. Dominic, half to St. Francis. He once gravely meditated the abandonment of his throne to put on the weeds of one of these Orders. His laws will afterwards display him, if not as the founder, the assertor of the liberties of the Gallican Church, and of the royal power, as limiting that of the Papacy. Throughout the strife between Frederick II. and Gregory IX. he maintained an impartial and dignified neutrality. He had not declined the summons of the Emperor to hold a meeting of the temporal Sovereigns of Christendom to resist in common the encroachments of the spiritual power. Nothing could surpass the calm loftiness with which he demanded the release of the French prelates taken at the battle of Meloria; he could advance the cogent argument, that he had resisted all the demands and entreaties of the Pope to be permitted to levy subsidies on the realm of France for the war against the Emperor. He had refused, as we have seen, the offer of the Imperial crown from Innocent IV. for his brother; only when Frederick threatened to march on Lyons, and crush the Pope, did Louis seem disposed to take up arms for the defence of the Pontiff.[1]

Louis determines on a crusade.

Such a monarch could not but be seized by the yet unexpired passion for the Crusade. Urban II., two centuries before, would not have found a more ardent follower. It was in St. Louis no love, no aptitude for war, no boiling and impetuous valor. His slight frame and delicate health gave no

[1] Tillemont, iii. p. 164.

promise of personal prowess or fame: he was in no way distinguished in, he loved not knightly exercises. He had no conscious confidence in his military skill or talent to intoxicate him with the hopes of a conqueror; he seems to have utterly wanted, perhaps to have despised, the most ordinary acquirements of a general. He went forth simply as the servant of God; he might seem to disdain even the commonest precautions. God was to fight his own battles; Louis was assured of victory or Paradise. All depended on the faith, and the suppression of military license, at which he labored with fond hopes of success, not on the valor, discipline, generalship of the army. In his determination to embark on the Crusade, Louis resolutely asserted the absolute power of the monarch: in this alone he resisted the colder caution of his mother Blanche; she was obliged to yield to the pious stubbornness of her son. Louis was seized with an alarming illness, he had sunk into a profound lethargy, he was thought dead; a pious female had drawn the covering, in sad respect, over what seemed the lifeless corpse. Another gently withdrew it. The soft but hollow voice of the King was heard: "God has raised me from the dead: give me the Cross." His mother wept tears of joy; when she saw the Cross on his breast, she knew the meaning of that gesture. She shuddered as if he lay dead before her.[1] A.D. 1244 Dec. 10

No expedition to the East was so ignominiously disastrous as that of St. Louis: yet none might seem to set forth under more promising auspices. He was three years in assembling his forces, preparing arms, money, horses, soldiers. It was in October (A.D. 1245) that in

[1] Joinville, p. 207.

the Parliament of Paris he publicly took the Cross. The princes, the nobles, vied in following his example; his brother, Robert of Artois, the Duke of Burgundy, the Duke of Brabant, the Countess of Flanders and her sons, Peter Mauclerc of Dreux and his son, the Count of Bretagne, the Counts of Bar, Soissons, St. Pol, de la Marche, Rhetel, Montfort; the Archbishops of Rheims, Sens, and Bourges, the Bishops of Beauvais, Laon, and Orleans, with countless knights and esquires. At Christmas in the same year Louis practised perhaps the only act of treachery of which he was guilty in his life. It was the custom for the King to distribute, as his gifts on that day, new robes to the courtiers. He ordered red crosses to be secretly embroidered between the shoulders; they were lavished in more than usual numbers. The courtiers were astonished to find that the King had thus piously enlisted them; they were now warriors of the Cross, who could not shrink from their engagement. It would have been indecent, disgraceful, ignoble, to throw aside the crosses; so, with true French levity, they laughed and wept at once, owning that they were completely entrapped by the King.

From that time the whole thoughts of Louis were absorbed in the Holy War. He resisted the offers of Pope Innocent to befriend him in a war against England, even in an invasion of England. He made, as A.D 1246. he hoped, a lasting peace with his neighbor. He took no part in the confederacy of the French nobility to resist the exactions of the Pope and of the hierarchy.[1] He labored earnestly, though ineffectually, to reconcile the Emperor and the Pope.

[1] According to Paris, St. Louis favored the League. Compare Tillemont, iii. p. 120.

So far, on the other hand, had his strife with the Emperor absorbed all other religious passions in the Pope, that not only was there no cordial coöperation on the part of Innocent in the Crusade of St. Louis, but exemptions from the Crusades were now notoriously sold, it was believed to defray the expenses of the war against the Emperor. The Crusaders in Italy were urged to join the Pope's forces, with all the privileges and exemptions of a Crusade to the Holy Land.

Louis him-self did not embark at the head of a great army, like a puissant monarch. The princes, prelates, and nobles were to arrange their own transport. St. Louis passed down the Rhone; he was urged to avenge the death of his father on rebellious Avignon: "I have taken arms to revenge Jesus Christ, not my father." The island of Cyprus was the place of rendezvous. In Cyprus there was a delay of eight months. Want of discipline and a fatal epidemic made great ravages in the army; there seemed a total absence of conduct or command. But for supplies sent by the Emperor Frederick, there had been famine. The grateful Louis made one more effort to mediate between the Pope and the Emperor. The overture was contemptuously rejected.

Louis embark in the Crusade.

At length the armament set sail; its object was the conquest of Egypt, as securing that of the Holy Land. Damietta was abandoned by the Saracens; the Crusaders were masters of that great city.[1] But never were the terror and advantages of a first success so thrown away. Months were wasted;

June 7, 1249 (Cyprus.)

[1] The instant St. Louis landed and saw the Saracens, he drew his sword and was for charging them at once. The wiser "preudhommes" stopped him. This was St. Louis's notion of military affairs. — Joinville, p. 215.

the King was performing the offices of a monk, not of a general. Yet the army of the pious Louis was abandoned to every kind of Oriental luxury.[1] In June they were in Damietta, in November they marched, and shut themselves in a camp in a corner between the hills and the canal of Ashmoun. The flying bands of the enemy, with the Greek fire, harassed the camp. Good fortune and the valor of the soldiery extricated them from this difficulty, only to involve them in more fatal disasters. The King's brother, the Count of Artois, fell in a hasty unsupported advance. The unrivalled valor of the French was wasted in unprofitable victories, like those in Mansourah, or in miserable defeats. The camp was in a state of blockade; pestilence,[2] famine, did the work of the enemy. The King of France was a prisoner to the Sultan of Egypt. Of two thousand three hundred knights and fifteen thousand pilgrims few made their escape. His brothers, Alfonse of Poitou and Charles of Anjou, shared his captivity. His Queen, far advanced in pregnancy, remained with an insufficient force in Damietta. She bore a son prematurely; she called his name "Tristan."

June 20. (Damietta.)

Feb. 8–11.

Defeat and captivity. March 27. April 6.

But it was adversity which displayed the great character of St. Louis. He was himself treated at first with courtesy; he was permitted to hear the canonical prayers, after the custom of the Church of Paris, recited by the single priest who had escaped; his breviary, the loss of which he deplored above all losses, was

[1] Not a stone's throw from the King the soldiers "tenoient leurs bordiaux." — Joinville, 217.

[2] They had no fish all Lent but "bourbettes," which gluttonous fish fed on dead bodies, and produced dreadful maladies.

replaced by another. But he had the bitter aggravation of his misery — that, of ten thousand prisoners in Mansourah, all who would not abandon their faith (and some there were guilty of this apostasy) met a cruel death. But to all the courteous approaches of the Sultan, Louis was jealously on his guard, lest he should compromise his dignity as a King or his purity as a Christian: he would not receive the present of a dress from the unbeliever. To their exorbitant demands and menaces he gave a calm and determined reply. They demanded the surrender of all the fortresses in Syria: these, it was answered, belonged not to the King of France, but to Frederick II. as King of Jerusalem. To that of yielding up the castles garrisoned by the Knights of the Temple and of St. John, the answer was that the Orders could not surrender them without violating their vows. The King was threatened with torture — torture of the most cruel kind — the barnacles, which crushed the legs. "I am your prisoner," he said, "ye may do with me as ye will."[1] It is said that he defied even the more degrading menace of carrying him about and exhibiting him as a spectacle in all the cities of Islam. At length more reasonable terms were proposed; the evacuation of Damietta, and a large sum of money — for the King's ransom one million byzantines; for the captive Barons five hundred thousand French livres. Concerning his own ransom Louis made some difficulty; he acceded at once to that of the Barons. "It becomes not the King of France to barter about the liberty of her subjects."[2] The Sultan,

[1] Joinville, p. 243.

[2] "Par ma foy larges est le Frans, quant il na pas bargigné (marchandé) sur si grant somme de deniers." So said the Saracens. Joinville, 243.

Turan-Shah, was moved by the monarch's generosity; with Oriental magnificence, he struck off one fifth — two hundred thousand byzantines — from his ransom.

Murder of the Sultan Turan-Shah.

In the new perils which arose on the murder of the Sultan Turan-Shah before the deliverance of the prisoners, the tranquil dignity of the King of France overawed even the bloody Mamelukes. The Emirs renewed the treaty; the difficulty was now the oath. The King demanded, by the advice of Master Nicolas of Ptolemaïs, that the Mussulmans should swear, "that if they broke the treaty they should be dishonored as the Islamite who should go as a pilgrim to Mecca bareheaded, as one who should take back a divorced wife, as one who had eaten swine's flesh." A renegade suggested as an equivalent form to be required of the King, that in like case, should he violate the treaty, "he should be dishonored as a Christian who had denied God and his Holy Mother, and had severed himself from the communion of God, his Apostles, and Saints; or, in mockery of God, had spat on the Holy Cross and trampled it under foot." Louis indignantly repelled the last clause. The Emirs threatened him with death; he declared that he had rather die than live, after having insulted God and his Holy Mother.[1] His brothers and the other Barons followed the example of his firmness. In vain the Mamelukes seized the Patriarch of Jerusalem, who had come under the Sultan's safe conduct (which they disclaimed) into the camp, a man eighty years old, and tied him to a tent-post with his hands behind his back, till they swelled and almost burst. The Patriarch, in his agony, entreated the King to yield, and offered to take upon him-

[1] Joinville, p. 246.

self all the guilt of his oath. The oath was arranged, it is not known how, to mutual satisfaction; but so rigidly scrupulous was Louis, that when it appeared that in the payment of part of the ransom the Christians might have gained an advantage, either fairly or unfairly, of ten thousand byzantines in weight, he peremptorily commanded the full payment.

Ransom and release.

The release of the King on such favorable terms, at a price so much below the value of such a captive, astonished both the Christians and the Mussulmans. Damietta could not have resisted many days. Much was attributed to the awe inspired by the majestic demeanor and calm self-command of the King.[1] Joinville, his faithful seneschal and historian, had persuaded himself that the Emirs, after the murder of Turan-Shah, had determined to offer the crown of Egypt to the King of France; they were only deterred by his stern Christianity, which would never have submitted to the toleration of their creed. The King himself declared to the Seneschal that he should not have declined the offer. Happily it was not made, probably was never contemplated; the death of Louis would soon have vindicated the affront on Islam. But all this, no doubt, heightened the religious romance which spread in Europe around the name of Louis.

Hopes of Louis.

Notwithstanding his defeat and humiliation and captivity, the passive courage of Louis was still unbroken; he persisted, contrary to all counsel, in remaining in Palestine. He would not suppose that God would utterly abandon his faithful servants;

[1] The Saracens, according to Joinville, said that if Mohammed had allowed such sufferings to be inflicted on them as St. Louis endured, they should have renounced him. — P. 247.

he would not believe that Christendom would be unmoved by his appeal; he still would fondly expect that the irresolute Henry of England would fulfil his vow, and come to his rescue at the head of his whole realm.[1] To Henry the summons was earnest and repeated. Louis made the most advantageous overtures; he even, to the indignation and disgust of his own subjects, offered the surrender of Normandy, to which England still laid claim as her King's hereditary dominions.[2] He still imagined that the Pope would lay aside all his plans for the humiliation of Frederick, and be compelled, by his own Apostolic character, and the general voice of Christendom, to sacrifice everything to the recovery of the Holy Land; that there would be but one Crusade under his auspices, and that the legitimate one. Louis was deserted by his brothers, whose light conduct had caused him great vexation; while he was in perpetual self-mortification before God for his sins, which he did not doubt had caused his defeat and bondage, they were playing at dice, whiling away the hours with vain amusements. Almost all the Barons followed the Counts of Poitou and Anjou; Louis was left almost alone with Joinville, his faithful Seneschal. Nor was his weary sojourn in Palestine enlivened by any brilliant successes or gallant feats of arms. For these Louis had neither the activity nor the skill. He was performing the pious office of assisting with his own hands to bury the dead warriors. A hasty pilgrimage in sackcloth to

Deserted by his brothers.

A D. 1251.

[1] Henry took the cross (March 6, 1251), says Tillemont, "soit pour piller plus librement ses sujets, soit pour quelque meilleur dessein." The Pope wrote to Henry early in 1251. Henry swore to go to the Holy Land in three years. — Paris, p. 834.

[2] Paris 833, 834.

Nazareth was almost the only reward; the only advantage of his residence was the fortification of Cæsarea, Ptolemais, and Joppa. The negotiations with the Sultan of Aleppo on one side, and the Egyptians on the other, by which he hoped to obtain the country west of the Jordan, came to nothing. He is said to have converted many Saracens;[1] he spent enormous sums in the purchase of Mohammedan or heathen slaves, whom he caused to be baptized.[2]

It was only the death of the Queen-mother Blanche, and the imperious necessity for his presence in his kingdom of France, which forced him at last to leave the hallowed soil. He returned — if without fame for arms, or for the conduct of affairs — with the profoundest reverence for his sanctity. Only a few years before, Frederick II. had come back to Europe, leaving Jerusalem in the hands of the Christians; the Christian power in Palestine, but for its own dissensions, formidable both to the Sultan of Egypt, and the Sultan of Damascus; he had come back still under the sentence of excommunication, under the reproach with the Papal party of having basely betrayed the interests of the Cross and of God. Louis left Jerusalem unapproachable but with difficulty and danger by the Christian pilgrim, and the kingdom of Jerusalem visibly trembling to its fall; yet an object of devout respect, having made some advance at least, to his future canonization.

Return to Europe. Nov. 1252.

The contrast between Frederick and Louis may be carried on with singular interest, as illustrative of their times. It might have been supposed that Louis would have been the re-

Further Contrast of Frederick and Louis.

[1] Tillemont, from MSS., and Duchesne, p. 405.

[2] Ibid.

morseless persecutor of heretics; Frederick, if not the bold assertor of equal toleration, which he allowed to Greeks and Mohammedans, would hardly have been the sovereign to enact and execute persecuting edicts, unprecedented in their cruelty, and to encourage the son to denounce the father.[1] Happily for Louis, his virtue was not tried by this sore temptation; it was not under his government that the spiritual ravagers still wasted Languedoc. After the treaty by which Raymond VII., Count of Toulouse, surrendered his principality, he remained with the barren dignity of sovereign, but without a voice in the fate of a large though concealed part of his subjects. Bishop Fulk of Toulouse, as far as actual power, was half sovereign of the land, and the council of that sovereign, which alone displayed administrative activity, was the Inquisition. Heresy had been extinguished as far as its public services; but the Inquisition of Toulouse determined to root it out from the hearths, from the chambers, from the secret hearts and souls of men. The statutes of the Council of Lateran were too merciful. The Inquisition drew up its code of procedure,[2] a Christian code, of which the base was a system of delation at which the worst of the Pagan emperors might have shuddered as iniquitous; in which the sole act deserving of mercy might seem to be the Judas-like betrayal of the dearest and most familiar friend, of the kinsman,

Louis escapes being a persecutor.

[1] See vol. v. p. 385.

[2] The two forms of procedure may be read in Martene and Durand. — Thesaurus Anecdotorum, t. v. Their authenticity is beyond dispute. Nothing that the sternest or most passionate historian has revealed, nothing that the most impressive romance-writer could have imagined, can surpass the cold systematic treachery and cruelty of these, so called, judicial formularies.

the parent, the child. Though these acts belong neither to Frederick nor to Louis, they must find their place in our history.

The Court sat in profound secrecy; no advocate might appear before the tribunal; no witness was confronted with the accused: who were the informers, what the charges, except the vague charge of heresy, no one knew. The suspected heretic was first summoned to declare on oath that he would speak the truth, the whole truth, of all persons whatsoever, living or dead, with himself, or like himself, under suspicion of heresy or Vaudism. If he refused, he was cast into a dungeon — a dungeon the darkest in those dreary ages — the most dismal, the most foul, the most noisome. No falsehood was too false, no craft too crafty, no trick too base, for this calm, systematic moral torture which was to wring further confession against himself, denunciation against others. If the rack, the pulleys, the thumbscrew, and the boots, were not yet invented or applied, it was not in mercy. It was the deliberate object to break the spirit. The prisoner was told that there were witnesses, undeniable witnesses against him; if convicted by such witnesses his death was inevitable. In the mean time his food was to be slowly, gradually diminished, till body and soul were prostrate. He was then to be left in darkness, solitude, silence. Then were to come one or two of the faithful, dexterous men, who were to speak in gentle words of interest and sympathy — "Fear not to confess that you have had dealings with those men, the teachers of heresy, because they seemed to you men of holiness and virtue; wiser than you have been deceived." These dexterous men were to speak of the Bible, of

Form of procedure.

the Gospels, of the Epistles of St. Paul, to talk the very language, the Scriptural language of the heretics. "These foxes," it was said, "can only be unearthed by fox-like cunning." But if all this art failed, or did not perfectly succeed, then came terror and the goading to despair. "Die you must — bethink you of your soul." Upon which if the desperate man said, "If I must die, I will die in the true faith of the Gospel" — he had made his confession: justice claimed its victim.

The Inquisition had three penalties: for those who recanted, penance in the severest form which the Court might enact; for those not absolutely convicted, perpetual imprisonment; for the obstinate or the relapsed, death — death at the stake, death by the secular arm. The Inquisition, with specious hypocrisy, while it prepared and dressed up the victim for the burning, looked on with calm and approving satisfaction, as it had left the sin of lighting the fire to pollute other hands.

Such was the procedure, of which the instructions may now be read in their very words, which Raymond of Toulouse must put in execution in his capital city. The death of the Bishop Fulk relieved him not; an A.D. 1231. inflexible Dominican sat on the episcopal seat of Toulouse. The Pope, Gregory IX., issued a bull, in which the Inquisition was placed in the inexorable hands of the Friar Preachers. Two inquisitors were appointed in every city; but the Bishops needed no excitement to their eager zeal, no remonstrance against mistimed mercy to the heretics. At the Council of Narbonne, presided over by the Archbishops of A.D. 1233. Narbonne, Aix, and Arles, was now issued a decree, that as there were not prisons vast enough to

contain those who, however they had made submission, were still unworthy of the absolution of the Church, and deserved imprisonment for life, further instructions must be awaited from his Holiness the Pope. But the contumacious, who refused to submit to imprisonment, or who broke prison, were to be at once made over to the secular arm. No plea was to be admitted to release from imprisonment; not the duty of the husband to the young wife, of the young wife to her husband; not that of the parents for the care of their children, nor of children for the care of their parents; infirmity, age, dotage, nothing excused, nothing mitigated the sentence. So enormous was the crime of heresy, the infamous, whose witness was refused in all other cases, were admitted against the heretic: on no account was the name of a witness to be betrayed.

But the most oppressed may be overwrought to madness. Witnesses were found murdered; even Rebellion. the awful persons of inquisitors were not secure. An insurrection broke out in the suburbs of Narbonne against the Prior of the Dominicans; the Archbishop and the Viscount of Narbonne in their defence suffered a repulse. The insurgents despised the excommunication of the Archbishop, and fought gallantly against the rest of the city, which espoused the cause of the Church. Albi was in tumult, even Toulouse arose. The two great inquisitors, William Arnaud and Peter Cellani, were compelled to leave the city. They marched out at the head of the thirty-eight members of the Inquisition, with the Bishop and the parish priests in solemn procession; they hurled back an excommunication. Count Raymond compelled the readmission of the clergy, but even Rome was appalled: a

Franciscan was sent to allay by his gentleness the
A.D. 1237. popular fury. The proceedings of the Inquisition (this merciful edict was purchased in Rome) were suspended for a time in Toulouse.[1]

Five years passed. Raymond of Toulouse, under
Rising. Murder of the Inquisitors. the shelter, as it were, of the wars between Louis IX. and Henry of England, and encouraged by hopes of support from the Spanish kings, aspired at the head of the league among the great vassals of the south to throw off the yoke of Northern France. The down-trodden Albigensians seized their opportunity. They met at Mirepoix, marched on the castle of Avigncourt, where William Arnaud, the great inquisitor, held his tribunal. Four Dominicans, two Franciscans, seven Familiars, the whole terrible court, were hewn to pieces. That which had thrown a dreadful grandeur over the murders perpetrated by the inquisitors, gave a majestic endurance to their own. They died like the meekest martyrs: they fell on their
A.D. 1242. knees, crossed their hands over their breasts, and, chanting the Te Deum, as wont over their victims, they awaited the mortal blow.[2] They were not long unavenged. Raymond was forced to submit; his act of subjection to Louis IX. stipulated his abandonment of the heretics. Two years after, at another
March, 1244. Council at Narbonne, it was enacted that the penitents, who had escaped from prison, should in mercy be permitted to wear yellow crosses on their garments, to appear every Sunday during mass, and undergo public flagellation: the rest were to suffer

[1] Martene, Thesaur. Anecdot., i. 992. Vaissette, Hist. de Languedoc, Appendix xxv.

[2] Histoire de Languedoc, Preuves, p. 438.

life-long incarceration. At the same time Mont Segur,[1] the last refuge of the Albigensians, a strong castle on the summit of a ravine in the Pyrenees, to which most of the Perfect with their Bishop had fled, was forced to surrender to the Archbishop of Narbonne, the Bishop of Albi, and the Seneschal of Carcassonne. All the heretics, with their Bishop and the noble lady, Esclarmonde, were burned alive in a vast enclosure of stakes and straw.[2] Of all these atrocities, however, Louis IX. was guiltless; he was not yet, or was hardly, of age, and his whole soul was absorbed in his preparation for his crusade. Even his brother, Charles of Anjou, who by obtaining the hand of the heiress of Provence (to which Raymond of Toulouse aspired) had become lord of that territory, took no active part in these persecutions.

Yet even in the realm of France a frightful holocaust was offered near the city of Rheims. In the presence of the Archbishop and seventeen Bishops, and one hundred thousand people, on Mont Aimé near Vertus, one hundred and eighty-three Manicheans (one Perfect alone) were burned alive with their pastor, who calmly administered absolution to them all. Not one but died without fear. But this execution took place in the territory and under the sanction of Count Thiebault of Champagne, not of the King; of Thiebault (the King of Navarre), whose Troubadour songs were as little respectful to the clergy, or the Papalists, as those of the other Languedocian bards.[3] If even under Louis a monk held his court in Paris, and, unrebuked, inflicted death on many inno-

Persecutions in France. A.D. 1239.

[1] Puy Laurent, c. 46.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Compare H. Martin, Hist. de France.

cent victims, this seems to have been an exceptional case; nor is it quite clear how far it had the concurrence of the King.[1]

Yet for a time suspended, our comparison of Louis IX. and Frederick II. is not exhausted. As legislators there is the most striking analogy between these two, in so many other respects oppugnant sovereigns. The Sicilian laws of Frederick and the "Establishments" of St. Louis agree in the assertion (as far as their times would admit) of the absolute supremacy of the law, the law emanating from the King, and in the abrogation (though Louis is more timid or cautious than Frederick) of the ordeal, the trial by battle, and the still stranger usage of challenging the judges to battle.

Frederick and Louis as law-givers.

The Justiciaries of Frederick belonged to a more advanced jurisprudence than the King himself, seated on his carpet in the forest of Vincennes administering justice.[2] But the introduction under his reign of the civil lawyers, the students and advocates of the Roman jurisprudence, into the courts of France (under Philip the Fair will be seen their strife, even triumph over the canon lawyers), gave a new character to the ordinances of St. Louis, and of far more lasting influence. The ruin of the house of Swabia, and the desuetude into which, in most respects, fell the constitution of Frederick, prevented Naples from becoming a school of Roman law as famous as that of Paris, and the lawyers of the kingdom of Sicily from rising into a body as powerful as those of France in her parliaments.

Both Kings, however, aimed at the establishment of

[1] Raynald, sub ann., i. p. 29. Hallam, i. 29, with his authorities.

[2] See the picturesque description in Joinville, p. 199.

equal justice. They would bring the haughty feudal nobles and even the churchmen, (who lived apart under their own law) under the impartial sovereignty of the law of the land. The punishment of Enguerrand de Coucí for a barbarous murder attested the firmness of the King. The proudest baron in France, the highest vassal of the crown, hardly escaped with his life. So, too, may be cited the account of the angry baron, indignant at the judicial equity of the King — "Were I king, I would hang all my barons; the first step taken, all is easy." "How, John of Thouret, hang all my barons? I will not hang them; I will correct them if they commit misdeeds." As to the nobles.

It was the religion, not the want of religion, in St. Louis which made him determine to bring the criminal clergy under the equal laws of the realm. That which Henry II. of England had attempted to do by his royal authority and by the Constitutions of Clarendon, the more pious or prudent Louis chose to effect with the Papal sanction. Even the Pope, Alexander IV., could not close his eyes to the monstrous fact of the crimes of the clergy, secured from adequate punishment by the immunities of their sacred persons. The Pope made a specious concession; the King's judge did not incur excommunication for arresting, subject to the judgment of the ecclesiastical courts, priests notoriously guilty of capital offences. Alexander threw off too from the Church, and abandoned as scapegoats to the law, all married clergy and all who followed low trades; with them the law might take its course, they had forfeited the privilege of clergy. But neither would Louis be the absolute slave of the intolerance of the hierarchy. The As to the clergy. A.D. 1260.

whole prelacy of France (writes Joinville)[1] met to rebuke the tardy zeal of the King in enforcing the excommunications of the Church. "Sire," said Guy of Auxerre, "Christianity is falling to ruin in your hands." "How so?" said the King, making the sign of the cross. "Sire, men regard not excommunication; they care not if they die excommunicate and without absolution. The Bishops admonish you that you give orders to all the royal officers to compel persons excommunicate to obtain absolution by the forfeiture of their lands and goods." And the holy man (the King) said "that he would willingly do so to all who had done wrong to the Church." "It belongs not to you," said the Bishop, "to judge of such cases." And the King answered, "he would not do otherwise; it were to sin against God and against reason to force those to seek absolution to whom the clergy had done wrong."

The famous Pragmatic Sanction contained only the first principles, yet it did contain the first principles, of limitation as to the power of the Court of Rome to levy money on the churches of the realm, and of elections to benefices. It was, in fact, as the foundation of Gallicanism under specious terms of respect, a more mortal blow to the Papal power than all the tyranny, as it was called, exercised by Frederick II. over the ecclesiastics of the kingdom of Naples. Of this, however, more hereafter.

[1] P. 200.

# CHAPTER II.

## POPE ALEXANDER IV.

ON the death of Innocent IV., the Cardinal of Ostia, of the famous Papal house of Segni, was elected at Naples: he took the name of Alexander IV. He was a gentle and religious man, not of strong or independent character, open to flattery and to the suggestions of interested and avaricious courtiers.[1] Innocent IV. had left a difficult and perilous position to his successor. The Pope could not abandon the Papal policy: the see of Rome was too deeply pledged, to retract its arrogant pretensions concerning the kingdom of Naples, or to come to terms with one whom she had denounced as an usurper, and whose strength she did not yet comprehend. But Sinibald could not leave, with his tiara, his own indomitable courage, indefatigable activity, his power of drawing resources from distant lands. Alexander was forced to be an Innocent IV. in his pretensions; he could be but a feeble Innocent IV. The rapidity with which Manfred after his first successes overran the whole of the two Sicilies, implies, if not a profound and ardent attachment to the house of Swabia, at least an obstinate aversion to the Papal sovereignty. It seemed a general national outburst; and Manfred, by circum-

Accession of Alexander IV Dec. 21, A.D. 1254.

Manfred.

[1] Matt. Paris, sub ann.

stances and by his own sagacious judgment, having separated the cause of the hereditary kings from the odious German tyranny (the Saracen bands were less unpopular than the Germans), as yet appeared only as the loyal guardian of the infant Conradin. He was already almost master of Apulia; he was with difficulty persuaded to send ambassadors, as sovereign princes were wont to do, to congratulate the Pope. During the next year the legate of the Pope was in person at Palermo; the whole island of Sicily had acknowledged Manfred. His triumph was completed by Naples opening her gates; Otranto and Brundusium followed the example of the capital. Manfred ruled in the name of his nephew from Palermo to Messina, from the Faro to the borders of the Papal States. At the first it was evident that the weak army of the Pope, under the Cardinal Octavian, could not make head against this rising of the whole realm. Berthold of Homburg soon deserted the cause of the Pope.[1] Alexander was trammelled with the engagements of his predecessor, who, having broken off his overtures to Charles of Anjou, had acknowledged Edmund of England king of Sicily. The more remote his hopes of success, the more ostentatiously did Henry III. attempt to dazzle the eyes of his sub-

A.D. 1255. March 13.

England.

[1] See the curious letter in Matt. Paris, from which it appears that certain churches and monasteries in England were bound to merchants of Sienna in 2000 marks of new sterling money in favor of Berthold and his brothers. For acts of treason, Berthold and his brothers were declared to have forfeited their claim. But the churches and monasteries were still to discharge the 2000 marks. The Prior and monastery of Durham were assessed at 500 marks; Bath at 400; Thorney at 400; Croyland, 400; Gisburn, 300. Durham and Gisburn refused payment. This is dated Anagni, June 1256. There is also a letter (MS., B. M.) threatening excommunication against the Prior of Winchester and others, if they do not pay 315 marks to certain merchants of Sienna (sub ann. 1255, in init.).

jects by this crown on the head of his second son. Edmund appeared in public as King of Sicily, affected to wear an Italian dress, and indulged in all the pomp and state of royalty. The King himself, notwithstanding the sullen looks of his Barons, spoke as if determined on this wild expedition. His ambassadors, the Bishops of London and Hereford, the Abbot of Westminster, the Provost of Beverley, accepted the crown. It was agreed that, as Edmund was not of age, his father should swear fealty for him.[1] Yet England was less liberal than usual of subsidies either to the Pope or to the King for this senseless enterprise. The legate, a Gascon, Rustand, had already received a commission, with the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Hereford, to levy a tenth on England, Scotland, and Ireland. The King had an offer of an exemption from his vow of a crusade to the Holy Land, on condition of his appearing at the head of an army to subdue Manfred in Apulia. Rustand himself preached in London and in other places; and made others preach a crusade against Manfred, the enemy of the Pope and of their Lord the King of England, a crusade as meritorious as that to the Lord's sepulchre. The honest English were revolted at hearing that they were to receive the same indulgences for shedding Christian as Saracen blood. Rustand received a rich prebend of York as reward for his services.

Year after year came the same insatiate demands:

[1] In Rymer, 1254, are the bulls or terms of grant of the kingdom of Sicily. See in MS., B. M. (viii. 195), letter to the King of England to pay 4800 livres Tournois (libras Turonenses)* for the expenses of W. terranus (Cardinal of Velletri) "electus de mandato f. m. Innocent IV. in servitium Ecclesiæ pro stante negotio regni Siciliæ."

* The livre Tournois was about 12 francs.

ambassador after ambassador summoned the King to fulfil his engagements; the Pope condescended to inform him through what merchants he could transmit his subsidies to Rome. The insolence and the falsehood of Rustand and the other legates, the Archbishop Elect of Toledo and the Bishop of Bologna, increased the exasperation. In the absence of the Primate of England, Rustand ruled supreme in the Church, and excommunicated refractory prelates, whose goods were instantly seized and confiscated to the King. They carefully disguised the successes of Manfred, and spread rumors of the victories of the Papal armies. The King had too much vanity and too much weakness to resist these frauds and violences. The King is said to have bound himself for two hundred thousand pounds sterling, besides fifty thousand levied by the Bishop of Hereford.[1] Even the Cistercian monks could not escape the unusual and acknowledged alienation of the English clergy from the see of Rome. The Pope, or the Nuncio of the Pope, had recourse to violent measures against the second prelate of the realm, Sewal, Archbishop of York. The words of the English historian show the impression on the public mind: "About that time our Lord the Pope laid his hand heavily on the Archbishop of York. He gave orders (by a measure so strong and terrible he would daunt his courage) that Sewal should be ignominiously excommunicated throughout England with the light of torches and tolling of bells. But the said Archbishop, taught by the example of Thomas the Martyr, the example and lessons of the saintly Edmund, once his master, by the faithfulness of the blessed

Sewal, Archbishop of York. A.D. 1257.

[1] Rymer. MS., B. M., sub ann. 1235.

Robert, Bishop of Lincoln, did not despair of consolation from heaven, and patiently supported the tyranny of the Pope; for he would not bestow the abundant revenues of the Church on persons unworthy or unknown, from beyond the Alps, and scorned to submit himself, like a woman, to the Pope's will, abandoning his rights. Hence the more he was anathematized by the orders of the Pope, the more was he blessed by the people, though in secret for fear of the Romans." [1]

But where all this time was the Primate of England, and who was he? On the death of the unworldly and sainted Edmund Rich, the King and the Pope had forced on the too obsequious, afterwards bitterly repentant, monks of Canterbury, a foreigner, almost an Italian. Boniface, Bishop of Bellay, was uncle to the Queen, and brother of that Philip of Savoy, the warlike and mitred body-guard of Innocent IV., who became Archbishop of Lyons. Boniface was elected in 1341, confirmed by Pope Innocent not before 1344. The handsome, proud prelate found that Edmund, however saintly, had been but an indifferent steward of the secular part of the diocese. Canterbury was loaded with an enormous debt, and Boniface came not to England to preside over an impoverished see. He obtained a grant from the Pope of first-fruits from all the benefices in his province, by which he raised a vast sum. Six years after, the Primate announced, and set forth on a visitation of his province, not as it was said, and as too

Boniface, Archbishop of Canterbury.

About Michaelmas. A.D. 1250.

[1] So writes Paris. "Falso pertinaciam illius constantiæ nomine exornat (M. Paris) cum *justè* Pontifex pro Sicilia, deposito tyranno, in Edmundum transferendâ, a clero Anglicano pecuniarum subsidia exigeret." Thus wrote Raynaldus in the 17th century. — Sub ann. 1257.

plainly appeared, for the glory of God, but in quest of ungodly gain. Bishops, chapters, monasteries must submit to this unusual discipline, haughtily and rapaciously enforced by a foreigner. From Feversham and Rochester he extorted large sums. He appeared in London, treated the Bishop (Fulk Basset of the old noble Norman House) and his jurisdiction with contempt. The Dean of St. Paul's (Henry de Cornhill) stood by his Bishop. The Primate appeared with his cuirass gleaming under his pontifical robes. The Dean closed the doors of his cathedral against him. Boniface solemnly excommunicated Henry Dean of St. Paul's and his Chapter in the name of St. Thomas the Martyr of Canterbury. The sub-Prior of St. Bartholomew's (the Prior was dead) fared still worse. He calmly pleaded the rights of the Bishop; the wrathful Primate rushed on the old man, struck him down with his own hand, tore his splendid vestment, and trampled it under foot. The Bishop of London was involved in the excommunication. The Dean of St. Paul's appealed to the Pope; the excommunication was suspended. But Boniface himself proceeded in great pomp to Rome. The uncle of the Queen of England, the now wealthy Primate of England, could not but obtain favor with Innocent. The Dean of St. Paul's was compelled to submit to the supreme Archiepiscopal authority. On his triumphant return Boniface continued his visitation. The Chapter of Lincoln, headed by the Archdeacon (Bishop Grostête was dead), resisted his demand to dispose of the vacant Prebends of the Church. The Archdeacon bore his own appeal to Rome. After three years he obtained (by what means appears not) what seemed a favorable sentence;

but died, worn out, on his way home. Boniface trampled on all rights, all privileges. The monks of Canterbury obtained a Papal diploma of exemption, Boniface threw it into the fire, and excommunicated the bearers. The King cared not for, the Pope would not regard the insult.

After the accession of Alexander IV. the Archbishop of Canterbury is in arms, with his brother, the Archbishop of Lyons, besieging Turin, to release the head of his house, the Count of Savoy, whom his subjects had deposed and imprisoned for his intolerable tyranny. The wealth of the Churches of Canterbury and Lyons was showered, but showered in vain, on their bandit army. Turin resisted the secular, more obstinately than London the spiritual arms of the Primate. He returned, not without disgrace to England. With such a Primate the Pope was not likely to find much vigorous or rightful opposition from the Church of England.[1]

Pope Alexander IV., while he thus tyrannized in England, was not safe in Rome, or even in Anagni. The stern justice of the Senator Brancaleone had provoked resistance, no doubt not discouraged by the partisans of the Pope. The Nobles urged on an insurrection: Brancaleone was

The Senator Brancaleone See vol. v. p. 512.

[1] Paris, sub ann. 1241–4, 1250, 1256. See the letter from Pope Alexander, consolatory on the failure before Turin. Godwin de Præsulibus contains a full abstract of the life of Boniface. Compare MS., B. M. vi. p. 347, for the resistance and excommunication (the sentence) of the Dean of St. Paul's: also of Sub-Prior of St. Bartholomew: excommunication of Bishop of London, p. 383. The Archbishop had obtained, under grant of first-fruits, "magnam quantitatem pecuniæ," vii. 16. Papal decree against Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's, p. 57. Archbishop Boniface was exempted from visiting his four Welsh dioceses, "propter guerrarum discrimina, penuriam victualium," b. viii.

seized and thrown into prison. But his wise precaution had secured thirty hostages of the highest Roman patrician houses at Bologna. His wife fled to that city, and roused Bologna with harangues on the injustice and ingratitude shown to her great citizen. The hostages were kept guarded with stricter vigilance. The Nobles appealed to the Pope, who issued an angry mandate to the Bolognese, which they treated with scorn. The populace of Rome arose and broke the prison of Brancaleone. Brancaleone laid down his senatorship for two years (during which it was filled by a citizen of Brescia, who trod in his footsteps) to resume it with still more inflexible determination. On his reinaugura-
A.D. 1258. tion he summoned all malefactors before his tribunal, not the last the authors of his imprisonment. His sentence was inexorable by prayer or bribe. Men of the highest birth, even relatives of the Pope, were shown on gibbets. Two of the Annibaldi suffered this ignoble doom. He destroyed a hundred and forty castles of those lofty and titled spoilers. The Pope, at Viterbo, was so unadvised as to issue a sentence of excommunication against the Senator and the people of Rome. They were not content with treating this sentence with the bitterest derision. The Senator summoned the whole people to assemble, as one man, in arms; they marched under their banner towards Anagni, the birthplace of the Pope. The inhabitants of Anagni, many of them his kindred, implored Alexander with passionate entreaties to avert their doom. The Pope, to elude the disgrace of seeing his native city razed to the earth, was content to send deputies to Brancaleone, humbly imploring his mercy. The Senator had great difficulty in restraining the people. An

alliance grew up between Manfred and Brancaleone. The Senator retained his dignity till his death: his head was then deposited in a coffer, like a precious relic, and placed with all the pomp of a religious ceremony, by the grateful people, on the top of a marble column. Notwithstanding the prohibition of the Pope, the people raised the uncle of Brancaleone to the Senatorship of Rome.[1]

Alexander could look for no aid from the Empire. The Papal Emperor, William of Holland, had fallen in an expedition against the Frisians. There was no great German Prince to command the Empire. The Pope, faithful to the legacy of hatred to the house of Swabia, contented himself with prohibiting in the strongest terms the election of the young Conradin. The Germans looked abroad; some of the divided Electors offered the throne again to Richard of Cornwall, others to Alfonso King of Castile. The enormous wealth of Richard of Cornwall, perhaps his feeble character, attracted the ambitious Archbishop of Cologne, who hoped in his name to rule the Empire, and to dispense the wealth of England. Richard was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle. He had before declined the kingdom of Naples; his avarice had resisted all the attempts of the King his brother and of the Pope to employ his riches in the cause of young Edmund; he retained them to gratify his own vanity.[2]

Death of William of Holland, Jan. 25, 1256

January, 1257

March 17. Richard of Cornwall.

For seventeen years the Empire was in fact vacant; better for the Pope such anarchy than a Swabian on the throne.

Rudolph of Hapsburg, A.D. 1273.

[1] Paris, sub ann. 1258.

[2] Paris says that, independent of the Empire, his revenues would have produced 100 marks a day for ten years.

France, so long as the treaty existed between the Pope and England for the investiture of Prince Edmund with the throne of Sicily, could be roused by no adequate temptation. The Pope could offer no vigorous resistance, yet would not make a virtue of necessity and acknowledge the house of Swabia. He had now fully discovered the weakness, the impotence of the King of England.[1] He had summoned him to execute his contract. Henry truly, but without shame, pleaded his poverty, and demanded a tenth of the ecclesiastical revenues. The excommunication hung over the head of the King for having made a bargain with the Pope which he could not fulfil.

Manfred had won the crown of Sicily in the name of his nephew Conradin; he was but Regent of the realm. Rumors were spread of the death of Conradin; the enemies of Manfred asserted that they were invented and disseminated by his astute ambition; his partisans that he had no concern in their propagation.[2] But Manfred was necessary to the power, to the independence of the Sicilies. The Prelates, Barons, almost the whole realm entreated him to assume the crown. His coronation took place to the universal joy. Hardly was it over when ambassadors arrived from the mother of Conradin, and from her son, imploring Manfred not to usurp the rights which he had defended with so much valor. Manfred received the ambassadors in a great assemblage of his Barons. "He had ascended the throne, which he had himself

Manfred king. Aug. 11, 1258.

[1] "Videns ipsius debilitatem ac impotentiam quam publice allegabat." — MS., B. M. In a letter, b. viii. p. 49, the Pope recites all the acts of Innocent IV., and the dates.

[2] Jamsilla. Recordano, c. 147. Le credo io favole. Murat. Ann., sub ann. 1258.

won by his arms, at the call of his people; their affections could alone maintain that throne. It was neither for the interest of the realm nor of Conradin himself that Naples should be ruled by a woman and an infant: he had no relative but Conradin, for whom he should preserve the crown, and faithfully bequeath it on his death. If Conradin desired to uphold the privileges of an heir-apparent, he should reside at the court of Manfred, and win the love of the people whom he was to govern. Manfred would treat him as a son, and instruct him in the virtues of his glorious ancestors." How far Manfred was sincere, Manfred himself perhaps did not know; how far, if he had himself issue, his virtue would have resisted the fondness of a parent for his own offspring, and that which he might have alleged to himself and to others as an undeniable truth, the interest of the kingdom. What confusion, what bloodshed might have been spared to Naples, to Italy, to Christendom, if the crown of Naples had descended in the line of Manfred; if the German connection had been broken forever, the French connection never formed; if Conradin had remained Duke of Swabia, and Charles of Anjou had not descended the Alps! A wiser Pope, and one less wedded to the hereditary policy and to the antipathies of his spiritual forefathers, might have discerned this, and seen how well it would have coincided with the interests of the see. Manfred acknowledged and fairly treated might have softened into a loyal Guelf; he was now compelled to be the head, a most formidable head, of the Ghibellines. Alexander lived to see Manfred in close alliance with Sienna, the stronghold of the exiled Ghibellines of Florence;[1] to see the

[1] See throughout Muratori, who quotes impartially Guelfs and Ghibellines.

fatal battle of Arba, or Monte Aperto, in which the Sept 4, 1260. Florentine Guelfs were utterly crushed and forced to abandon their city. Florence was only saved from being razed to the earth at the instigation of the rival cities, Pisa and Sienna, by the patriotic appeal of the great Ghibelline, Farinata di Uberti, a name which lives in Dante's poetry.[1] In all the south of Italy Manfred was supreme: Genoa and Venice were his allies.

Eccelin da Romano.

Nor was it the Guelfic or Papal influence, nor even his own unspeakable cruelties; it was his treachery to his friends alone that in the north of Italy caused the fall of the triumphant champion of the Ghibellines, Eccelin da Romano, and with him of his brother Alberic. The character of Eccelin was the object of the profoundest terror and abhorrence. No human suffering, it might seem, could glut his revenge; the enemy who fell into his hands might rejoice in immediate decapitation or hanging. The starvation of whole cities; the imprisonment of men, women, and children in loathsome dungeons touched not his heart, which seemed to have made cruelty a kind of voluptuous excitement.[2] But what was the social state of this part of Christendom? How had that state been aggravated by the unmitigated dissensions and wars, the feuds of city with city, the intestine feuds within every city! Had the voice of the Father of Christendom, of the Vicegerent of the Prince of Peace ever been earnestly raised in protest or rebuke? Was not the

[1] Inferno, vi. 79, x. 32.

[2] It may be doubted whether Eccelin himself was not gradually trained to this habit of barbarity. Frederick II., though severe and merciless to his foes, would hardly have addressed sportive letters, or given his daughter in marriage to a wild beast, such a wild beast as Eccelin appears in his later days.

Papal Legate the head of the Guelfic faction, and were the Guelfs on the whole more humane than the Ghibellines? Alexander might have published a crusade against this foe of the human race, and justly might he have offered more splendid promises of pardon and eternal life to him who should rid the world of this monster, than to him who should slay hosts of Moslemin.[1] But a fitter, as an abler leader, might have been found for this enterprise than the Archbishop of Ravenna; and when the army of Sept. 27, 1259. the Archbishop got possession of Padua, the ruthless sacking of the town by his mercenary soldiers made the citizens look back with regret to the iron rule of Eccelin. Nor would Papal anathema or Papal crusade have shaken the power of Eccelin.[2] With the Marquis Pallavicini and Buoso da Doara, the head of the Cremonese Ghibellines, he had become master of Brescia; but Eccelin never conquered save for himself. The flagrant treachery by which he had determined to rid himself of his colleagues was discovered; the indignant Ghibellines made a league against the common enemy of mankind. Eccelin was defeated, sorely wounded, captured. His end was worthy of his life. On the first night of his imprisonment the bells of a neighboring chapel rang loudly, perhaps rejoicing at his bondage. He woke up in wrath: "Go, hew down that priest that makes such a din with his bells." "You forget," said his guard, "that you are in prison." He inquired where he was taken. "At Bassano." Like most strong minds of the day, Eccelin, who had faith in nothing else, had faith in divination. His astrologer had foretold that he

[1] Compare Alexandri Epist. ad Episcopos.
[2] Rolandini. Monach. Patavin. apud Muratori.

should die in Bassano. The priests and friars thronged around him, urging, threatening, imploring, that he would confess and repent of his sins. "I repent of nothing, but that I have not wreaked full vengeance on my foes; that I have badly conducted my army, and allowed myself to be duped and betrayed." He would take neither food nor medicine; but death was slow: he tore the dressings from his wounds, and was found a corpse.[1] Alberic, his brother, once his deadly enemy, was now his ally. Eccelin wanted but one vice, passion for women, which might possibly have given some softness to his heart. No woman was safe from the less sanguinary Alberic. Alberic was besieged during the next year in the castle of San Zeno. All hope of succor was gone; with some remains of generosity he allowed his followers to buy their own free departure by the surrender of himself and his wife, six sons and two daughters. He was at first treated with every kind of mockery; then his six sons slain in his sight, torn in pieces, their limbs thrust in his face. His wife, his beautiful and innocent daughters had their lower garments cut off; in this state of nakedness, in the sight of the whole army, were bound to a stake and burned alive. Alberic's own flesh was torn from his body by pincers; he was then tied to the tail of a horse, and dragged to death.

Alberic da Romano.

A.D. 1260.

What wonder that amid such deeds, whatever religion remained, as it ever must remain in the depths of the human heart, either took refuge beyond the pale of the Church, among the Cathari, who never were

[1] Throughout see Rolandin, xii. c. 13; Chron. Veron., S. R. T., v. viii.; and Muratori, Annali, sub annis 1259, 1260. The B. Museum Chronicle sums up, "nullus in ferocitate ei unquam fuit similis." — p. 245.

more numerous in the cities, especially of northern Italy, than in these days: or within the Church showed itself in wild epidemic madness? Against the Cathari the Friars preached in vain; the Inquisition in vain held its courts; and executions for heresy added more horrors to these dire times.

It was at this period too that one of those extravagant outbursts of fanaticism, which constantly occurred during the middle ages, relieved men's minds in some degree from the ordinary horrors and miseries. Who is surprised that mankind felt itself seized by a violent access of repentance, or that repentance disdained the usual form of discipline? The Flagellants.

The Flagellants seemed to rise almost simultaneously in different parts of Italy. They began in Perugia. The penitential frenzy seized Rome: it spread through every city, Guelf and Ghibelline, crossed the Alps, and invaded Germany and France. Flagellation had long been a holy and meritorious discipline; it was now part of the monastic system; it had obtained a kind of dignity and importance, as the last sign of subjection to the sacerdotal power, the last mark of penitence for sins against the Church.[1] Sovereign princes, as Raymond of Toulouse; Kings, as Henry of England, had yielded their backs to the scourge. How entirely self-flagellation had become part of sanctity, appears from its being the religious luxury of Louis IX. Peter Damiani had taught it by precept and example.[2] Dom-

[1] The "Historia Flagellantium" is a brief but complete history of religious flagellations, first of legal floggings administered by authority, then of the origin and practice of self-flagellation.

[2] Epistol. ad Clericos Florentin., v. 8.

inic, called the Cuirassier, had invented or popularized by his fame the usage of singing psalms to the accompaniment of self-scourging. It had come to have its stated value among works of penance.[1]

The present outburst was not the effect of popular preaching, of the eloquence of one or more vehement and ardent men, working on the passions and the fears of a vast auditory. It seemed as if mankind, at least Italian mankind, was struck at once with a sudden paroxysm of remorse for the monstrous guilt of the age, which found vent in this wild but hallowed form of self-torture. All ranks, both sexes, all ages, were possessed with the madness — nobles, wealthy merchants, modest and delicate women, even children of five years old. They stripped themselves naked to the waist, covered their faces that they might not be known, and went two and two in solemn slow procession, with a cross and a banner before them, scourging themselves till the blood tracked their steps, and shrieking out their doleful psalms. They travelled from city to city. Whenever they entered a city, the contagion seized all predisposed minds. This was done by night as by day. Not only were the busy mart and the crowded street disturbed by these processions; in the dead midnight they were seen with their tapers or torches gleaming before them in their awful and shadowy grandeur, with the lashing sound of the scourge and the screaming chant. Thirty-three days and a half, the number of the years of the Lord's sad sojourn in this world of man, was the usual period for

[1] "Consequitur ergo ut qui viginti psalteria cum disciplinâ decantet, centum annorum penitentiam se peregisse confidat." — Vit. Dominic Loric., p. 85.

the penance of each. In the burning heat of summer, when the wintry roads were deep in snow, they still went on. Thousands, thousands, tens of thousands joined the ranks; till at length the madness wore itself out. Some princes and magistrates, finding that it was not sanctioned by the Roman See or by the authority of any great Saint, began to interpose: that which had been the object of general respect, became almost as rapidly the object of general contempt.[1]

The Flagellant frenzy was a purely religious movement.[2] It had been preceded by about ten years by that of the Pastoureaux (the Shepherds) in Flanders and in France. This rising had something of the fierce resentment of an oppressed and down-trodden peasantry. But it was a democratic insurrection, not against the throne, but against the tyrannous nobles and tyrannous churchmen: it was among those lowest of the low whom the Friar Preachers and the followers of St. Francis had not reached, or had left for higher game. The new Mendicant Orders were denounced as rudely as the luxurious Cluniacs or haughty Cistercians. The Shepherds' first declaration of war was that "the good King Louis was left in bondage to the Mussulmans, through the criminal and traitorous remissness of the indolent and

The Pastoureaux. A.D. 1251.

[1] "Unde tepescere in brevi cepit res immoderate concepta." — Herm. Alt. There are two full descriptions of this singular movement: one by an Italian, the Monachus Patavinensis in Muratori, viii. 712; the other by a German, Hermannus Altahensis (Abbot of Nieder Altaisch), in Böhmer. Fontes, ii. p. 516. See too B. Museum Chronicle: he adds, "Veruntamen propter hoc multe paces inter discordantes facte fuerunt, et multa bona acta sunt." His account is curious. — p. 250.

[2] Affo, Storia di Parma, iii. p. 256, connects the Flagellants with the believers in the Abbot Joachim. (See forward.)

avaricious clergy." They, the peasants of France, had received the direct mission, a mission from the blessed Virgin herself, to rescue him from the hands of the Unbelievers. So sudden, so terrible was the insurrection, that it was as if the fire had burst out at one instant in remote parts of the land. It began in Flanders; at its head was a mysterious personage, who bore the name of the Master of Hungary. He was an aged man with a long beard, pale emaciated face; he spoke Latin, French, and German with the same fluent persuasiveness; he preached without authority of Pope or Prelate; as he preached, he clasped a roll in his hands, which contained his instructions from the blessed Virgin. The Virgin had appeared to him, encircled by hosts of angels, and had given him his celestial commission to summon the poor Shepherds to the deliverance of the good King. Terror spread the strangest rumors of this awful personage. He was an apostate Cistercian monk; in his youth he had denied Jesus Christ; he had sucked in the pernicious practices of magic from the empoisoned wells of Toledo (among the Jews and Arabians of that city). He it was that in his youth had led the crusade of children, who had plunged, following his steps, by thousands into the sea; he had made a solemn covenant with the Soldan of Babylon to lead a countless multitude of Christians to certain bondage in the Holy Land, that they and their King being in his power, he might subdue Christendom. Since the days of Mohammed, in the judgment of wise men, no such dangerous scourge of mankind had arisen in the Church of Christ. His title, the Master of Hungary, might lead to the suspicion that he was a Bulgarian

The Master of Hungary.

Manichee, revenging on the haughty hierarchy the wrongs of his murdered brethren.[1]

The eloquence and mysterious bearing of the Master of Hungary stirred the lowest depths of society. The Shepherds, the peasants left their flocks, their stalls, their fields, their ploughs; in vain friends, parents, wives remonstrated; they took no thought of sustenance. So, drawing men after him, "as the loadstone draws the iron," he marched through Flanders and Picardy. He entered Amiens at the head of thirty thousand men, was received as the Deliverer with festive rejoicings. He passed on to the Isle of France, gathering, as some fell off from weakness or weariness, the whole laboring population in his wake. The villages and fields were desolate behind them. They passed through the cities (not one dared to close the gates against them), they moved in battle array, brandishing clubs, pikes, axes, all the wild weapons they could seize. The Provosts, the Mayors bowed in defenceless panic before them. They had at first only the standard of their Master, a Lamb bearing the banner of the Cross, the Lamb the sign of humility, the Cross that of victory.

Soon four hundred banners waved above them; on some were emblazoned the Virgin and the angels appearing to the Master. Before they reached Paris they were one hundred thousand and more. They had been joined by all the outlaws, the robbers, the excommunicate, followers more dangerous, as wielding and accustomed to wield arms, the two-edged axe, the sword, the dagger, and the pike. They had become an army. They seemed worshippers, it was said, of Mary rather

[1] Matt. Paris, sub ann.

than of Christ. Blanche, the Queen-Regent, either in panic or in some wild hope that these fierce hordes might themselves aid in achieving, or compel others to achieve the deliverance of her son, professed to believe their loyal protestations; they were admitted into Paris.

Hostility to the clergy.

But already they had begun to show their implacable hostility to the Church. They usurped the offices of the clergy, performed marriages, distributed crosses, offered absolution to those who joined their Crusade. They taunted the Friar Preachers and Minorites as vagabonds and hypocrites; the White Monks (the Cistercians) with their covetousness, their vast possessions in lands and flocks; the Black Monks (the Benedictines) with gluttony and pride; the Canons, as worldly, self-indulgent men; Bishops, as hunters and hawkers, as given to all voluptuousness. No one dared to repeat the impious reproaches which they heaped on the Church of Rome.

In Paris.

All this the people heard with the utmost delight. It was rumored that the Master miraculously fed the multitudes; bread, meat, and wine multiplied under his hands. They had entered Paris: the Master was admitted into the presence of the Queen, and was received with honor and with gifts. The Master, emboldened, mounted the pulpit in the church of St. Eustache, with an episcopal mitre on his head, preached and blessed the holy water. Meantime, his followers swarmed in the neighboring streets, mercilessly slew the priests who endeavored to oppose their fierce fanaticism: the approaches to the University were closed, lest there should be a general massacre of the scholars.

The enormous host divided at Paris into three. One horde went towards Orleans and Bourges, one towards Bordeaux, one to the sea-coast at Marseilles. But though Paris, the seat of all wisdom and of the government, had received them, the southern cities had more courage; or the strange illusion had begun to dissipate of itself. The Shepherds entered Orleans, notwithstanding the resistance of the Bishop and the clergy; the citizens hailed their approach; the people crowded in countless numbers and rapt admiration around the Preacher. The Bishop issued his inhibition to all clerks, ordering them to keep aloof from the profane assembly: the wiser and older obeyed; some of the younger scholars were led by curiosity to hear one who preached unlicensed by Prelate, and who by his preaching had awed Paris and her famous University. The Master was in the pulpit; he was pouring forth his monstrous tenets: a scholar rushed forward, "Wicked heretic! foe to truth; thou liest in thy throat; thou deceivest the innocent with thy false and treacherous speech." He had hardly uttered these words, when his skull was cloven by one of the Master's followers. The scholars were pursued; the gates of the University broken in; a frightful butchery followed; their books were thrown into the Loire. By another account, the scholars made a gallant resistance. The Bishop, who had been forced to fly, left the city under an interdict, as having entertained these precursors of Antichrist. The complaints of the Bishop reached the ears of Queen Blanche. Her calm wisdom had returned. "I thought," she said, "that these people might recover the Holy Land

Division of the host. At Orleans.

in simplicity and sanctity; since they are impostors, be they excommunicated, scattered, destroyed."

They entered Bourges: notwithstanding the denun-
In Bourges. ciations of the Archbishop, the city had opened her gates. Here the first act of the Master of Hungary was to penetrate into the Jews' quarter, to plunder their houses, and burn their books. But in Bourges he was so rash, or so intoxicated with success, as not to content himself with the wonders of his eloquence: after the sermon he promised, or was said to have promised, to work the most amazing miracles. The people, eager for the miracles, were perhaps less wrought upon by the sermon: they waited in breathless expectation, but they waited in vain. At that moment of doubt and disappointment, a man (he is called an executioner) rushed forth, and clove the head of the Master with a two-edged axe; his brains were scattered on the pavement; his soul, as all then believed, went direct to hell. The Royal Bailiff of Bourges was at hand with his men-at-arms; he fell on the panic-stricken followers, cast the body into the common sewer to be torn by hounds. The excommunication was read; the whole host were pursued and massacred like mad dogs.

The second squadron met no better fate; Simon de
Bordeaux. Montfort closed the gates of Bordeaux against them, and threatened to sally out with his knights and behead them all. Their leader, the favorite companion of the Master of Hungary, was seized, bound hand and foot, and thrown into the Garonne; the scattered followers were seized, hanged; a few found their way home as wretched beggars. Some of these, and part

of the third division, reached Marseilles; but the hallucination was over; they were easily dispersed, most perished miserably. So suddenly began, so almost as suddenly ended this religious Jacquerie.[1] Marseilles.

The pontificates of Innocent IV. and of Alexander IV., besides these great insurrections of one order of society — the very lowest against all above them — beheld the growth of a less tumultuous but more lasting and obstinate civil war within the Church itself. The Mendicant Friars, from the humble and zealous assistants, the active itinerant subsidiary force of the hierarchy, rapidly aspired to be their rivals, their superiors — at least equal sharers, not only in their influence and their power, but also in their wealth and pomp; as far, at least, as in their buildings, their churches, their cloisters. They were no longer only among the poorest, the most ignorant of mankind: they were in the lordly halls of the nobles, in the palaces of kings. St. Louis, as we have heard, held them in such devout reverence, that if he could have divided his body, he would have given one half to either saint, Dominic or Francis. Civil war in the Church. Progress of the Mendicant orders.

Not only the Popes, the more religious of the hierarchy and of the old monastic orders, had hailed, welcomed, held in honor these new laborers, who took the hard and menial work in the lowly and neglected and despised part of the vineyard. The Popes had the wisdom to discern at once the power of this vast, silent, untraceable agency on the spiritual improvement of Christendom; its power, not only against vice, ignorance, irreligion, but against those who dared, in their

[1] I have chiefly followed Matt. Paris and William of Nangis, with some few facts from other chronicles.

independence of thought, to rebel at the doctrines — in the pride of temporal authority to contest the all-embracing supremacy of the See of Rome. We have seen them during the whole war with Frederick II. the demagogues of refractory subjects, the publishers and propagators of the fulminations of the Popes in all lands, the levellers of mankind before the Papal autocracy, the martyrs of the high Papal faith. Those of less worldly views saw them only as employed in their holier work. Conrad of Zahringen, the General of the Cistercian Order, when they established their first house at Paris, vowed brotherhood with the Friar Preachers. When Legate at Cologne, a priest complained that the Preachers interfered in his parish. "How many parishioners have you?" "Nine thousand." The Legate signed himself with the sign of the Cross: "Miserable man! presumest thou to complain, charged with so many souls, that these holy men would relieve you from part of your burden?"[1] Yet Conrad issued his mandate, that though the Friars might preach and administer the sacrament of penance, they should refuse it to all who withdrew themselves from the care of their legitimate pastor. Robert Grostète of Lincoln, as has been said, maintained them against his own negligent or luxurious clergy.

Conrad of Zahringen.

But their zeal or their ambition was not yet satisfied. They aspired to the chief seats of learning; they would rule the Universities, now rising to their height of fame and authority. Of all the universities beyond the Alps, Paris was then the most renowned. If Bologna might boast her civil

The Universities.

Paris.

[1] Ann. Cistercien. quoted in Hist. Littér. de la France, article "Conrad of Zahringen."

lawyers, Salerno her physicians, Paris might vie with these great schools in their peculiar studies, and in herself concentred the fame of all, especially of the highest — theology. The University of Paris had its inviolable privileges, its own endowments, government, laws, magistrates, jurisdiction; it was a state within a state, a city within a city, a church within a church. It refused to admit within its walls the sergeants of the Mayor of Paris, the apparitors of the Bishop of Paris it opened its gates sullenly and reluctantly to the King's officers. The Mendicants (the Dominicans and Franciscans) would teach the teachers of the world; they would occupy not only the pulpits in the churches, and spread their doctrines in streets and market-places, they would lay down the laws of philosophy, theology, perhaps of canonical jurisprudence, from the chairs of professors; and they would vindicate their hardy aspirations by equalling, surpassing the most famous of the University. Already the Dominicans might put forward their Albert the Great, the nearest approach to a philosopher; the Franciscans, the Englishman Alexander Hales, the subtlest of the new race of schoolmen. Aquinas and Bonaventura were to come. The jealous University, instead of receiving these great men as allies with open arms, rejected them as usurpers.[1]

But the University was in implacable war with the authorities of Paris; there was a perpetual feud, as in

[1] Tillemont indeed says, "L'Université les reçut même avec joie dans ses écoles, parceque leur vie paroissoit alors édifiante et utile au public, et qu'ils sembloient s'appliquer aux sciences avec autant d'humilité que d'ardeur et de succès. Mais elle éprouva bientôt qu'il est dangereux de donner entrée à des personnes trop puissantes, et de se lier avec ceux qui ont des desseins et des intérêts différens." See the laborious essay on Guillaume de St. Amour, Vie de Louis IX., p. 133 *et seq.*

other universities, between the town and the gown. However wild and unruly the youth, the University would maintain her prerogative of sole and exclusive jurisdiction over them. The sober citizens would not endure the riot, and worse than riot, of these profligate boys.[1] Their insolent corporate spirit did not respect the Cardinal Legate.[2] On one occasion (in 1228), in a fierce fray of many days, two scholars were killed by the city guard. The University haughtily demanded satisfaction; on the refusal closed her gates, suspended her lectures, at first maintained sullen silence, and then, at least a large portion of the scholars shook the dust from their feet, deserted the dark and ungrateful city, and migrated to Rheims, Orleans, Angers, even to Toulouse.[3] The Dominicans seized their opportunity; they obtained full license for a chair of theology from the Bishop of Paris and the Chancellor. On the return of the University to Paris, they found these powerful rivals in possession of a large share in the theologic instruction. Their reëstablishment, resisted by the Crown and by the Bishop of Paris (the Crown indignant that the University had presumed to confer degrees at Orleans and at Angers, the Bishop jealous of their exemption from his jurisdiction), was only effected by the authority of Pope Gregory IX. The Pontiff was anxious that Paris, the foundation of all sound learning, should regain her distinction. His mild and

[1] The scholars were forbidden to bear arms in 1218. The Official of Paris complains "qu'ils enfonçoient et brisoient les portes des maisons; qu'ils enlevoient les filles et les femmes." — Crevier, i. p. 334.

[2] Crevier, p. 335. The dispute was about the University seal.

[3] Crevier, 341. The reader who requires more full, learned, and prolix information, will consult Du Boulay, Hist. Univers. Paris. Crevier's is a clear, rapid, and skilful epitome of Du Boulay.

conciliatory counsels prevailed: the University resumed her station, and even obtained the valuable privilege that the Rector and Scholars were not liable to any excommunication not directly sanctioned by the Holy See.

Above twenty years of treacherous peace followed. The Mendicants were gaining in power, fame, influence, unpopularity. They encroached more and more on the offices, on the privileges of the clergy; stood more aloof from episcopal jurisdiction; had become, instead of the clergy and the older monasteries, the universal legatees; obscured the University by the renown of their great teachers. The university raised a loud outcry that there were twelve chairs of theology at Paris: of these, five out of the six colleges of the Regulars — the Cistercians, Premonstratensians, Val de Grace, Trinitarians, Franciscans — held each one, the Dominicans two; the Canons of Paris occupied three; there remained but two for the whole Secular Clergy.[1] They issued their edict suppressing one of the Dominicans: the Dominicans laughed them to scorn. The quarrel was aggravated by the refusal of the Dominican and Franciscan Professors to join the rest of the University in demanding justice for the death of a scholar slain in a fray.[2] The University passed a sentence of expulsion against the Dominican Professors. The Dominicans appealed to the Pope. They obtained, it was averred by false representations, a favorable award. Europe rang with the clamorous remonstrances of the University of Paris.

1231-1252. Dispute with the Dominicans.

1 Crevier, p. 396.

2 The University obtained justice; two men were hanged for the offence . . Crevier, p. 400.

They issued an address to the whole Episcopate of Christendom. "Would the Bishops, very many of whom had studied at Paris, allow that famous University, the foundation of the faith, to be shaken?"[1] They pressed their appeal before Pope Innocent IV. Innocent, a great student of the canon law, had always looked on the University of Paris with favor. The Mendicants had done their work; Frederick II. was dead; Innocent master of Italy. The Pope, who had alienated the University by his exactions and arrogance, endeavored to propitiate them by the sacrifice of his faithful allies the Friars. He promulgated his celebrated bull, subjugating the Mendicant Orders to episcopal authority. The next month Pope Innocent was dead. The Dominicans revenged themselves on the ungrateful Pontiff by assuming the merit of his death, granted to their prayers. "From the Litanies of the Dominicans, good Lord deliver us," became a proverbial saying.[2]

Bull of Pope Innocent.

Nov. 1254.

Alexander IV. was not the protector only, he was the humble slave of the Mendicants.[3] His first act was to annul the bull of his predecessor without reservation.[4] The Mendicants were at once reinstated in all their power. In vain the eloquent William (called St. Amour, from

Alexander IV.

William of St. Amour.

[1] "Si on attaque le fondement (de l'Eglise) qui est l'Ecole de Paris, tout l'édifice est mis en péril." — See Crevier, p. 407.

"Et se ne fust la bonne garde
De l'Université, qui garde
Le chief de la Chrêtienté."
*Roman de la Rose*, l. 12415.

[2] Antonini. Senens. in Chronic. Compare Hist. Lit. de la France, xix. p. 197, article William de St. Amour.

[3] The words of Crevier, p. 411.

[4] He was elected Dec. 12; revoked the bull Dec. 22.

the place of his birth in Franche Comté) maintained the privileges of the University: he returned discomfited, not defeated, to Paris. He was hailed as the acknowledged champion of the University, and devoted himself with dauntless courage and perseverance to the cause.[1] He not only asserted the privileges of the University; Paris rung with his denunciations of the Mendicants, of Mendicancy itself. He preached with a popularity rivalling or surpassing the best preachers of the Orders. He accused the Friars as going about into houses, leading astray silly women, laden with sins, usurping everywhere the rule over their consciences and men's property, aspiring to tyrannize over public opinion. "And who were they? No successors of the Apostles; they presumed to act in the Church with no spiritual lineage, with no tradition of authority; from them arose the 'Perils of the days to come.'"[2]

The Dominicans had boasted, according to the popular poet,[3] that they ruled supreme in Paris and in

[1] To William of St. Amour was attributed the bull of Innocent IV

"S'il n'avait en sa verité
L'acord de l'Université,
Et du peuple communement
Qui oyoient son prèchement."
*Roman de la Rose*, l. 12113.

[2] Opera Gulielm. St. Amour, Præf. p. 23.

[3] "Li Jacobin (Dominicains) sont si preudoume.
Qu'il ont Paris et si ont Roume,
Et si sont roi et Apostole
Et de l'avoir ont il grant soume.
Et qui se meurt, se il ne's nomme
Pour executeurs, s'âme afole,
Et sont apostre par parole.
* * * *
Lor haine n'est pas frivole,
Je, qui redout ma têste fole
Ne vous di plus mais qu'il sont home."
*Rutebeuf*. edit. Jubinal, i. 161.

Rome: they had lost Paris, but in Rome they ruled without rival. The first, the most famous, it is said, of forty bulls issued by Alexander IV., appeared during the next year.[1] It commenced with specious adulation of the University, ended with awarding complete victory to the Dominicans. While it seemed to give full power to the University, it absolutely annulled their statute of exclusion against the Dominicans. The Bishops of Orleans and Auxerre were charged with the execution of this bull; they were armed with ample powers of spiritual censure, of excommunicating, or suspending from their office all masters or scholars guilty of contumacy. The University defied or attempted to elude these censures. They obstinately refused to admit the Dominicans to their republic; they determined rather to dissolve the University; many masters and students withdrew, some returned and took up again their attitude of defiance. William de St. Amour was the special object of the hatred of the Mendicants. He was arraigned before the Bishop of Paris, at the suit of Gregory, a chaplain of Paris, as having disseminated a libel defamatory of the Pope. St. Amour appeared; but the courage of the accuser had failed, he was not to be found. St. Amour offered canonical purgation; to swear on the relics of the Holy Martyrs that he was guiltless of the alleged crime Four thousand scholars stood forward as his compurgators. The Bishop was forced to dismiss the charge.[2] In vain the four great Archbishops of France interfered

[1] This bull was called "Quasi lignum vitæ." The successive bulls may be read in the Bullarium.

[2] Crevier, from a letter of the students of the University to the Pope. It was possibly before the arrival of the bull.

to allay the strife; the pulpits rung with mutual criminations.

William of St. Amour and his zealous partisans arraigned the Mendicants, not merely as usurpers of the rights, offices, emoluments of the clergy, of heredipety and rapacity utterly at variance with their ostentatious poverty, but both orders, indiscriminately Dominicans as well as Franciscans, as believers in, as preachers and propagators of the *Everlasting Gospel*. This book, which became the manual, I had almost said the Bible of the spiritual Franciscans, must await its full examination till those men — the Fraticelli — come before us in their formidable numbers and no less formidable activity. Suffice it here, that the Everlasting Gospel, the prophetic book ascribed to the Abbot Joachim, or rather the introduction to the Everlasting Gospel, proclaimed the approach, the commencement of the Last Age of the World, that of the Holy Ghost. The Age of the Father — that of the Law — had long since gone by; that of the Son was ebbing on its last sands; and with the Age of the Son, the Church, the hierarchy, its power, wealth, splendor, were to pass away. The Age of the Holy Ghost was at hand, it was in its dawn. The Holy Ghost would renew the world in the poverty, humility, Christian perfection of St. Francis. The Everlasting Gospel superseded and rendered useless the other four. It suited the enemies of the Mendicants to involve both Orders in this odious charge: the Introduction to the Everlasting Gospel was by some attributed to the Dominicans, its character, its spirit, its tone, were unquestionably Franciscan.[1]

The Eternal Gospel.

[1] Matt. Paris (sub ann. 1256), Richer. Cronic. Senens., and the authors

These two rival Orders had followed in their development the opposite character of their founders. To the stern, sober, practical views of Dominic had succeeded stern, sober, practical Generals. The mild, mystic, passionate Francis was followed by men all earnest and vehement, but dragged different ways by conflicting passions: the passion for poverty, as the consummation and perfection of all religion; the passion for other ends to which poverty was but the means, and therefore must be followed out with less rigor. The first General, Elias, even in the lifetime of the Saint, tampered with the vow of holy poverty; he was deposed, as we have heard, became no longer the partisan of the Pope, but of Frederick II., was hardly permitted on his death-bed to resume the dress of the Order.[1] It may be presumed that Crescentius, the sixth General, was, from age or temper, less rigorous as to this vital law. He, too, was deposed from his high place, and John of Parma became General of the Order. John of Parma[2] was, it might be said (if St. Francis him-

of the Roman de la Rose, attribute the Everlasting Gospel to the Dominicans. Such was the tone in Paris. According, however, to the Roman de la Rose, it had another author: —

"Ung livre de par le grant Diable,
Dit l'Evangile pardurable,
Que le Saint Esperit ministre,
Bien est digne d'être brulé.
* * * *
Tant surmonte ceste Evangile,
Ceulx que les quatre Evangelistres
Jesu-Christ firent a leurs tiltres."
—L. 12444, &c.

It appeared, according to the poet William de Lorris, in 1250: it was in the hands of every man and woman in the "parvis Nôtre Dame."

[1] Chroniques des Frères Mineurs, c. xlii. p. 27.

[2] The best account which I have read of John of Parma is in the Hist Littéraire de la France, t. xx. p. 23. But the whole of this development of spiritual Franciscanism will be more fully traced hereafter.

self was not the parent of the Spiritualist Franciscans), that parent; he was the extremest of the extreme. His first act was a visitation of all the monasteries of the Order, the enforcement of that indispensable virtue which would brook no infringement whatever. John of Parma was employed by Innocent IV. in Greece, in an endeavor to reconcile the Oriental schism. In 1251 he was again in Rome. In 1256, exactly the very year in which came forth the daring book of William de St. Amour, there were strange rumors, sullen suppressed murmurs against John of Parma. He was deposed, and only by the influence of the Cardinal Ottobuoni permitted to dwell in retirement at Reate. There seems but slight doubt that he was deposed as the author of the Introduction to the Everlasting Gospel.[1] It needed all the commanding gentleness, the unrivalled learning, the depth of piety, in St. Bonaventura, the new General, to allay the civil feud, and delay for some years the fatal schism among the followers of St. Francis — the revolt of the Spiritualists from the Order.

The war continued to rage in Paris, notwithstanding a short truce brought about by the King and the Bishops. Bull after bull arrived.[2] Pope Alexander appealed at length to the King; he demanded of the secular power the exile of the obstinate leaders of the Anti-Mendicant party, William de St. Amour, Eudes of Douai, Nicolas Dean of Bar-sur-Aube, and Chris-

[1] It was the great object of Wadding and of Staraglia to release the memory of a General of their order from the authorship of an heretical book. It is attributed to him, or to Gerard di Borgo san Donnino, under his auspices, by Nicolas Eymeric. Direct. Inquis. ii. v. 24. Bzovius. sub ann. 1250. Bulæus, p. 299. See also Tillemont's impartial summing up, p. 157.

[2] Tillemont, p. 182.

tian Canon of Beauvais.[1] Before the King (St. Louis), whose awful reverence and passionate attachment to the Mendicant Orders were well known, had determined on his course, William of St. Amour had published his terrible book on the "Perils of the Last Times." This book, written in the name, perhaps with the aid and concurrence of the theologians of the University, was more dangerous, because it denounced not openly the practices of the Friars, but it was a relentless, covert, galling exposure of them and of their proceedings. That they were meant as the forerunners of Antichrist, the irrefragable signs of the "perils of the last times," none could doubt. The book was sent by the indignant King himself to Rome. The University had endeavored in vain to anticipate the more rapid movements of their adversary. They had despatched a mission (the very four men condemned by the Pope) to Rome, bearing the Introduction to the Everlasting Gospel, and demanding the condemnation of that flagrantly heretical book.[2] They had obtained letters of recommendation from all the chapters in the province of Rheims.

The Perils of the Last Times.

Ere they arrived, the all-powerful Dominicans had struck their blow. The "Perils of the Last Times" had been submitted to the examination of four Cardinals, one of them a Dominican — Hugo de St. Cher, who sat as judge in his own cause. It was condemned as unjust, wicked, execrable; it was burned in the presence of the Pope, before the Cathedral at Anagni.

[1] On these men compare Tillemont, p. 144. Thomas Canteprat, among later writers the great enemy of William de St. Amour, admits that he seduced the clergy and people of Rome by his eloquence.

[2] The Introduction had been before or was now formally condemned at Rome.

William de St. Amour stood alone in Rome against the Pope Alexander, the Cardinals, and the Dominicans, headed by Hugo de St. Cher.[1] He conducted his defence with consummate courage and no less consummate address. It was impossible to fix upon him the fatal guilt of heresy.[2] His health began to fail; he was prohibited for a time from returning to France, perhaps was not sorry to obey the prohibition. He does not seem even to have been deprived of his benefices.[3] His quiet place of exile was his native St. Amour, in Franche Comté, not yet in the dominions of France. He was followed by the respect and fond attachment of the whole University.

Exile of William of St. Amour.

But it is singular that William of St. Amour was not only the champion of the learned University, he was the hero of Parisian vulgar poetry. Notwithstanding that the King, and that King St. Louis, espoused the cause of the Mendicants, the people were on the other side. The popular Preachers, and the popular ministers, who had sprung from the people, spoke the language, expressed at the same time and excited the sympathies and the religious passions of the lowest of the low, had ceased to be popular. They had been even outpreached by William of St. Amour. The Book of the Perils of the Last Times was disseminated in the vulgar tongue. The author of the romance of the Rose,[4] above all, Rutebeuf, in

Popular party.

[1] On Hugo de St. Cher, Tillemont, p. 15.

[2] It was condemned "non propter hæresim quam continebat sed quia contra præfatos religiosos seditionem et scandala concitabat." — G. Nangis.

[3] Tillemont, p. 212.

[4] "Si j'en devoye perdre la vie,
Ou estre mys contre droiture.
Comme Saint Pol, en chartre obscure,

his rude verse addressed to the vulgar of all orders, heaped scorn and hatred on the Mendicants.[1]

Great schoolmen.

The war between the University and the Dominicans continued, if in less active, in sullen obstinacy. They were still the rival powers, who would not coalesce, each striving to engross public education. Yet after all the Mendicants won a noble victory, not by the authority of the Pope, nor by the influence of the King, but by outshining the fame of the University through their own unrivalled teachers. On the death of Alexander IV., William of St. Amour returned to Paris; he was received with frantic rapture.[2] His later book,[3] more cautious, yet not less

> Ou estre banny du Royaulme,
> A tort, comme fut Maistre Guillaume
> De St. Amour, que ypocrisie
> Fist exiller par grant envie."
>
> *Roman de la Rose*, l. 12123.

Lorris talks of scorning "papelorderie." Paris writes, "Subsannavit populus, eleemosynas consuetas subtrahens, vocans eos hypocritas, antichristi successores (ante-cessores?) pseudo-prædicatores."

[1] See especially the two poems, de Maistre Guillaume de St. Amour, pp. 71 and 78, "or est en son pais reclus" — on St. Amour, p. 81.

> "Ou a nul si vaillant homme,
> Qui por l'apostoille de Romme,
> Ne por le roi,
> Ne veut desreer son error,
> Ainz en a souffert le desror
> De perdre honor?" — P. 85.

Compare also "La Bataille des Vices contre les Vertus" (ii. p. 65), "La Discorde de l'Université et les Jacobins," "Les Ordres de Paris," &c. &c., with constant reference to the notes. The curious reader will not content himself with the valuable edition of Rutebeuf by M. Jubinal; he will consult also the excellent article by M. Paullin Paris in the Hist. Lit. de la France, xx. p. 710. Rutebeuf reads to me like our Skelton; he has the same flowing rapid doggrel, the same satiric verse, with not much of poetry, but both are always alive.

[2] May 1261. "Debacchantibus summâ in lætitiâ omnibus Magistris Parisiensibus." — Du Boulay.

[3] Collectiones Catholicæ.

hostile, was received with respect and approbation by Pope Clement IV.[1] Yet who could deny, who presume to question, the transcendent fame, the complete mastery of the Dominicans in theology, and that philosophy which in those days aspired not to be more than the humble handmaid of theology? (Albert the Great might, perhaps, have views of more free and independent science, and so far, of course, became a suspected magician.) Who could compete with their Doctors, Hugo de St. Cher, Albert the Great, Thomas of Aquino? The Franciscans, too, had boasted their Alexander Hales, they had now their Bonaventura: Duns Scotus, the rival of Aquinas, was speedily to come.[2] The University could not refuse to itself the honor of conferring its degrees on Aquinas,[3] and on Bonaventura. And still the rivals in scholastic theology, who divided the world (the barren it might be,

[1] See on this book, and others, Hist. Lit. de la France, article St. Amour, t. xix. 197. To his earlier works belongs, not only the "De Periculis" (in his works and in Fasciculus of Brown, who translated it with some sermons), but also a book, De Antichristo, under the pseudonyme of Nicolas de Oresme. The object of this is to show the coming of Antichrist, of which the chief signs are the setting up the Everlasting Gospel against the true Gospels, and the multitudes of false preachers, false prophets, wandering and begging friars. — Ibid. See also account of the writings of Gerard of Abbeville, another powerful antagonist of the Mendicants.

[2] Those who esteemed themselves the genuine Franciscans, always sternly protested against the pride of learning, to which their false brethren aspired in the universities. Hear Jacopone da Todi:

> "Tal è, qual è, tal è,
> Non c' e religione
> Mal vedemmo Parigi,
> Che n' a destrutto Assisi.
> Colla sua lettoria
> L' han messo in mala via."

[3] Thomas Aquinas condescended to answer William of St. Amour. See Adversus Impugnantes Religionem.

and dreary intellectual world, yet in that age the only field for mental greatness), were the descendants of the representatives of the two Orders. The Scotists and the Thomists fought what was thought a glorious fight on the highest metaphysics of the Faith, till the absorbing question, the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin, arose to commit the two Orders in mortal and implacable antagonism.

Secular clergy and Mendicants.

The hatred of the Mendicants might seem to pass over to the secular clergy. In every part of Europe the hierarchy still opposed with dignity or with passion the encroachments of these fatal rivals. More than twenty years later met a National Council at Paris. Four Archbishops and twenty Bishops took their seats in a hall of the Episcopal Palace. The Masters, Doctors, Bachelors, and Students of the University, were summoned to hear the decrees of the Council. The heads of the other religious orders, not Mendicant, had their writs of convocation. Simon de Beaulieu, Archbishop of Bourges, took the lead. In a grave sermon, he declared that charity to their flocks demanded their interposition; their flocks, for whom they were bound to lay down their lives. He inveighed against the Dominicans and the Franciscans, who were sowing discord in every diocese, in every rank, preaching and hearing confessions without license from the Bishop and the curate. Their insolence must be repressed. He appealed to the University to join in an appeal to the Pope to define more rigidly their asserted privileges. William of Macon, Bishop of Amiens, the most learned jurist in France, followed: he explained the bull of Innocent IV., which prohibited the Friars from preaching, hearing confessions, imposing penance

without permission of the Bishop or lawful pastor. The whole clergy of France were ready to shed their blood in defence of their rights and duties.[1]

[1] This is well related in the Hist. Lit. de la France, t. xxi. article Simon de Beaulieu.

## CHAPTER III.

### URBAN IV. CLEMENT IV. CHARLES OF ANJOU.

Alexander IV. died an exile from Rome at Viterbo. Either from indolence or irresolution, he had allowed the College of Cardinals to dwindle to the number of eight. These eight were of various nations and orders: two Bishops, Otho a Frenchman, Stephen an Hungarian; two Presbyters, John an English Cistercian, Hugo a Dominican from Savoy; four Deacons, Richard a Roman, and Octavian a Tuscan of noble birth, John another Roman, Ottobuoni a Genoese. There was no prevailing interest, no commanding name. More than three months passed in jealous dispute. The strife was fortuitously ended by the appearance of James Pantaleon, the Patriarch of Jerusalem. He was elevated by sudden acclamation to the Papal throne.

Death of Alexander IV. June 12, 1261

The Patriarch was a son of a cobbler at Troyes:[1] and it was a wonderful sight, as it were, a provocation to the first principles of Christianity, to behold in those days of feudal monarchy and feudal aristocracies a man of such base parentage in the highest dignity upon

[1] "Pauperculi veteramentarii calceamenta resarcientis" — S. Antonin. iii. xiv. p. 59 — big words to describe a cobbler. According to the Hist. Littér. (article Urban IV., t. xiv. p. 49), there is a tapestry at Troyes, in the Church of St. Urban, representing Pantaleon (the father) in his shop full of boots and shoes, and his mother spinning and watching little James.

earth. James had risen by regular steps up the ascent of ecclesiastical advancement, a Priest at Laon, a Canon at Lyons, Archdeacon of Liège, a Missionary Legate in Livonia, Pomerania, and Prussia,[1] a pilgrim and Patriarch of Jerusalem. Such a man could not so have risen without great abilities or virtues. But if the rank in which he was born was honorable, the place was inauspicious. Had the election not fallen on a Frenchman, Italy might perhaps have escaped the descent of Charles of Anjou, with its immediate crimes and cruelties; and the wars almost of centuries, which had their origin in that fatal event. Any Pope, indeed, must have had great courage to break through the traditional policy of his predecessors (where the whole power rests on tradition, a bold, if not a perilous act). Urban must have recanted the long-cherished hatred and jealousy of the house of Hohenstaufen; he must have clearly foreseen (himself a Frenchman) that the French dominion in Naples would be as fatal as the German to the independence of Italy and of the Church; that Charles of Anjou would soon become as dangerous a neighbor as Manfred.

Urban IV. took up his residence in Viterbo: already might appear his determined policy to renew the close alliance between the Papacy and his native France. The holy character of Louis, who by the death of Frederick and the abeyance of the Empire, by the wars of the Barons against Henry of England, had become the most powerful monarch in Christendom, gave further

[1] See in Voigt, Geschichte Preussens, ii. p. 591, his wise conduct as a mediator between the Teutonic Order, and Swartobol, Duke of Pomerania, the ally of the heathen Prussians.

preponderance to his French inclinations.[1] He filled up the College of Cardinals with fourteen new prelates, at least one half of whom were French.

The Empire. The Empire still hung in suspense between the conflicting claims of Richard of Cornwall and Alfonso of Castile: Urban, with dexterous skill, perpetuated the anarchy. By timely protestation, and by nicely balancing the hopes of both parties, that his adjudication, earnestly and submissively sought by both, would be in favor of each, he suppressed a growing determination to place the crown on the head of young Conradin. Against this scheme Urban raised his voice with all the energy of his predecessors, and dwelt with the same menacing censure on the hereditary and indelible crimes of the house of Swabia: he threatened excommunication on all who should revive the claims of that impious race. After a grave examination of the pretensions of Richard of Cornwall and Alfonso of Castile, he cited both parties to plead their cause before him, and still drew out, with still baffled expectations of a speedy sentence, the controversy which he had no design to close.

The Latin Empire of Constantinople had fallen: Baldwin II. sought refuge, and only found refuge in the West. The Greek Palæologi were on the throne of the East, and seemed not indisposed to negotiate on the religious question with the Pope. The Holy Land, the former diocese of Pope Urban, was in the most deplorable state: the Sultan of Babylon had risen again in irresistible power; he had overrun the whole country; the Christians were hardly safe in Ptolemaïs. In

[1] See in Raynaldus the verses of Theodoricus Vallicolor, sub ann. 1262, sub fine

vain the Pope appealed to his own countrymen in behalf of his old beloved diocese; the clergy of France withheld their contributions, and whether from some jealousy of their lowly countryman, now so much above them; or since the cause had so utterly failed even under their King, it might seem absolutely desperate, the Archbishops of Sens and of Bourges were unmoved by the Papal rebukes or remonstrances, and continued, at least not to encourage the zeal of their clergy. Crusade fails.

The affairs of Italy and Naples threatened almost the personal safety of the Pope. Manfred was at the height of his power; he no longer deigned to make advances for reconciliation, which successive Popes seemed to treat with still stronger aversion. Everywhere Ghibellinism was in the ascendant. The Marquis Pallavicini and Buoso da Doara at the head of the Cremonese, maintained more than an equal balance in Lombardy. Pisa and Sienna, rampant after the fall of the Guelfic rule in Florence, received the letters of the Pope with civil contempt. It might appear that Manfred was admitted into the rank of the legitimate Sovereigns of Christendom. In vain the Pope denounced the wickedness, the impiety of a connection with an excommunicated family, the King of Arragon did not scruple to marry his son to the daughter of Manfred. The marriage of the son of Louis of France to the daughter of Arragon, increased the jealous alarm of the Pope. Even Louis did not permit the Papal remonstrances to interfere with these arrangements. Manfred.

Miserable, in the mean time, was the state of Italy. Scarcely a city or territory from the confines State of Italy.

of Apulia to the Alps was undisturbed by one of those accursed feuds, either of nobles against the people, or of Guelfs against Ghibellines. Nowhere was rest. Now one party, now another must dislodge from their homes, and go into exile. Urban could not remain in Rome. The stronger cities were waging war on the weaker. All the labors of the Holy Inquisition and all the rigor of their penalties, instead of extirpating the heresy of the Paterins and various Manichean sects, might seem to promote their increase. In general, it was enough to be Ghibelline, and to oppose the Church, down came the excommunication; all sacred offices ceased. It may be well imagined how deeply all this grieved religious men, the triumph and joy of the heretics.[1]

Only to France could the Pope, even if no Frenchman, have looked for succor if determined to maintain the unextinguished feud with Manfred. Already the crown of Naples had been offered to Charles of Anjou. Urban IV. first laid it at the feet of Louis himself, either for his brother or one of his sons. But the delicate conscience of Louis revolted from the usurpation of a crown, to which were already three claimants of right. If it was hereditary, it belonged to Conradin; if at the disposal of the Pope, it was already awarded, and had not been surrendered by Edmund of England; and Manfred was on the throne, summoned, it might seem, by the voice of the nation. Manfred's claim, as maintained by an irreligious alliance with the Saracens, and as the possession of a Christian throne by one accused of favoring the Saracens, might easily

[1] See this and much more to the same effect in Muratori, Annal. sub ann. 1263.

be dismissed; but there was strong doubt as to the others. The Pope, who perhaps from the first had preferred the more active and enterprising Charles of Anjou, because he could not become King of France, in vain argued and took all the guilt on his own head:[1] "the soul of Louis was as precious to the Pope and the cardinals as to himself." Louis did not refuse his assent to the acceptance of the crown by his brother. It is said, that he was glad to rid his court, if not his realm, which he was endeavoring to subdue to monastic gravity, of his gayer brother, who was constantly summoning tournaments, was addicted to gaming, and every other knightly diversion.[2]

Charles of Anjou might seem designated for this service. Valiant, adventurous, with none of that punctilious religiousness which might seem to set itself above ecclesiastical guidance, yet with all outward respect for the doctrine and ceremonial of the Church; with vast resources, holding, in right of his wife, the principality of Provence; he was a leader whom all the knighthood of France, who were eager to find vent for their valor, and to escape the peaceful inactivity or dull control under which they were kept by the scrupulous justice of Louis IX., would follow with eager zeal. Charles had hardly yet shown that intense selfishness and cruelty which, in the ally, in the king chosen by the Pope for his vassal realm, could not but recoil upon the Pope himself. He had already indeed besieged and taken Marseilles, barbarously executed all the citizens who

[1] Epist. to Albert of Parma, the notary who was empowered to treat as to the conditions of the assumption of the throne of Naples. — Raynald., sub ann. 1262.

[2] "Quies sui regni, quam perturbabat Carelus in torneamentis et aleis." — Ptolom., Luc. c. xxv.

had defended the liberties of their town, and abrogated all the rights and privileges of that flourishing municipality. His ambitious wife, Beatrice of Provence, jealous of being the sister of three queens, herself no queen, urged her unreluctant husband to this promising enterprise. But the Pope had still much to do; there were disputes between the sisters, especially the Queen of France and the Countess of Provence, on certain rights as coheiresses of that land. Though the treaty was negotiated, drawn up, perhaps actually signed, it was not yet published. It was thought more safe and decent to obtain a formal abjuration of his title from Edmund of England.

England. A.D. 1263.

Bartholomew Pignatelli, Archbishop of Cosenza, a Guelfic prelate of noble blood, received a commission as legate to demand the surrender of the crown of Sicily. He was afterwards to lay the result of his mission before Louis of France, in order to obtain his full consent to the investiture of Charles of Anjou. Henry III., threatened by the insurrection of his barons, might well be supposed wholly unable to assert the pretensions of his son to a foreign crown; yet he complained with some bitterness that the treasures of England, so long poured into the lap of the Pontiff, had met with such return.[1] Urban endeavored to allay his indignation by espousing his cause against the Earl of Leicester (Simon de Montfort) and the Barons of England: he absolutely annulled all their leagues.[2] William, Archdeacon of

[1] See despatch to Archbishop of Cosenza, MS., B. M., July 25. 1263. to the King, ibid. v. x. Instructions at full length, dated Orvieto. Oct. 4.

[2] "Conjurationes omnes cassamus et irritamus. Ad fideles." — MS., B. M., 23d Aug. 1263.

Paris, the Pope's chaplain, had power to relieve Henry from all his constitutional oaths.[1] As the war became more imminent, more inevitable, both before and after the rejection of the award in favor of the King by the acknowledged arbiter, Louis IX., the Pope adhered with imperious fidelity to the King. Ugo Falcodi, Cardinal of St. Sabina, was sent as Legate, to command the vassal kingdom to peace: the rebellious subjects were to be ordered to submit to their sovereign, and abandon their audacious pretensions to liberty. The Legate was armed with the amplest power to prohibit the observation of all the statutes, though sworn to by the King, the Queen, and the prince; to suspend and depose all prelates or ecclesiastics; to deprive all counts, barons, or laymen, who held in fee estates of the Church, and to proceed at his discretion to any spiritual or temporal penalties.[2] He had power to provide for all who should accompany him to England by canonries or other benefices.[3] He had power of ecclesiastical censure against archbishops, bishops, monasteries, exempt or not exempt, and all others.[4] He had power to depose all ecclesiastics in rebellion,[5] and of appointing loyal clerks to their benefices.[6] In the case of the

1 MS., B. M., letter to Archdeacon of Paris.

2 "Ad quorum observantiam ipsos decrevimus non tenere, eosdem prælatos et clericos per suspensionis sententiam ab officiis, dignitatibus, honoribus et beneficiis: comites vero, barones et laicos prædictos per privationem feudorum et omnium bonorum, quæ a quibusdam Ecclesiis prædicti regni et aliis detinent et alios spiritualiter et temporaliter, prout expedire videris." — MS., B. M., Nov. 23, 1263. See also the next letter.

3 "Non obstante Statuto Ecclesiarum ipsarum de certo clericorum numero, juramento, confirmatione, sive quâcunque firmitate, vallato." — Ibid. v. xi. p. 48.

4 "Communia universitatis et populos locorum quorumlibet."

5 Clerks, "indevoti, ingrati, inobedientes."

6 Even at this time peremptory orders were given for provision for Italian

rebellions of archbishops or prelates, counts or barons, indulgences were to be granted to all who would serve or raise soldiers for the King, as if they went to the Holy Land:[1] the friar preachers and friar minors were to aid the King to the utmost.[2] After the award of the King of France, which the Pope confirmed,[3] Urban becomes even more peremptory; he commands the infamous provision, one of those of Oxford, to be erased from the statute book; all those of Oxford are detestable and impious; he marks with special malediction that which prohibited the introduction of apostolic bulls or briefs into the realm, and withheld the rich subsidies from Rome.[4] The Archbishop was to excommunicate all who should not submit to the award. The King's absolute illimitable power is asserted in the strongest terms.[5] The expulsion of strangers, and the assumption of exclusive authority by native Englishmen, are severely reprobated.[6]

But the Cardinal Legate dared not to land in the island — even the Archbishop Boniface (of Savoy) would not venture into his province. Erelong the

ecclesiastics in the English Church. John de Ebulo claimed the deanery of St. Paul's. The chapter resisted. He resigned the deanery, but accepted a canonry; till a canonry should be vacant, a certain pension. — P. 170.

[1] Orvieto, Nov. 27, 1263.

[2] Ibid., Nov. 27.

[3] Rymer, i. 776, 778, 780, 784.

[4] The Pope's letters, at least, were after the award. "Nonnulli male dictionis alumpni, quædam statuta nepharia in depressionem libertatis ejusdem promulgasse dicuntur, videlicet quod quicunque literas apostolicas aut ipsius archepiscopi in Angliam deferre præsumpserit, graviter puniatur." — Orvieto, Feb. 20, 1264.

[5] "Plenaria potestate in omnibus et per omnia." — Ibid.

[6] The King of France "Retractavit et cassavit illud statutum, per quod regnum Angliæ debebat per indigenas gubernari, et alienigenæ tenebantur ad eodem exire, ad illum minime reversuri." — Ibid.

whole realm, the King himself, and Prince Edward are in the power of the barons. The Legate must content himself with opening his court at Boulogne. There he issued his unobeyed citation to the barons to appear, pronounced against them the sentence of excommunication, and placed London and the Cinque Ports under an interdict.[1] Ugo Falcodi, when Pope, cherished a bitter remembrance of these affronting contempts.

Affairs of Naples.

Although the negotiations were all this time proceeding in secret with Charles of Anjou, the Pope cited Manfred to appear before him to answer on certain charges, which he published to the world.[2] They comprehended various acts of cruelty, the destruction of the city of Aria by the Saracens, the execution, called murder, of certain nobles, contempt of the ecclesiastical interdict, attachment to Mohammedan rites, the murder of an ambassador of Conradin.[3] Manfred approached the borders; but the Pope insisted that he should be accompanied by only eighty men: Manfred refused to trust himself to a Papal safe-conduct.

Advance of Manfred.

But as he was not permitted to approach in peace, Manfred, well informed of the transactions with Charles of Anjou, threatened to approach in war.[4] From Florence, from Pisa, from Sienna, the German and Saracen, as well as the Apulian and Sicilian forces began to draw towards Orvieto. The Pope hastily summoned a Council: and some troops came to his aid from various quarters. But a

1 "Propter imminentem turbationem." Feb. 15. His citations were to be valid, if issued in France. The Bishop of Lincoln was cited for various acts of contumacy to the Holy See. — June 4, 1264.

2 Oct. 20, 1264. 3 Raynaldus, sub ann. 4 Giannone, xix. 1

sudden event seemed to determine the descent of Charles of Anjou upon Italy, and brought at once the protracted negotiations, concerning the terms of his acceptance of the throne of Naples, to a close. The Roman people, having risen against the nobles, and cast many of them out of the city, determined on appointing a senator of not less than royal rank. One party proposed Manfred, another his son-in-law, the King of Arragon, a third Charles of Anjou. The Pope was embarrassed: he was compelled to maintain Charles of Anjou against his competitors: and yet a great sovereign as senator of Rome, and for life (as it was proposed), was the death-blow to the Papal rule in Rome. Charles of Anjou felt his strength; he yielded to the Pope's request to limit the grant of the senatorship to five years; but he seized the opportunity to lower the terms on which he was to be invested with the realm of Naples. He demanded a diminution of the tribute of ten thousand ounces of gold which Naples was to pay annually to the See of Rome: such demand was unjust to him who was about to incur vast expense in the cause of Rome; unjust to Naples, which would be burdened with heavy taxation; impolitic, as preventing the new King from treating his subjects with splendid liberality. He required that the descent of the crown should be in the female as well as in the male line: that he should himself judge of the number of soldiers necessary for the expedition. He demanded the abrogation of the stipulation, that if any of his posterity should obtain the Empire, Lombardy or Tuscany, the crown of Naples should pass from them; the enlargement of the provision, that only a limited extent of possession in Lombardy or

Charles of Anjou Senator of Rome.

in Tuscany should be tenable with the Neapolitan crown.

Charles was so necessary to Urban, the weight of Urban's influence was so powerful in Rome, that the treaty was at length signed. Charles sent a representative to Rome to accept the Senatorship.[1]

Manfred now kept no measures with the hostile Pope. His Saracen troops on one side, his German on the other, broke into the Roman territories. But a crusading army of Guelfs of some force had arisen around the Pope; and some failures and disasters checked the career of Manfred. Pandolf, Count of Anguillara, recovered Sutri from the Saracens. Peter de Vico, a powerful noble, had revolted from the Pope, and having secret intelligence in Rome, hoped to betray the city into the power of Manfred: he was repelled by the Romans. Percival d'Oria, who had captured many of the Guelfic castles, was accidentally drowned in the river Negra, during a battle near Reate: his death was bruited abroad as a miracle. Yet was not the Pope safe; Orvieto began to waver: he set forth to Perugia; he died on the road.

Oct. 2 or 10. 1264.

Death of Urban IV. Oct. 2. 1264.

Christendom at this peculiar crisis awaited with trembling anxiety the determination of the conclave: but this suspense of nearly five months did not arise altogether out of the dissensions in that body. Urban IV. had secured the predominance of the French interest: the election had been long made before it was published. It had fallen on Ugo Falcodi, that Papal Legate, who, on the northern

Clement IV Feb. 5, 1265.

[1] Charles agreed to surrender the senatorship when master of Naples How far did he intend to observe this condition? — See Sismondi, p. 141.

shore of France, was issuing Urban's sentence of excommunication against the Barons of England, while that Pope was no longer living. Ugo Falcodi was born at St. Gilles upon the Rhone: he had been married before he took orders, and had two daughters. He was profoundly learned in the law; from the Archdiaconate of Narbonne he had been brought to Italy, and created Cardinal of St. Sabina. Of his policy there could be no doubt; Manfred has but a new and more vigorous enemy; Charles of Anjou a more devoted friend. The Cardinal of St. Sabina passed secretly over the Alps, suddenly appeared at Perugia, accepted the tiara, assumed the name of Clement IV., and then took up his residence at Viterbo.

Yet Manfred could hardly have dreaded a foe so active, so implacable, so unscrupulous, or Charles hoped for an ally so zealous, so obsequious, above all, so prodigal. Letters were despatched through Christendom, to England, to France, urging immediate succor to the Holy See, imperilled by the Saracen Manfred, and trusting for her relief only to the devout Charles. Everywhere the tenths were levied, notwithstanding the murmurs of Bishops and clergy; tenths still under the pretext of aid for Constantinople and Jerusalem. It was rebellion to refuse to pay; the Pope was even lavish of the Papal treasures; he pledged the ecclesiastical estates; usurious interest accumulated on the principal. A loan of 100,000 livres was raised on the security of the possessions of the Church in Rome (in vain many of the Cardinals protested), even on the churches from whence the Cardinals took their titles: St. Peter's, the Lateran, the Hospitals, and the convent of St. George were alone excepted. The Legates, the

Prelates, the Mendicants were ordered to preach the Crusade with unwearied activity. They had new powers of absolution; they might admit as soldiers of Christ incendiaries, those excommunicated for refusing to pay tenths, sacrilegious persons, astrologers, those who had struck a clerk, or sold merchandise to Mohammedans, ecclesiastics under interdict, or under suspension, married clerks; those who, in violation of the canons, had practised law or physic. All attempts were made to maintain the Papal interests in Rome, and to excite revolt in the kingdom of Naples.[1]

Charles of Anjou had now declared himself Senator of Rome, and invested with the crown of Naples. He had been long collecting his forces for the conquest. But Italy might seem to refuse access to the stranger. The Ghibellines were in the ascendant in Lombardy. The Marquis Pallavicini and Buoso da Doara, with the Cremonese, watched the passes of the Alps. The fleets of Pisa and of Manfred swept the sea with eighty galleys; the mouth of the Tiber was stopped by a great dam of timber and stone. But courage and fortune favored Charles: he boldly set sail from Marseilles with hardly more than twenty galleys and one thousand men-at-arms. A violent storm scattered the fleet of Pisa and Naples: he entered the Tiber, broke through all obstacles, and appeared at Rome at Pentecost, the time appointed for his inauguration as Senator. He chose for his abode the Pope's Lateran palace. That was an usurpation which the Pope could not endure: he sent a strong remonstrance against the presumption of the Senator of Rome, who had dared without permission to occupy the abode of

Charles at Rome

[1] Martene. Compare Cherrier, iv. 79.

the Pope: he was commanded to quit the palace and seek some more fitting residence. Yet even at this time Clement IV. insisted on dictating the terms on which Charles was to hold the kingdom of Naples, its reversion to the Papacy in default of heirs of his line, its absolute incompatibility with the Empire, the tribute of eight thousand crowns of gold, the homage and the white horse in token of fealty. Manfred attempted to provoke Charles to battle before the arrival of his main army; he advanced with a large force, many of them Saracens, to the neighborhood of Rome. The prudence of the Pope restrained the impatience of Charles.[1]

It was not till the end of the summer that the main army of Charles came down the pass of Mont Cenis into friendly Piedmont. It was splendidly provided, and boasted some of the noblest knights of France and Flanders. The Pope had absolved all those who had taken the cross for the Holy Land: equal hopes of Heaven were attached to this new Crusade against Manfred, whom it was the policy to represent as more than half a Saracen. The Legate, Cardinal of St. Cecilia, had exacted a tenth from the French clergy. Robert of Bethune took the command; Guy of Beau vais, Bishop of Auxerre, was among the most distinguished warriors; there were Vendôsmes, Montmorencies, Mirepoixs, De Montforts, Sullys, De Beaumonts.

Advance of the army.

The Ghibellines made a great show of resistance: the Carroccios of Pavia, Cremona, and Piacenza moved out as to a great battle. But the French army passed on, threatened Brescia; Milan and the Marquis of Montferrat ventured not to take their part openly, but supplied them with provisions.

[1] Raynaldus, sub ann. 1265.

But through the treachery of the Ghibellines, bought, according to some writers of the time, by French gold, or intimidated by the great French force, which the Chronicles, perhaps faithfully recording the rumors of the day, represented as sixty thousand, forty thousand, thirty thousand strong, the allies of Manfred[1] finally stood aloof in sullen passiveness. The French reached the Po. They advanced still without serious encounter, and joined their master in Rome. Charles, In Rome. though it was the depth of winter, allowed no long repose. He advanced to Ceperano, with the In Naples. Legate, the Cardinal St. Angelo, preaching the Crusade on the way. Manfred prepared himself for a gallant resistance; but he had neither calculated on the treachery of some of his own subjects, nor on the impetuous valor of the French. The passage of the Garigliano was betrayed by the Count of Caserta. San Germano, in which he had secured a strong force and ample stores, was taken by assault. Manfred's courage was unshaken; he concentred his army near Benevento, but he sent messengers to Charles to propose negotiations. "Tell the Sultan of Nocera that I will have neither peace nor treaty with him; I will send him to Hell, or he shall send me to Paradise!" Such was the reply of Charles of Anjou. The French army defiled into the plain before Benevento. Manfred is accused of rashness for venturing on a decisive battle. The French army were in want of money and of provisions; a protracted war might have worn them out. Manfred's nephew, Conrad of Antioch, was in the Abruzzi, Count Frederick in Calabria,

Battle of Benevento. Feb. 6, 1266.

[1] The annals of Modena give 5000 horse, 15,000 foot, 10,000 bowmen. — See the Chronicles in Muratori.

and the Count of Ventimiglia in Sicily; but Manfred perhaps knew that nothing less than splendid success could hold in awe the wavering fidelity of his subjects. He drew up his army in three divisions. On the French side appeared, beside the three, a fourth. "Who are these?" inquired Manfred. "The Guelfs of Florence and the exiles from other cities." "Where are the Ghibellines, for whom I have done and hazarded so much?" The Germans and the Saracens fought with desperate valor. Manfred commanded the third army of the Barons of Apulia to move to the charge. Some, among them the great Chamberlain, hesitated, turned, fled.[1] Manfred plunged in his desperation into the midst of the fray, and fell unknown by an unknown hand. The body was found after three days and recognized by a boor, who threw it across an ass, and went shouting along, "Who will buy King Manfred?" He was struck down by one of Manfred's Barons; the body was taken to King Charles.[2] Charles summoned the Barons who were prisoners, and demanded if it was indeed the body of Manfred. Galvano Lancia looked on it, hid his face in his hands, and burst into tears. The generous French urged that it should receive honorable burial. "It might be," said Charles, "were he not under excommunication." The body was hastily interred by the bridge of Benevento: the warriors, French and Apulian, cast each a stone, and a huge mound ap-

Death of Manfred.

[1] Dante brands the treason of the Apulians: this was the field

"ove fu bugiardo
Ciascum Pugliese." — *Inferno*, xxviii. 16.

[2] Compare the letter of Charles announcing the victory of the Pope, before the body was found.

peared,[1] like those under which repose the heroes of ancient times. But the Papal jealousy would not allow the Hohenstaufen to repose within the territory of the Church. The Archbishop of Cosenza, by the Feb. 26. command of the Pope, ordered him to be torn up from his rude sepulchre. He was again buried in unconsecrated ground, on the borders of the kingdom of Naples, near the river Verde.[2]

So perished the noble Manfred, a poet like his father, all accomplished as his father,[3] a man of consummate courage and great ability. Naples could hardly have had a more promising founder for a native dynasty. But Naples was too near Rome; and the house of Hohenstaufen had not yet fulfilled its destiny.

The first act of the triumphant army of the Cross, under the Pope's ally, was the sacking of the Papal city of Benevento, a general massacre of both sexes, of all ages, violation of women, even of women dedicated to God: the churches did not escape the common profanation. Charles was King of Naples: the Capital yielded, Capua surrendered the vast treasures accumulated by Manfred. The King's officers were weighing these treasures. "What need of scales?" said Ugo di Balzo, a Provençal knight: he kicked the whole into three portions: "This is for my Lord the King, Sack of Benevento.

[1] Ricordano Malespini.

[2] "L' ossa del corpo mio sarieno ancora
In có di ponte, presso a Benevento,
Sotta la guardia della grave mora;
Or le bagna la pioggia, e muove il vento.
Di fuor del regno, quasi lungo 'l Verde
Ove le trasmutò a lume spento."
Dante, *Purgat.* 111.

[3] "Lo Re spesso la notte andava per Barletta, cantando Strambuotti e canzoni, che iva pigliando il fresco, e con esso ivano dei Musici Siciliani ch' erano gran Romanzatori." — Matteo Spinelli.

this for the Queen, this for your Knights." The whole of Apulia, Calabria, Sicily submitted to the Sovereign invested by the Pope.[1] But they soon began to appreciate the change, to which they had looked as a great deliverance, as the dawn of a golden age of peace and plenty. The French soldiers spread wanton devastation wherever they went, neither respecting property, nor the rights of men nor the honor of women. Naples was at first disposed to admire the magnificence of Charles and his Barons; but those who had reproved the luxuriousness of Frederick's or the ruder splendor of Manfred's court, found that of the Provençal King at least not more favorable to the higher morals.[2]

Tyranny of the French.

Instead of being relieved from their heavy taxation, they were the prey of still more merciless exaction. King Charles seized the books and registers of the royal revenues in the hands of Gazzolino di Murra. Every royal privilege, subsidy, collection, or tax was enforced with more rigorous severity. New justiciaries, officers of customs, notaries, and revenue collectors sprung up in hosts, draining without restraint the impoverished people. The realm began too late to deplore its own versatility, to look back on the days of good King Manfred. Thus are these feelings expressed by a Guelfic historian: "O King Manfred, little did we know thee when alive! Now that thou art dead, we

[1] Clement writes to Cardinal Ottobuoni, Legate in England: "Carissimus in Christo filius E. (C.) Rex Siciliæ illustris tenet totum regnum, illius hominis pestilentis cadaver putidum, uxorem et liberos optinens et thesaurum." — MS., B. M., May 1266. The March, Florence, Pistoia, Sienna, Pisa, had returned to their allegiance. Messengers were come from Uberto Pallavicini and the Cremonese. There were hopes of Genoa.

[2] Muratori writes thus: — "Per altro la venuta de' Franzesi quella fu, che cominciò ad introdurre il lusso, e qualche cosa di peggio e fece mutar i costumi degl' Italiani." — Sub ann.

deplore thee in vain! Thou appearedst as a ravening wolf among the flocks of this kingdom; now fallen by our fickleness and inconstancy under the present government, after which we groaned, we find that thou wert a lamb. Now we know by bitter comparison how mild was thy rule. We thought it hard that part of our substance must be yielded into thy hands, now we find that all our substance and even our persons are the prey of the stranger."[1]

Clement IV. could not close his ears to these sad complaints. He had forced himself to remon- The Pope.
strate on the sack of Benevento; but throughout Italy the Guelfs rose again to power, Florence was in their hands, Pisa made supplication to the Pope to be released from excommunication. In Milan there was a Provençal governor, whose cruelties even surpassed Italian cruelties. Charles was manifestly aspiring to be supreme in Italy.[2]

But the Pope did not neglect more remote offences. The Cardinal of St. Sabina had not forgotten England.
the contemptuous refusal of the Barons of England to accept his mediation.[3] Henry III. was too useful, too profitable a vassal of the Roman See to be abandoned to his unruly subjects. Immediately on his accession the Pope had sent the Cardinal of St. Hadrian (Ottobuoni) as Legate, with the same ample powers with which himself had been invested.[4] An interdict was

[1] Saba Malespina, iii. 16.

[2] See all the historians.

[3] Letter to the Queen, complaining of the insolence of the Barons, who had not permitted him to land in England when Legate. — MS., B. M., v. xii. p. 3.

[4] The bulls addressed to Ottobuoni are transcripts of those before addressed to the Cardinal St. Sabina, the usual form, mutatis mutandis. — MS., B. M. They filled several pages.

laid upon the island if it refused to admit the Legate. If the Legate should not be permitted to land, he was to transmit inhibitions to the clergy, having equal force, inhibitions to allow no matrimonial rites to the rebels, or to communicate with them in any way whatever.[1] He had the same authority to thrust his followers into dignities or benefices from which the rebellious clergy or those connected with the rebels were to be ejected. All sons of rebel Barons or Nobles, all nephews of rebel Churchmen were to be deprived of their parsonages or benefices, and declared incapable of holding them.[2] No promotions were to be made to bishoprics or archbishoprics without express consent of the Holy See.[3] It was admitted that many Bishops were on the side of the Barons; no favor was to be shown to those of London, Worcester, Lincoln, or Ely; they were on no account to be released from excommunication.[4] Tenths were to be levied for the Holy War.[5] The Legate was to preach or cause to be preached a Crusade in England and even in Germany against the insurgent Barons. Louis of France was urged to take arms in defence of the common cause of monarchy against those rebels who were accused of a design to throw off altogether the kingly sway. Nothing less than a general league of Princes could put down those sons of wrath and of treason, the Barons of England.[6]

[1] Ibid., dated Perugia, June 1, 1265, p. 119. Since he had excommunicated "nonnullos barones et fautores eorum, et inhabitatores Quinque Portuum," if any of them had obtained letters of absolution, "in ægritudine verâ aut simulatâ," unless they abandoned the party of Leicester they were to be as heathens and publicans.

[2] Ibid., same date.

[3] Ibid., same date.

[4] Ibid., some months later, Oct. 1265.

[5] Ibid., July 1. The Cistercians, Carthusians, Templars, Hospitallers, Teutonic Knights, Sisters of St. Clare, were alone exempt.

[6] Ibid., Perugia, May 6, 1265, p. 75, &c.

The Pope, as Cardinal Legate, had excommunicated Simon de Montfort, Roger Earl of Norfolk, Hugo the Chief Justiciary, the City of London, and the Cinque Ports; he had summoned four of the English Prelates before him at Boulogne, and ordered them to publish the excommunication in England. The excommunication had been taken from the unreluctant hands of the Bishops. The excommunicated had appealed to the Pope; the appeal was ratified in a convocation of the clergy. But the excommunication was solemnly confirmed at Perugia. "Nothing could be done unless that turbulent man of sin (Leicester) and all his race were plucked up out of the realm."[1] The new Cardinal Legate was urged to hasten to England to consummate his work.

Ere he had ceased to be Cardinal Legate, the Pope (Ugo Falcodi) had heard at Boulogne the fatal tidings of the battle of Lewes, the captivity of the King and of Prince Edward. Then after his accession had come the news of the escape of Prince Edward, and the revolt of the Earl of Gloucester from the Barons. The Pope wrote in triumph to the Prince,[2] urging him to make every effort to release his father from slavery; the excommunication was at once removed from the Earl of Gloucester.[3] The tidings of the battle of Evesham, of the death of Simon Earl of Leicester, filled him with melancholy and joy.[4] Yet extraordinary as it may seem, Simon de Montfort, excommunicate by

[1] Epist. ad Card. St. Hadrian. "Nisi dictus vir pestilens cum totâ suâ progenie de regno Angliæ avellatur." — July 19, 1265. At this time Manfred was advancing on Rome.

[2] To Prince Edward. The letter enters into some details.

[3] Ibid., p. 191.

[4] "Læta nobis et tristia enarrastis." — Clement IV.. Epist. i. 89.

the Pope, to the Pope the Man of Sin, was the Saint and Martyr of popular love and worship;[1] he was equalled with Becket.[2] Poetry, Latin, English, French, celebrated, sanctified, canonized him. His miracles, in their number, wonderfulness, and in their attestations might have moved the jealousy of St. Francis or of Becket himself.[3] Prayers were addressed to him;[4] prayer was offered through his intercession.[5]

Victory of the King.

The King's victory seemed complete, the Barons crushed, the liberties of England buried in the grave of Simon de Montfort. The Cardinal Legate crossed to England with the Queen. The Queen Eleanor was not the least odious of the foreigners who ruled the feeble mind of the King: to her influence had been attributed the unjust, ill-considered award of Louis of France. The Legate assumed a kind of dictatorial authority.[6] In the church of Westminster, the splendid foundation of

The Legate, Oct. 29, 1265.

[1] Rishanger says that all ranks heard of his death with the most profound sorrow, "præcipue religiosi, qui partibus illis favebant." — Chronic. p. 48.

[2] See in Wright's Political Songs that on the battle of Lewes. After his death we read in another: —

"Mes par sa mort, le cuens Monfort
Conquist la victoire,
Comme li Martyr de Canterbyr
Finist sa vie." (p. 125);

and the long Latin poem, p. 71.

[3] See the "Miracula," published by Mr. Halliwell at the end of Rishanger, Camden Society, 1840.

[4] "Salve Simon Montefortis,
Totius flos militiæ.
Duras passus pœnas mortis,
Protector gentis Angliæ."

[5] "Ora pro nobis, Beate Simon, ut digni simus promissionibus Christi." — Ibid. p. 109.

[6] See the Papal bulls, gratulatory to the King and Prince, and admonitory to the Barons to return to the King's allegiance. — Rymer, i. 817, 819.

Henry III. (under whose shadow I wrote these lines), he appeared in his full scarlet pontifical robes, recited the act of excommunication passed on Simon de Montfort and all his adherents, abrogated all the oaths sworn by the King, declared null and void all the constitutions and provisions of the realm.[1] At Northampton he held a council, and by name confirmed the excommunication of the Prelates who had made common cause with the Barons, Winchester, Worcester, London, Chichester.[2] The Pope, while he made large grants of the tenths, and triumphed in the King's triumph, in more Christian spirit enjoined him to use his victory with mercy and moderation.[3] If any mercy was shown to the persons (and this is doubtful, for all the bravest and most formidable had perished in the field), there was none to their estates. The obsequious Parliament passed a sweeping sentence of confiscation on the lands of all who had joined or favored De Montfort. The Legate was not less severe against the obnoxious clergy.[4] There was a wide and general ejection of all who had been or were suspected of having been on the proscribed side. The Pope is again busy in reaping for his own colleagues and followers some grains of the golden harvest. Demands are made, at first modest, for prebends, for pensions in favor of Roman ecclesiastics.[5] He is compelled by the

[1] Wilkes, 72.

[2] Rishanger, p. 47.

[3] Rymer, *loc. citat.*

[4] "Qui non solum et post terras et possessiones occisorum in bello et captivorum necessaria etiam bona tam spiritualia quam temporalia religiosorum violavere, nulli parcentes ordini, dignitati, vel ecclesiasticæ libertati . . . . infinitam pecuniam ab eis immisericorditer extorserunt, abbates et quascunque domos religiosas tantæ suppeditationi mancipando quod vix aut nunquam poterunt respirare." — Rishanger, p. 48.

[5] MS., B. M., p. 202. Assignment of 200 marks on England to the Bishop

poverty of the Cardinals to become more pressing, more exorbitant in his exactions.

Reaction. A.D. 1266.

During the next year there is a formidable reaction; a wide and profound dissatisfaction had spread through the realm. The discontented are defending themselves with desperate resolution in the isle of Ely. Rome is alarmed by the gloomy news from England: the Pope is trembling for the lives of the King, the Queen, and the Prince; he is trembling for the irrecoverable loss of that noble fief of the See of Rome.[1] The affrighted Cardinal is disposed to abandon his hopeless mission. The Pope reproves him for his cowardice, but leaves it to his discretion whether he will remain or not in the contumacious and ungrateful island.[2]

The King's cause again prospers: at Christmas the King and the Legate are seen dining together in public at Westminster. The indignant people remark that the seat of honor, the first service of all the dishes are reserved to the Legate; the King sits lower, and partakes of the best fare, but after the Legate.[3] At St. Edmondsbury the ecclesiastics resisted the demand not

of Ostia and Velletri, "propter egestatem." One or two benefices to be obtained in England to make up this sum. "In eundem modum pro domino veterrano (Velletri) ccexxvi. marks." He intends to write, on account of the general poverty of the Cardinals, not only "pro duobus, pro pluribus, licet non in tantâ summâ sed minore." Perugia, Oct. 26, 1265, p. 117. "Importabilis fratrum persuasio, quæ fonte liberalitatis ipsius qui ad Romanam Ecclesiam de mundi diversis partibus fluere consuevit, pæne, vel quasi penitus arefacto, crescit, nec cessat crescere." — P. 223.

[1] "Nihil aliud esset penitus, nisi totum everti negotium, Regem, Reginam et liberos tradi morti, et Ecclesiæ Romanæ feudum tam nobile sine spe qualibet recuperationis amitti." — MS., B. M., p. 233.

[2] Ibid., May 16, 1266.

[3] "Legato in sedili regis collocato, singulisque ferculis coram eo primitus appositis, et postremo coram rege, unde murmurabant multi in aulâ regis" — Rishanger, p. 59.

only of the tenths, but of thirty thousand marks more, claimed by the Pope as arrears of the King's debt for the subjugation of Naples.[1]

About a year and a half after, at the close of the Pontificate of Clement IV., the Cardinal Legate holds a Council of the Church of England and Ireland in the cathedral of St. Paul. The famous constitutions of Ottobuoni, the completion and confirmation of those of Cardinal Otho, are passed, which were held for some time as the canon law of England.[2] Of these constitutions some must be noticed, as giving a view of the religion of the times. I. The absolute exemption of the property of the Church from all taxation by the state, the obedience of the laity to the clergy, were asserted in the fullest and most naked simplicity.[3] II. One was directed against the clergy bearing arms. Some of the clergy are described (awful wickedness!) as little better than robber chieftains.[4] It was forgotten that but a few years before the Archbishop of Canterbury had been in arms with the Archbishop of Lyons before Turin; that French Bishops were in the army of Charles of Anjou, the army blessed, sanctified by the Pope! III. Pluralities were generally condemned;[5] pluralities without

Council in St. Paul's.

Constitutions of Ottobuoni

1 Rishanger, p. 61.

2 April 21, 1268. Wilkins's Concilia. It has been suggested to me that he author of the constitutions may have been no less than Benedetto Gaetani, afterwards Boniface VIII. He was the companion and counsellor of Ottobuoni in England.

3 "Nec alicui liceat censum ponere super ecclesiam Dei. Ammonemus Regem et principes et omnes qui in potestate sunt, ut cum magnâ humilitate archepiscopis omnibusque aliis episcopis obediant."

4 "In his ergo tam horrendis sceleribus clericos debacchantes" - - they had been described as joining bands of robbers — "prosequimur excommunicatione, deprivatione." — Art. viii.

5 John Maunsel is described (Rishanger, p. 12) as "multarum in Anglia

Papal dispensations altogether proscribed.[1] IV. There was a strong canon against the married clergy: not merely were many clergy married,[2] but the usage existed to a great extent of the transmission of benefices from father to son, and these benefices were not seldom defended by violence and force of arms.[3]

James of Arragon.

We return to Italy, with a glance at Spain, and the earlier years of Clement's Pontificate. The triumphs of James, the King of Arragon, over the Saracens of Spain, and the capture of Murcia, called forth the triumphant gratulations of the Pope.

rector ecclesiarum et possessor reddituum quorum non erat numerus, ita quod ditior clericus eo non in orbe videretur." Mr. Halliwell quotes the Chron. Mailros. as giving him 700 livings, bringing in 18,000 marks. I cannot find the passage.

[1] Henry de Wingham is a good example of what might be and was done by Papal dispensations (MS., B. M., ix. p. 314). Wingham has license to hold the deanery of St. Martin's-le-Grand, the chancellorship of Exeter, a prebend of Salisbury, ac *universos alios personatus, etiam alia beneficia* (dated Anagni, July 23, 1259). A month after De Wingham (of whom Paris speaks as a disinterested man, *sub ann.* 1257) is bishop elect of London: he petitions to hold all these benefices with London for five years. He was also Lord Chancellor. The nephew of this poor man, holding only two livings, has Papal license to hold two more. — P. 411. Anagni, Aug. 28. 1259.

[2] "Nisi clerici et maximè qui in sacris ordinibus constituti, qui in domibus suis detinent publicè concubinas." — Art. viii.

[3] The MS., B. M., are full of notices of married clergy in England. Letter to the Archbishop of York (xi. 124). Sons succeeded to their fathers' benefices, "quidam in ecclesiis, in quibus patres ministrarint eorum, se immediatè patribus ejus substituti, tanquam jure hereditario possidere sanctuarium Dei." The same in diocese of Lincoln, p. 132; Worcester, p. 136; Carlisle, p. 177. Complaints to Bishop of Salisbury of priests who have "focariæ." To Bishop of Coventry, of their holding these benefices "violenter et armatâ manu," Dec. 21, 1235. So also to Bishop of Norwich, June 12, 1240; Winchester, p. 5 and 35, 1243. The Synod of Exeter (Wilkins, Concilia, c. xviii. p. 142) complains of clerks on their death-beds providing for their concubines and children out of the ecclesiastical revenues, "præsumptione tam damnatâ in extremis laborantes, et de infernis minimè cogitantes in suis ultimis voluntatibus . . . . bona ecclesiæ concubinis relinquere non formidant." These wills were declared illegal.

But James of Arragon was not to be indulged in weaknesses unbecoming a Christian warrior. The Pope summoned him to break the chains in which he was fettered by a beautiful mistress, and to return to his lawful wife: he urged him to imitate the holy example of Louis of France. King James pleaded that his wife was a leper, and demanded the dissolution of the marriage. "Thinkest thou," rejoined the Pope, "that if all the Queens of the earth were lepers, we would allow Kings to join in adulterous commerce with other women? Better that all the royal houses should wither root and branch." He put the obedience of the King of Arragon to another test: he ordered him inexorably to expel all Mussulmans from his dominions, to depose all the Jews from the high places which they held in this as in many of the Spanish kingdoms.[1]

In less than two years after the conquest of Naples, the insupportable tyranny of the French under Charles of Anjou, and the resentment of the Ghibellines throughout Italy, had wrought up a spirit of wide-spread revolt. The young Conradin could alone deliver Sicily from the foreign yoke, check the revengeful superiority of the Guelfs, and restore the now lamented house of Hohenstaufen. Many secret messages were sent from Tuscany and Lombardy. Galvano and Frederick di Lancia, and the two chiefs of the house of Capece, whose lives had been excepted from the general proscription of Manfred's partisans, found their way to Germany. They called on Conradin to assert his hereditary rights; to appear as a deliverer from foreign oppression. The youth, not yet sixteen, listened with too eager avidity. At the End of 1267

Naples. Conradin. A.D. 1267.

[1] Clement, Epist. Raynaldus, sub ann.

head of four thousand German troops he crossed the Alps, and held his court at Verona.

Pope Clement heard the intelligence with dismay. He instantly cited the presumptuous boy, who had A.D. 1268. dared to claim a kingdom granted away by the See of Rome, to answer before his liege lord at Viterbo. There, in the Cathedral of Viterbo, in May, and on the festival of St. Peter and St. Paul, he proclaimed his excommunication. He wrote to Florence to warn the Republic of "the young serpent which had sprung up from the blood of the old." He wrote to Ottocar, King of Bohemia, to make a diversion by attacking the Swabian possessions of Conradin. He declared Conradin deposed from the kingdom of Jerusalem. At the same time he wrote to Charles of Anjou, in terms which showed his own consciousness that the danger was in the tyranny and in the hatred of Charles rather than in the strength or popularity of Conradin. He entreated him "to moderate the horrible exactions enforced under the royal seal;[1] to listen to the petitions of his people; to put some check on the wasteful extravagance of his court; to keep a balance of his receipts and expenditure; to place on the seat of justice men of incorruptible integrity, with ample salaries, so as to be superior to bribery; not to permit unnecessary appeals to the King; to avoid all vexatious inquisitions; not to usurp the guardianship of orphans; to punish all attempts to corrupt magistrates; not to follow the baleful example of his predecessor in encroaching on the rights of the Church."[2]

[1] "Sigillo tuo legem impera, ut tollatur infamia de horrendis exactionibus eo nomine factis" *et seq.* Clem. Ep.

[2] See the letter of Pope Clement in Martene, and in Raynaldus, sub ann.

Yet this King, who needed these sage admonitions as to the administration of his kingdom, was raised at this very juncture by the Pope to the extraordinary office now vacant — an office the commanding title of which was ill-suited to the man and to the times — that of Peacemaker,[1] or Conservator of the Peace throughout Tuscany and all the provinces subject to the Roman empire; in other words, to keep down the Ghibellines, and by force of arms to compel them to lay down their arms.[2] King Alfonso of Castile heard with jealousy of this new title, which sounded as though Charles of Anjou was usurping the prerogative of the Empire, if not intending to supplant both himself and his competitor, Richard of Cornwall. The Pope was compelled at once to soothe and to alarm the Spaniard; to allay his fears as to any designs of Charles upon the Empire, not without some significant hint that the coronation by the Archbishop of Cologne was indispensable for a just title to the Empire; and the Archbishop of Cologne had crowned Richard. Alfonso was awed into silence, if not satisfied.[3]

But, not at the instigation, nor with any encouragement from the King of Castile, two of his brothers had

[1] "Paciarium non partiarium."

[2] There is a curious letter from the Pope to the Cardinal St. Hadrian. MS., B. M. When he had created Charles paciarius, "opponentibus Senensibus, Pisanis et pluribus Ghibellinis." The Romans, under the senator, Henry of Castile, were in league with the Ghibellines. Henry had taken some cities, and seized in Rome the brothers Napoleon and Matthæo Orsini, Angelo Malebranca, John Savelli, Peter Stefaneschi, Richard Annibaleschi, some of whom he had sent by night prisoners to Monticelli. "We would, as far as possible, war with the Romans: Conradin is in Verona with all Lombardy, except Pavia, and the march of Treviso. Sicily is in full revolt under Frederick of Castile." "God's will be done," concludes the devout Pope. —Viterbo, Nov. 23, 1267.

[3] Clement, Epist.

become the most dangerous adversaries of the Pope. Henry and Frederick of Castile had been driven from their native land,[1] had taken to a wild adventurous life, and found hospitality at the court of the King of Tunis. It was said that they had adopted at least Mohammedan manners, attended Mohammedan rites, and more than half embraced the Mohammedan creed.[2] They returned to Europe. Frederick landed in Sicily, where some short time after he raised the standard of Conradin. Henry went on to Italy; he was received by his cousin, Charles of Anjou, who bestowed on him sixty thousand crowns. Henry had hopes, fostered by the Papal Court, if not by the Pope, of obtaining the investiture of Sardinia, which the Pope would fain wrest from the rule of Ghibelline Pisa. But Charles of Anjou grew jealous of Henry of Castile; he too had pretensions on Sardinia; it was withdrawn from the grasp of Henry; and the Castilian was brooding in dissatisfaction and disappointment, when the opportunity of revenge arose. The people of Rome were looking abroad for a Senator. Charles had surrendered or forfeited his office when he became King of Naples. A short-lived rule of two concurrent Senators had increased the immitigable feud. Angelo Capucio was a noble Roman, still attached to the fallen fortunes of Manfred. By his influence, notwithstanding the repugnance of the rest of the nobles, and strong opposition from some of the Cardinals, Henry

Henry of Castile.

[1] They seem to have been at the head of a constitutional opposition against their brother Alfonso, who aspired to rule without the Cortes.

[2] Mariana describes Henry as "in rebus bellicis potens et strenuus, et nimium callidus, sed sceleratissimus et in fidei catholicæ cultu non diligens prosecutor." For private reasons for the hatred of Henry and Charles, see Hispan. Illustrat. p. 647; Amari; Vespro Siciliano, ciii. p. 30.

of Castile was chosen Senator of Rome. He commenced his rule with some of those acts of stern equity which ever overawed and captivated the Roman people. Clement too late began to suspend his design of investing Charles of Anjou with the throne of Sardinia, to which Henry might again aspire. But the hatred of Charles was deep in Henry's heart: he openly displayed the banner of Conradin. Galvano Lancia, the kinsman and most active partisan of Manfred, hastened to Rome; and the Pope heard with indignation that the Swabian standard was waving from the hallowed Lateran, where Lancia had taken up his quarters, and was parading his forces before it.[1] The censures of the Pontiff addressed to the authorities of Rome made no impression. The Senator summoned the people to the Capitol; his armed bands were in readiness; he seized two of the Orsini, and sent them prisoners to the strong castle of Monticelli, near Tivoli; two of the Savelli were cast into the dungeons under the Capitol, many others into different prisons; Henry of Castile took possession of St. Peter's and of the Papal palaces.[2]

Rome for Conradin.

The few German troops with which Conradin had crossed the Alps fell off for want of pay:[3] but the Ghibelline interest, the nobler feelings, awakened in favor of the gallant boy thus cruelly deprived of his inheritance, and the growing hatred of the French soon gathered an army around him. He

Movements of Conradin. A.D. 1268.

1 "Ac loca, specialiter Laterani, ad quæ ingredienda viri etiam justi vix digni sunt habiti, pompis lascivientibus circuire, ac ibidem hospitium accipere non expavit." — Lib. Pontif. quoted in Raynald., 1267.

2 See note above from MS., B. M.

3 It is curious to observe (in Böhmer's Register), c[2] the few acts of Conradin in Italy, how large a part are on the pawning (Verpfändung) of estates or rights for sums of money. — p. 287.

set out from faithful Verona; he was received in Pavia, in Pisa, in Sienna, as the champion of Ghibellinism; as the lawful King of Sicily.[1] In Apulia, the Saracens of Lucera were in arms; in Sicily, Frederick of Castile, with the Saracens and some of Manfred's partisans, who had taken refuge in Africa and now returned. The island was in full revolt; the Lieutenant of Charles was defeated; except Messina, Palermo, and Syracuse, Sicily was in the power of Conradin. Already, in his agony of apprehension, the Pope, finding that Charles was still in Tuscany, pressing his advantages in favor of the Guelfs of Florence, hastily summoned him to return to Naples. "Why do we write to thee as King, while thou seemest utterly to disregard thy kingdom? It is without a head, exposed to the Saracens and to the traitorous Christians; already exhausted by your robberies, it is now plundered by others. The locust eats what the canker-worm has left. Spoilers will not be wanting, so long as its defender is away. If you love the kingdom, think not that the Church will incur the toil and cost of conquering it anew; you may return to your Countship, and, content with the vain name of king, await the issue of the contest. Perhaps, in reliance on your merits, you expect a miracle to be wrought in your favor; that God will act in your behalf, while you thus follow your own counsels, and despise those of others. I had resolved not to write to thee on this affair: my venerable brother, Rudolph, Bishop of Alba, has prevailed on me to send you these few last words."[2]

[1] In Pavia, March 22; in Pisa, April 4; in Sienna, July 7; in Rome, July 7 or August 11. In Rome he is said to have had 5000 German knights Henry of Castile 800 Spaniards.

[2] Clement, Epist. apud Raynald., A.D. 1269, p. 233.

Charles obeyed, and returned in all haste to Naples; he formed the siege of Lucera, the strong- CONRADIN ADVANCES TO ROME.
hold of his most dangerous foes, the Saracens. Conradin advanced towards Rome; he marched under the walls of Viterbo, intending perhaps to insult or intimidate the Pope, who had a strong garrison in the city. The affrighted Cardinals thronged around the Pope, who was at prayer. "Fear not," he said; "they will be scattered like smoke." He even ascended the walls, beneath which Conradin and his young and faithful friend Frederick of Austria were prancing on their stately coursers. "Behold the victims for the sacrifice."[1]

The dark vaticinations of the Pope, though sadly verified by the event (perhaps but the echo of the event), if bruited abroad in Rome, had no more effect than the ecclesiastical thunders which at every onward step Clement had hurled with reiterated solemnity at the head of Conradin. Notwithstanding these excommunications, the Romans welcomed with the loudest acclamations Conradin, called by the Pope "the accursed branch of an accursed stem, the manifest enemy of the Church:" "Rome had calmly seen that son of malediction, Galvano Lancia, who had so long walked the broad road to perdition, from whose approach they should have shrunk with scorn, displaying the banner of Conradin from the Lateran." It was an event as yet unheard, which disturbed the soul of the Pontiff, that although occasional discords, and even the scandal of wars, had taken place between the Pope and his City, now their fidelity should revolt to the persecutor of the Church; that Rome should incur the guilt of

[1] Raynald. c. xxii. Freher.

matricide.[1] Yet not the less did the Senator and Rome welcome the young Swabian. Henry the Senator marched at the head of the Roman forces in Conradin's army, having first plundered the churches and monasteries. The Pope heard with deeper resentment that the Lateran, the churches of St. Paul, St. Basil on the Aventine, Santa Sabina, and other convents, had been obliged to surrender their treasures, which were expended upon the army of the excommunicate.[2]

Battle of Tagliacozzo.

But the destiny which hovered over the house of Hohenstaufen had not yet exhausted its vials of wrath. At the battle of Tagliacozzo, the French for once condescended to depend not on their impetuous valor alone, but on prudence, military skill, and a reserve held by the aged Alard de St. Valery, a French knight, just returned from that school of war, Palestine. St. Valery's eight hundred men retrieved the lost battle. Conradin, Frederick of Austria, Henry of Castile, were in the hands of the remorseless conqueror. Conradin had almost bribed John Frangipani, Lord of Astura, to lend him a bark to escape. The Frangipani sold him for large estates in the princedom of Benevento.[3]

Execution of Conradin.

Christendom heard with horror that the royal brother of St. Louis, that the champion of the Church, after a mock trial, by the sentence of one judge, Robert di Lavena — after an unanswerable

[1] Apud Raynald. A.D. 1269.

[2] Ibid.

[3] "En 1256, quatre ans après les Vêpres Siciliennes, un amiral de Jacques d'Arragon emporta Astura, qu'il réduisit en cendres. Les biens des Frangipani furent ravagés; Jacob, le fils de Jean, périt dans le combat. Sa postérité s'éteignit, et, de cette branche, dont le blason était taché du sang royal, il ne reste qu'un souvenir de déshonneur." Astura was near the spot where Cicero was killed. — Cherrier, iv. p. 212.

pleading by Guido de Suzaria, a famous jurist, — had condemned the last heir of the Swabian house — a rival king, who had fought gallantly for his hereditary throne — to be executed as a felon and a rebel on a public scaffold. So little did Conradin dread his fate, that when his doom was announced, he was playing at chess with Frederick of Austria. "Slave," said Conradin to Robert of Bari, who read the fatal sentence, "do you dare to condemn as a criminal the son and heir of kings? Knows not your master that he is my equal, not my judge?" He added, "I am a mortal, and must die; yet ask the kings of the earth if a prince be criminal for seeking to win back the heritage of his ancestors. But if there be no pardon for me, spare, at least, my faithful companions; or if they must die, strike me first, that I may not behold their death."[1] They died devoutly, nobly. Every circumstance aggravated the abhorrence: it was said — perhaps it was the invention of that abhorrence — that Robert of Flanders, the brother of Charles, struck dead the judge who had presumed to read the iniquitous sentence.[2] When Conradin knelt, with uplifted hands, awaiting the blow of the executioner, he uttered these last words — "O my mother! how deep will be thy sorrow at the news of this day!"[3] Even the followers of Charles could hardly restrain their pity and indignation. With Conradin died his young and valiant

[1] Bartholomeo di Neocastro apud Muratori, p. 1027.

[2] There is evidence, it appears, that this judge, or prothonotary, was alive some years after.

[3] "Ad cœlum jungebat palmas, mortemque inevitabilem patienter expectans, suum Domino spiritum commendabat: nec divertebat caput, sed exhibebat se quasi victimam et cesoris truces ictus in patientiâ expectabat." — Malespina apud Muratori, viii. 851.

friend, Frederick of Austria, the two Lancias, two of the noble house of Donaticcio of Pisa. The inexorable Charles would not permit them to be buried in consecrated ground.

The Pope himself was accused as having counselled this atrocious act. One of those sentences, which from its pregnant brevity cleaves to the remembrance, lived long in the memory of the Ghibellines: "The life of Conradin is the death of Charles, the death of Conradin the life of Charles." But to have given such advice, Clement must have belied his own nature, his own previous conduct, as well as his religion. Throughout he had been convinced of the impolicy, and was doubtless moved with inward remorse at the cruelties of Charles of Anjou. Clement had tried to mitigate the tyranny of the King. Even the colder assent, at least the evasive refusal to interfere on the side of mercy — "It becomes not the Pope to counsel the death of any one," is hardly in the character of Clement IV.[1] There is another, somewhat legendary, story. Ambrose of Sienna, afterwards a Saint, presented himself on the first news of the capture of Conradin before the Pope; he dwelt on the parable of the prodigal son, received with mercy into his father's house. "Ambrose," said the Pope, "I would have mercy, not sacrifice." He turned to the cardinals, "It is not the monk that speaks, it is the Spirit of the Most High."[2]

But if he was responsible only for not putting forth the full Papal authority to command an act of wisdom

[1] Compare the fair and honest Tillemont, Vie de St. Louis, vi. 129. Poor Conradin had said in one of his proclamations of Clement's hostility, Clemens cujus nomen ab effectu non modicè distat. — B. Museum Chronicon, p. 273.

[2] Vit. S. Ambrosii Senen. apud Bollandistas, c. iii.

as of compassion, Clement himself was soon called to answer before a higher tribunal. On the 29th October the head of Conradin fell on the scaffold; on the 29th November died Pope Clement IV. It is his praise that he did not exalt his kindred — that he left in obscurity the husbands of his daughters.[1] But the wonder betrayed by this praise shows at once how Christendom had already been offended; it was prophetic of the stronger offence which nepotism would hereafter entail upon the Papal See.

[1] "Nec inveniter exaltâsse parentes, totus Deo dicatus." — Ptolem. Luc. xxxviii. Tillemont has collected the passages (and there are many) to the praise of Clement IV. Tillemont is not perhaps less inclined to admire him because he was a Frenchman. — Vie de St. Louis, iv. p. 350 *et seq.*

## CHAPTER IV.

### GREGORY X. AND HIS SUCCESSORS.

After the death of Clement IV. there was a vacancy of more than two years in the Pontificate. The cause of this dissension among the fifteen Cardinals [1] nowhere transpires: it may have been personal jealousy, where there was no prelate of acknowledged superiority to demand the general suffrage. The French Cardinals may have been ambitious, under the dominant influence of the victorious Charles of Anjou, to continue the line of French Pontiffs: the Italians, both from their Italian patriotism and their jealousy of the power of Charles, may have stubbornly resisted such promotion. During this vacancy, Charles of Anjou was revenging himself with his characteristic barbarity on his rebellious kingdom, compressing with an iron hand the hatred of his subjects, which was slowly and sullenly brooding into desperation. He was thus unknowingly preparing his own fall by the terrible reaction of the Sicilian Vespers. He was becoming in influence, manifestly aspiring to be, through the triumphant Guelfic factions, the real master of the whole of Italy.

At this period was promulgated an Edict, before briefly alluded to,[2] apparently unobserved, but which,

[1] Ciacconius gives 17 — 5 or 6 French, 4 Romans. — p. 178.

[2] See back, page 40. Ordonnances des Rois, i. 97, March, 1268. Sis-

nevertheless, in the hands of the great lawyers, who were now establishing in the minds of men, especially in France, a rival authority to that of the clergy, became a great Charter of Independence to the Gallican Church. The Pragmatic Sanction, limiting the interference of the court of Rome in the elections of the clergy, and directly denying its right of ecclesiastical taxation, being issued by the most religious of Kings, by a King a canonized Saint, seemed so incongruous and embarrassing, that desperate attempts have been made to question its authenticity: Louis IX. might seem, in his servile time, himself servilely religious, to be suddenly taking the lofty tone of Charlemagne. But it was this high religiousness of Louis which suggested, and which enabled him to promulgate this charter of liberty: as he intended none, so he might disguise even to himself the latent, rather than avowed hostility to the power of Rome. Among the dearest objects to the heart of Louis was the reformation of the clergy; that reformation not aiming at the depression, but tending to the immeasurable exaltation of their power, by grounding it on their piety and holiness. It is to this end that he asserts the

Pragmatic Sanction.

mondi, viii. p. 104. I cannot see the force of the objection to the authenticity of the Ordinance, to which Mr. Hallam seems to give some weight, that St. Louis had not any previous difference with the See of Rome. The right of patronage seems to have been a standing cause of quarrel throughout Christendom, as we have seen in England. See, too, in Tillemont, iv. p. 408–412 — the king (Louis) asserting his rights of patronage to the prebends of Rheims and the archdeaconry of Sens against the Pope. Tillemont does not doubt its authenticity, and refers to these disputes as a possible cause. See also the strange account of John of Canterbury, who paid 10,000 livres Tournois for confirmation in the Archbishopric of Rheims. John had expended it for the honor of his Holiness and the Roman court. The Pope *blushed* at this great expense for his honor. — p. 410. Clement, Epist. p. 308.

absolute power of jurisdiction in the clergy, the rights of patrons, the right of free elections in the cathedrals and other churches. The Edict was issued in the name of "Louis by the grace of God, King of the French. To insure the tranquil and wholesome state of the Church in our realm; to increase the worship of God, in order to promote the salvation of the souls of the faithful in Christ; to obtain for ourselves the grace and succor of Almighty God, to whose dominion and protection our realm has been ever subject, as we trust it will ever be, we enact and ordain by this edict, maturely considered and of perpetual observance: —

"I. That the prelates, patrons, and ordinary collators to benefices in the churches of our realm, have full enjoyment of their rights, and that the jurisdiction of each be wholly preserved.

"II. That the cathedral and other churches of our realm have full freedom of election in every point and particular.

"III. We will and ordain that the pestilential crime of simony, which undermines the Church, be forever banished from our realm.

"IV. We will and ordain in like manner that promotions, collations, provisions and dispositions of the prelacies, the dignities, the benefices, of what sort soever, and of the ecclesiastical offices of our realm, be according to the disposition, ordinance, and determination of the common law, the sacred councils of the Church of God, and the ancient institutions of the Holy Fathers.

"V. We will that no one may raise or collect in any manner exactions or assessments of money, which have been imposed by the court of Rome, by which

our realm has been miserably impoverished, or which hereafter shall be imposed, unless the cause be reasonable, pious, most urgent, of inevitable necessity, and recognized by our express and spontaneous consent, and by that of the Church of our realm.

"VI. By these presents we renew, approve, and confirm the liberties, franchises, immunities, prerogatives, rights, privileges, granted by the Kings our predecessors of pious memory, and by ourselves to all churches, monasteries, holy places, religious men and ecclesiastics in our realm."

This Edict appeared either during the last year of Clement IV., when the Pope absolutely depended on the protection of Charles of Anjou against the reviving Ghibellinism under Conradin, and he might be reduced to take refuge under the tutelage of Louis; or during the vacancy in the Pontificate. In either case it would have been dangerous, injurious, it would have been resented by the common voice of Christendom, if the acts of Louis had been arraigned, or even protested against as impious aggressions on the rights of Rome. The Edict itself was profoundly religious, even submissive in its tone; at all events, the assertion of the supremacy, of the ultimate right of judgment in the temporal power, was very different coming from Louis of France than from Frederick II., or any of his race. Louis was almost Pope in the public mind; his piety, his munificence, his devotion to the Crusade, in which he was again about to embark, his profound deference in general to the clergy and to the Pope himself, which had almost already arrayed him in worshipped sanctity, either allayed the jealousy of the Roman See, or made it imprudent to betray such jealousy. Hence it was

that neither at the time of its publication, nor subsequently, did it provoke any counter protestation; it had already taken its place among the Ordinances of the realm, before its latent powers were discovered, denounced, condemned. Then, seized on by the Parliaments, defended, interpreted, extended by the legists, strengthened by the memorable decree of the *Appeal against abuses*, it became the barrier against which the encroachments of the ecclesiastical power were destined to break; nor was it swept away till a stronger barrier had arisen in the unlimited power of the French crown.

During this vacancy in the Pontificate, St. Louis closed his holy life in the most ignoble, and not the least disastrous of the crusades, into Africa. It was the last, except the one desperate (in some degree brilliant) struggle, which was even now about to take place under our Prince Edward, for the narrow remnant of the Holy Land. Again the beauty of the passive virtues of Louis, his death, with all the submissive quietness of a martyr, blinded mankind to his utter incompetency to conduct a great army, and to the waste of noble blood; the Saint in life assumed in the estimation of mankind the crown of martyrdom.[1] Nothing was wanting but his canonization; and canonization could add no reverence to the name of St. Louis.

Aug. 25, 1270. Death of St. Louis.

Year after year had passed, and still the stubborn fifteen Cardinals persisted in their feud; still Christendom was without a Pontiff; and might discover (at least the dangerous question might arise) the fatal secret that a supreme Pontiff was not

Papacy still vacant.

[1] Joinville. Tillemont has collected all the striking circumstances of the death of St. Louis. — Vol. v. p. 169.

necessary to Christendom. They withstood the bitter mockery of one of their brethren, the Bishop of Porto, that it were well to remove the roof of their chamber, that the Holy Ghost might descend upon them. The Franciscans seem to have been astonished that the virtues and learning of the pride of their order, St. Bonaventura, did not command the general homage. They fabled, at least the annalist of the Church declares it a fable, that Bonaventura would not condescend to the proffered dignity.[1] At length the Cardinals determined to delegate to six of their members the full power of the conclave.

The wisdom or felicity of their choice might, if ever, justify the belief in a superior overruling counsel. It fell upon one, towards whom it is difficult to conceive how their thoughts were directed, a man neither Cardinal nor Prelate, of no higher rank than Archdeacon of Liège, and dispossessed of his Archdeaconry by the unjust jealousy of his bishop; upon one now absent in the Holy Land on a pilgrimage. Gregory X., such was the name he assumed, was of a noble house, the Visconti of Piacenza, but having early left his country, was not committed to either of the great Italian factions: he was unembarrassed with family ties; he was an Italian, but not a Roman, not therefore an object of jealousy and hatred to rival houses among that fierce baronage. He had been a canon of Lyons, but was by no means implicated with French interests. One great religious passion possessed his soul: the Holy Land, with its afflictions and disasters, its ineffaceable sanctity, had sunk into the depth of his affections; the interests of that land were his highest



[1] Raynald. sub ann.

duties. It was to this end that Gregory X. devoted himself with all the energy of a commanding mind, or rather to a preparatory object, perhaps greater, at all events indispensable to that end. It was in order to organize a Crusade, more powerful than any former Crusade, that he aspired to pacify, that he succeeded for a time in pacifying, Western Christendom. This greatest of pontifical acts, but this alone, Gregory X. was permitted to achieve.

Inauguration. Jan. 21, 1272.

The reception of this comparatively obscure ecclesiastic, thus suddenly raised to the chair of St. Peter, might encourage his most holy hopes. He landed at Brundusium, was escorted by King Charles to Capua, and from thence, passing by Rome, to Viterbo, where the Cardinals met him with reverential unanimity. He was crowned at Rome with an elaborate ceremonial, published by himself as the future code, according to which the Roman Pontiffs were to be elected, inaugurated, invested: the most minute particulars of dress were arranged, and the whole course of processional service.[1] Gregory X. took up his residence at Orvieto.

March 27, 1272.

Determines on a Council.

Gregory had hardly ascended the Pontifical throne, when he determined to hold a great Ecumenic Council. That it might be a Council worthy of the title, he summoned it for two years later. The pacification of Christendom was the immediate, the reconquest of the Holy Land the remote, object of this

[1] The Jews were to offer, as a regular part of the ceremony, their congratulations, and to present the book of the Old Testament. The Pope was seated on the Sedes Stercoraria, emblematic of the verse in the Psalm "de stercore erigit pauperem." This is noticed on account of misapprehensions sometimes prevalent on this singular usage. See on the Sedes Stercoraria, Mabillon, Iter Italicum, p. 59.

great diet of Christendom. The place of the Council was debated with grave prudence. Within the Alps it was more convenient, perhaps it was more dignified, for the Pope to receive the vassal hierarchy; but beyond the Alps alone was there hope of reawakening the slumbering enthusiasm for the sepulchre of the Saviour. Lyons was the chosen city. Gregory in the mean time labored assiduously at the great work which was to be consummated in the Council — the pacification of Christendom. Three measures were necessary: I. The extinction of the wars and feuds in Italy. II. The restoration of the Empire, in the person of a great German Prince. III. The acknowledgment of the Greek Emperor of Constantinople, and the admission of that Emperor into the league of Christian princes; with the reunion of the Greek and Latin Churches.

Gregory began his work of pacification in Lombardy: he did not at once withdraw himself from the head of the Guelfic confederacy; he still asserted the power of Charles of Anjou as Vicar of the Empire; he even confirmed the excommunication against the Ghibelline cities, Pisa, Pavia, Verona, and the Duke of Tyrol: nor did he take up the cause of Otho Visconti, the exiled Ghibelline Archbishop of Milan, against the della Torres, who held that city.[1] But he began gradually to feel his strength. He negotiated peace between Genoa and Venice, A.D. 1273. rivals for the mastery of the sea; between Venice and Bologna, rivals for the command of the navigation of the Po. Pisa was reconciled to the Church; the archiepiscopal dignity restored to the city. In Florence, on his way to the Council, Gregory at-

[1] Annal. Mediolanen. Muratori, Ann., sub ann. 1272.

tempted to awe into peace the Guelfs and Ghibellines. The Guelfs heard this strange doctrine applied to their enemies, "They are Ghibellines, it is true, but they are citizens, men, Christians." [1] He made the two factions, both at Florence and Sienna, swear to a treaty of peace, and to the readmission of the exiles on both sides, in his own presence and in that of Charles of Anjou, and Baldwin of Constantinople. But the hatred of Guelf and Ghibelline was too deeply rooted; Charles of Anjou openly approving the treaty, secretly contrived a rupture; the Ghibellines were menaced with assassination: the Pope paused on his journey to cast back an excommunication on the forsworn and disobedient Florence. Nor would Genoa enter into terms of reconciliation with Charles of Anjou. Yet on the whole there was at least a surface of quiet; though under the smouldering ashes lay everywhere the fires, nursing their strength, and ready to burst out again in new fury.

Richard, Earl of Cornwall, died, having squandered April 2. 1272. his enormous wealth for the barren honor of bearing the imperial title of King of the Romans for fourteen years, and of displaying in London the splendor and majesty of his imperial pomp.[2] Notwithstanding the claim of Alfonso of Castile, who had exercised no other right than sending a few troops into Lombardy, the Pope commanded a new election. Perhaps he already anticipated the choice of Rodolph of Hapsburg, the founder of the great house of Austria.

[1] S. Antonin. ii. tit. 20, s. 2.

[2] The Germans soon saw, according to Paris, the contempt in which England held Richard of Cornwall; and withdrew, ashamed of their Emperor. He passed as much time in England as in Germany. — Matt. Paris, pp. 953–4.

The Pope confirmed the choice; he tried all means of soothing the pride; he used the gentlest, most sept. 24, 1273 courteous persuasions, but he paid no regard to the remonstrances of the King of Castile. Rodolph of Hapsburg, whose great activity and abilities had been already displayed in the internal affairs of Germany, who had commanded the suffrages of all the electors, except the hostile Ottocar, King of Bohemia,[1] was the sovereign whose accession any Pope, especially Gregory X., might hail with satisfaction. He seemed designated as the chief who might unite Christendom in the Holy War.[2] He had none of the fatal hereditary claims to possessions in Italy, or to the throne of Naples. In the north of Italy he might curb the insatiate ambition, the restless encroachments of Charles of Anjou: the Pope exacted his promise from Rodolph that he would not assail Charles in his kingdom of Sicily or in Tuscany. Gregory X. aspired to include within the pale of the great Christian confederacy, to embark in the common crusade, even a more useful ally, the Greek Emperor of Constantinople. A Greek was again Emperor of the East; Michael Palæologus ruled in Constantinople; Baldwin II., the last of the Latin emperors, was an exile in Europe. Instead of espousing his cause, or

[1] The electors were, Wernher of Eppstein, Archbishop of Mentz: Henry of Fustingen, Archbishop of Treves; Engelbert of Falkenstein, Archbishop of Cologne; Louis, Palatine of the Rhine and Duke of Bavaria; John, Duke of Saxony; John, Margrave of Brandenburg. According to some authorities, Ottocar, King of Bohemia, declined the crown. The reader will find a fair popular account of the elevation of Rodolph of Hapsburg in Coxe's House of Austria.

[2] Rodolph was besieging the Bishop of Basle when he received the intelligence of his election. The city at once surrendered to the King of the Romans. The Bishop was furious. "Sit firm," he cried, "O Lord God, or Rodolph will occupy thy throne." "Sede fortiter, Domine Deus, vel locum Rudolfus occupabit tuum." — Albert Argentan. p. 100.

encouraging the ambition of Charles of Anjou, who had married his daughter to the heir of Baldwin, and aspired to the dominion of the East in the name of his son-in-law, Gregory embraced the wiser and bolder policy of acknowledging the title of the Greek. Palæologus consented to pay the great price of this acknowledgment, no less than submission to the Papal supremacy, and the union of the Greek with the Latin Church.[1] Palæologus had no great reason for profound attachment to the Greek clergy. The Patriarch Arsenius, with boldness unusual in the Eastern hierarchy had solemnly excommunicated the Emperor for his crime in cruelly blinding the young John Lascaris, in whose name he held the empire. Arsenius had been banished on a charge of treason; a new patriarch sat on the throne, but a powerful faction of the clergy were still Arsenites. On his death, they compelled the burial of the banished prelate in the sanctuary of Santa Sophia; absolution in his name alone reconciled the Emperor to God. Palæologus, though the ruling Patriarch was more submissive, might not be disinclined to admit larger authority in a more remote power, held by a Pope in Italy rather than a Patriarch in Constantinople. By every act, by bribery, intimidation, by skilfully softening off the points of difference, and urging the undoubted blessings of union, he wrung a slow consent from the leading clergy of the East: they were gradually taught to consider that the procession of the Holy Ghost, from the Father and the Son, was not a doctrine of such repulsive heterodoxy, and to admit a kind of vague

A.D. 1272.

[1] Pachymer, ii. 15: iii. 1, 2; v. 10; p. 369, &c. Nicephorus Gregoras, iii. 1; iv. 1. Gibbon, edit. Milman, xi. 313, *et seq.*

supremacy in the Pope, which the Emperor assured them would not endanger their independence, as dear to him as to themselves.[1] Ambassadors arrived at Rome with splendid offerings for the altar of St. Peter, and with the treaty of union and of submission to the Roman see, signed by the Emperor, his son, thirty-five archbishops and metropolitans, with their suffragan synods. The Council of Lyons witnessed with joy this reunion — a reunion unhappily but of few years — of the Church of Basil, the Gregories, and Chrysostoms, with that of Leo and Gregory the Great.

Nothing could contrast more strongly than the first and second Councils of Lyons. The first was summoned by Innocent IV., attended by hardly one hundred and fifty prelates, to represent the whole clergy of Christendom; its aim to perpetuate a desperate war, and to commit the Empire and the Papacy in implacable hostility; its authority disclaimed by the larger part of Christendom, cordially and fully accepted by scarcely one of the great kingdoms. At the second Council of Lyons, Gregory X. took his seat at the head of five hundred bishops, seventy abbots, and at least a thousand dignified ecclesiastics. Every kingdom of the West acknowledged its ecumenic power. Council of Lyons.

1 Pachymer complains, not without bitterness, that the Latins called the Greeks, in their contempt, "white Hagarenes." Πρωίστατο γαρ τὸ σκάνδαλον, καὶ τὸ λευκοὺς Ἀγαρηνοὺς εἶναι Γραικοὺς παρ' ἐκείνους μεῖζον ἦρτο. — Lib. v. p. 367. edit. Bonn. The Greek clergy were secretly determined to maintain their independence, to acknowledge no primacy, and not to subject themselves to the judgment of traitors and low men. I presume they thought all Italians like the Genoese of Pera, merchants. Ἀλλὰ μένειν καὶ αὖθις ἐν τῇ κυρίᾳ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἡγούμενοι, καιὸς καὶ ἀφῆκεν εἶχε, καὶ μὴ παρὰ καπήλων κινδυνεύειν κρίνεσθαι καὶ βαναύσων. — p. 368. Strange collision of Greek and Roman pride! The sovereign did not like the φρεριοι, who were very busy.

The King of Arragon was present; the Latin patriarchs of Constantinople and of Antioch, fourteen cardinals, ambassadors from Germany, France, England, Sicily, the Master of the Templars, with many knights of St. John. Of the two great theologic luminaries of the age, the Dominican Thomas Aquinas and the Fran-
May 7, 1274. ciscan Bonaventura, Thomas died on his way to the Council:[1] Bonaventura was present, preached during its sittings, but died before its dissolution. The Council of Lyons aspired to establish peace throughout Christendom; the recognition of an Emperor, elected with the full approval, under the closest bonds of union with the Pope; the readmission of the Eastern Empire, and of the Greek Church, within the pale of Western Christendom. Such was the function of this great assembly, perhaps the first and last Council which was undisturbed by dispute, and uttered no sentence of interdict or excommunication. The declared objects for which the Council was summoned were succor to the Holy Land, the reconciliation of the Greek Church, the reformation of manners. The session opened with great solemnity. The Pope himself officiated in the religious ceremonial, assisted by his cardinals. For the first object, the succor to the Holy Land, a tenth of all ecclesiastical revenues was voted for six years. The

[1] Dante has given perpetuity to the charge against Charles of Anjou of having poisoned St. Thomas; adduced also by Villani, ix. 218: —

> "Carlo venne in Italia, e per ammenda
> Vittima fè di Corradino, e poi
> Respinse al ciel Tommaso per ammenda."
>
> *Purgat.* xx. 67.

Compare commentary of Benvenuto da Imola (apud Muratori). The Guelf Villani assigns as a motive the fear that St. Thomas (a Neapolitan), the oracle of Christendom, would expose his cruelty and wickedness. It is probably an invention of the profound Neapolitan hatred.

Council, as it awaited the arrival of the Greek ambassadors, occupied itself on regulations concerning the discipline and morals of the clergy. On the 24th June arrived the ambassadors. After the edict of the Emperor of Byzantium, sealed with a golden seal, had been exhibited and read, the act for the union of the two Churches was solemnly passed; the Pope himself intoned the *Te Deum* with tears of joy; the Latin clergy chanted the creed in Latin; the Greek, those of the embassy, assisted by the Calabrese bishops, chanted it in Greek. As they came to the words, "who proceedeth from the Father and the Son," they repeated it, with more emphatic solemnity, three times. The representative of the Eastern Emperor acknowledged in ample terms (such were his secret instructions) the supremacy of St. Peter's successor.

Law of Papal Election.

Gregory X. did not permit this Council to be dissolved until he had secured the Papacy from the scandals which had preceded his own election; but to the stern law with which he endeavored to bind the cardinals, he found strong opposition. It was only by his personal authority with each single prelate, that he extorted their irrevocable signature and seal to the statute which was to regulate the proceedings of the conclave on the death of a Pope. The statute retained to the cardinals the proud prerogative of sole election; but it ordained that only ten days after the death of the Pope they were to be shut up, without waiting for absent members of the college, in a single chamber in the deceased Pope's palace, where they were to live in common; all access was to be strictly prohibited, as well as writing or message: each was to have but one domestic; their meals were to be

received through a window too narrow to admit a man. Any communication with them was inhibited under the menace of interdict. If they agreed not in three days, their repast was to be limited, for five days, to a single dish; after that only bread and wine; so they were to be starved into unanimity. If the Pope died out of Rome, in that city where he died was to be this imprisonment of the conclave, under the municipal magistrates, who were sworn to allow the liberty permitted by statute, but no more. All offenders against this decree, of whatever rank, were at once excommunicate, infamous, and could rise to no dignity or public office; any fief or estate they might hold of the Church of Rome, or any other Church, was forfeit. All former pacts, conventions, or agreements, were declared null and void; if under oath, the oath was abrogated, annulled. In every city in Christendom public prayers were to be offered up to God to infuse concord, speedy and wise decision, into the hearts of that venerable conclave.[1] So closed the second Council of Lyons. One act of severity alone, the degradation of Gregory's old enemy, the Bishop of Liège, appears in the annals of this Council. The Christian world was, on the other hand, highly edified by the appearance and solemn baptism of certain Tartars.

Gregory X., after an interview with the King of Oct. 18, 1275. Castile at Beaucaire, whom he strove to reconcile to the loss of the Empire, and an interview with the Emperor Rodolph at Lausanne, repassed the Alps. He was received with deserved honors; only into excommunicated Florence — excommunicated, no one could deny, with perfect Christian justice — the

[1] Mansi et Labbe, sub ann.

peaceful prelate refused to enter. The world was anxiously awaiting the issue of these sage and holy counsels; the pontificate of peace, peace only to be broken by the discomfiture of the infidels in the East, was expanding, it was to be hoped, into many happy and glorious years. Suddenly Gregory sickened on his road to Arezzo; he died, and with him Jan. 10, 1276. broke up the whole confederation of Christendom. The world again, from the conclave to the remotest limits not of Europe alone, but of Christianity, became one vast feud. With Gregory X. expired the Crusades; Christianity lost this principle of union, the Pope this principle of command, this title to the exaction of tribute from the vassal world. From this time he began to sink into an Italian prince, or into the servant of one of the great monarchies of Europe. The last convulsive effort of the Popedom for the dominion of the world, under Boniface VIII., ended in the disastrous death of that Pope; the captivity of the Papacy at Avignon.

After the death of Gregory X., in hardly more than three years three successive Popes rose and passed like shadows over the throne of St. Peter, and a fourth commenced his short reign. The popular superstition and the popular hatred, which, unallayed by the short-lived dignity, holiness, and wisdom of Gregory X., lay so deep in the public mind, beheld in these deaths which followed each other in such darkening rapidity, either the judicial hand of God or the crime of man. The Popes were no sooner proclaimed than dead, either, it was believed, smitten for men's sins or their own, or cut off by poison.[1] Rapid succession of Popes. Innocent V 1276.

[1] "Papæ quatuor mortui, duo divino judicio, et duo veneno exhausti." —Chronic Foro Livien. Muratori, S. I. xxii

The first of these, Peter of Tarantaise (Innocent V.), was elected in January, took up his residence in Rome, and died in June. Ottobuoni Fieschi, the nephew of Innocent IV., answered his kindred, who crowded around him with congratulations on his election, "Would that ye came to a cardinal in good health, not to a dying Pope." He just lived to take the name of Hadrian V., to release his native Genoa from interdict, and to suspend with his dying breath the constitution of Gregory X. concerning the Conclave. He was not crowned, consecrated, or even ordained priest. Hadrian V. died at Viterbo.

Hadrian V. Elected July 9, died Aug. 18.

The immediate choice of the cardinals now fell on Pedro Juliani, a Portuguese, the Cardinal Bishop of Tusculum. Though the cardinals had already obtained from the dying Hadrian the suspension of the severely restrictive edict of Gregory X. concerning the Conclave, the edict was popular abroad. There were many, and among them prelates who declared that, excepting under that statute, and in conformity with its regulations, the cardinals had no right to the sole election of the Pope.[1] There was a great uproar in Viterbo, instigated by these prelates. The Archbishop of Corinth, with some other ecclesiastics who were sent forth to read the suspension of the edict by Hadrian V., confirmed by John XXI., the new Pope, was maltreated; yet, even if the ceremonial was not rigidly observed, there had been the utmost speed in the election of John XXI. The Pope was a man

John XXI.

[1] "In tantam prorupere temeritatis insaniam, ut in dubium auctoritatem et jurisdictionem collegii ejusdem Ecclesiæ revocarent, et de illis in derogationem ipsarum disputantes utilibet, enervare immo et evacuare pro viribus niterentur inanibus argumentis." — Rescript. Joann. XXI., apud Raynald 1276.

of letters, and even of science; he had published some mathematical treatises which excited the astonishment and therefore the suspicion of his age. He was a churchman of easy access, conversed freely with humbler men, if men of letters, and was therefore accused of lowering the dignity of the Pontificate. He was perhaps hasty and unguarded in his language, but he had a more inexpiable fault. He had no love for monks or friars: it was supposed that he meditated some severe coercive edicts on these brotherhoods. Hence his death (he was crushed by the falling of the roof in a noble chamber which he had built in the palace of Viterbo) was foreshown by gloomy prodigies, and held either to be a divine judgment, or a direct act of the Evil One. John XXI. was contemplating with too great pride the work of his own hands, and burst out into laughter; at that instant the avenging roof came down on his head. Two visions revealed to different holy men the Evil One hewing down the supports, and so overwhelming the reprobate Pontiff. He was said by others to have been, at the moment of his death, in the act of writing a book full of the most deadly heresies, or practising the arts of magic.[1] May 15 (?) 20? 1277.

For six weeks, the Cardinals, released from the coercive statute, met in conclave without coming to any conclusion. At length the election fell on John Gaetano, of the noble Roman house, the Orsini, a man of remarkable beauty of person and demeanor. His name, "the Accomplished," implied that in him met all the graces of the handsom- Nov 25, 1277. Nicolas III. il comperto.

[1] Ptolem. Luc. xxvi. Nangis, however, says that he died "perceptis omnibus sacramentis ecclesiasticis." — Sub ann. 1277. Siffred. in Chronic

est clerks in the world; but he was a man likewise of irreproachable morals, of vast ambition, and of great ability. This age of short-lived Popes was the age of magnificent designs as short-lived as their authors. The nobler, more comprehensive, more disinterested scheme of Gregory X. had sunk into nothing at his death; that of Nicolas III. had deeper root, but came not to maturity during his reign, or in his line. An Italian, a Roman, was again upon the throne of St. Peter. The Orsini at first took up his residence at Rome. He built a splendid palace, the Vatican, near St. Peter's, with gardens around, and fortified with a strong wall.[1] He repaired, enlarged, and strengthened the Lateran Palace. Unlike his rash predecessor, he was a friend to the great monastic orders: he knew how completely the preachers and other mendicants still, notwithstanding the hatred of the clergy, now they had taken possession of the high places of theology, ruled the public mind. To Thomas Aquinas and St. Bonaventura the world looked up as to its guiding lights; nor had they lost their power over the popular passions.

Nicolas III. did not in any degree relax the Papal superintendence over Christendom to its extreme limits: he is interfering in the affairs of Poland and Hungary, mediating in the wars between France and Spain, watching over the crumbling wreck of the Christian possessions in the Holy Land. In the East he not merely held the justly alarmed Emperor, Michael Palæologus, to his plighted fidelity and allegiance, but insisted on the more ample recognition of the Papal supremacy.[2] He demanded that a solemn oath of sub-

[1] Bunsen und Platner, Roms Beschreibung, ii. p. 231.

[2] Raynald. sub ann. 1279, 80. Pachymer (vi. 10, p. 461) calls the Pope

ordination should be taken by the Patriarch and the clergy. To the prudent request of the Emperor, that the obnoxious words which asserted the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Son, should not be forced at once into the creed, he returned a haughty reply that no indulgence could be granted, though some toleration might be conceded for a time on the other points in which the Greek differed from the Roman ritual. He even required that the Greek Church should humbly seek absolution for the sin of their long schism. A strong faction broke out in the Empire, in Constantinople, in the Court, in the family of the Emperor. They branded the Pope, the Patriarch, the Emperor, as heretics. Palæologus became that most odious of persecutors, a persecutor without the excuse of religious bigotry; confiscation, scourging, mutilation, punished the refractory assertors of the independence of the Greek Church. The Pope's Legates were gratified by the sight of four princes of the blood confined in a loathsome prison. But discontent led to insurrection. The Prince of Trebisond, who had always retained the title of Emperor, espoused the cause of Greek orthodoxy. His generals betrayed the unhappy Palæologus: his family, especially his nieces, intrigued against him. He hesitated; for his hesitation he was excommunicated at Rome by Martin IV., the slave of his enemy Charles of Anjou. On his death the Greeks with one consent threw off the yoke; the churches were purified from the infection of the Latin rites; the creed resumed its old form; Andronicus, the

Return of the Greek Church to independence.

ορβανος. The Jesuit Possin, Chronol. in Pachymerum, conjectures Ορσανος the Orsini — perhaps a blunder of the Greeks. The whole long intrigue may be traced through two or three books of Pachymer.

son of Palæologus, refused burial to his schismatic father.[1]

But Italy was the scene of the great achievements, it was to be that of the still greater designs, of Nicolas III. The Emperor Rodolph was not yet so firmly seated on his throne (he was involved in a perilous war with Ottocar of Bohemia) as to disdain the aid of the Roman Pontiff. He could not but look to the resumption at least of some imperial rights in Lombardy; if the Pope should maintain the cause of Charles of Anjou, Italy was entirely lost. From the magnificence, the policy, or the fears of Rodolph, the Pope extorted the absolute cession to the Roman See, not only of Romagna, but of the exarchate of Ravenna. The Chancellor of the Emperor had exacted an oath of allegiance from the cities of Bologna, Imola, Faenza, Forlì, Cesena, Ravenna, Rimini, Urbino, and
May 29, 1278. some other towns. Rodolph disclaimed the acts of his Chancellor, recognized the donation of the Emperor Louis, and made a new donation, in his own name, of the whole territory from Radicofani to Ceperano, the March of Ancona, the duchy of Spoleto, the county of Bertinoro, the lands of the Countess Matilda, the exarchate of Ravenna, the Pentapolis, Ferrara, Comachio, Montefeltro, and Massa Trabaria, absolutely; and with all his full rights to the See of St. Peter. The Pope obtained a confirmatory acknowledgment of his sovereignty, as well as over Sardinia, Corsica, and Sicily, from the great electors of the Empire.[2] This document is signed by the Archbishop of Salzburg and other prelates, by the Chancellor of the Empire, by Albert the eldest, and

[1] Raynald. 1279. ii.

[2] Raynald. p. 473.

Hartman the second son of the Emperor, by many of the nobles with their own hand, by some with that of their notaries.[1] This cession Nicolas determined should not be, as it had heretofore been, an idle form in the officers of the Empire; and the Legates of the Pope presented themselves at the gates of the greater cities, demanding the acknowledgment of the Papal sovereignty. The independent principalities, the republics which had grown up in these territories, made no resistance; they were released from their oath to the Emperor, and took the oath to the Pope; even Bologna submitted on certain terms. The Pope was actual ruling sovereign of the whole of the dominions to which the Papal See had advanced its pretensions.[2] The extent of this sovereignty was still vague and undefined: the princes maintained their principalities, the republics their municipal institutions and self-government. They admitted no rulers appointed by the Pope; his power of levying taxes was certainly not unrestricted, nor the popular rule absolutely abrogated. Thus strong in the manifest favor of the Emperor Rodolph, Nicolas III. made a great merit to Charles of Anjou that he had stipulated that the Emperor should abstain from all warlike operations against Charles The ambitious Frenchman overawed, quietly allowed himself to be despoiled first of his vicariate of Tuscany, and then of his senatorship of Rome. Charles humbly entreated that he might not suffer the indignity of surrendering

Feb. 14. 1279

Sept. 16 in the following year.

Schemes of Charles of Anjou.

[1] Boehmer observes of this document, that the two sons of the Emperor could write: the Burgrave of Nuremburg and the Archbishop of Salzburg! could not. — Regesta, p. 98.

[2] "Ma quello, che i cherici prendono, tardi sanno rendere." — Villani, vii. 53.

that office, which, on the expulsion of Henry of Castile, had been regranted to him for ten years by Pope Clement IV., before the expiration of that term, now almost elapsed. Nicolas condescended to grant his humble petition; but on the abdication of Charles he passed a rigorous edict that the senatorship from that time should never be held by emperor, king, prince, marquis, duke, count, or baron, or any man of great rank or power, or even by their brother, son, or grandson; no one could hold it for above a year; no one without special license of the Apostolic See.[1] This hostility to Charles may have been the deliberate policy of the Pope: it was said that the Pope had demanded the niece of Charles in marriage for his nephew; Charles contemptuously answered, the Pope was no hereditary prince, and that notwithstanding the red shoes he wore, he must not presume to mix his blood with that of kings.[2] There can be no doubt that Charles had used his influence in the conclave to oppose the elevation of the Roman Orsini.

Charles retired to his dominions to brood over revenge, to meditate a league against the Eastern Empire which was to compensate for his losses in the West. The Popes had taken the reconciled Greeks, the submissive Palæologus (the fear of Charles had been a chief motive for the religious tractableness of the Greeks[3]), under their protection. Gregory X. had refused to sanction or to consecrate the banner which Charles was prepared to unfold in the name of the

[1] Nicolai III., Regesta. Raynald. sub ann.
[2] Ricordano Malespina, 204. Villani, vii. 53.
[3] This appears throughout the Byzantine accounts.

Latin Philip; Charles had been seen to gnaw his ivory sceptre in wrath, in the antechamber of the Pope, at this desertion of what he asserted to be the cause of legitimate right and orthodox belief.[1] Charles was now negotiating with the Latins of the Eastern Empire and the republic of Venice to take arms and replace the son of Baldwin on the throne of Constantinople. Even in Sicily Charles of Anjou was not absolutely secure: the Pope was understood to entertain secret relations with the enemies of the French rule.

Nepotism of Nicolas III.

But Nicolas III. had ulterior schemes, which seem to foreshow and anticipate the magnificent designs of later nepotism. Already, under pretence of heresy, he had confiscated the castles of some of the nobles of Romagna, that particularly of Suriano, and invested his nephews with them. The castle of St. Angelo, separated from the Church, was granted to his nephew Orso. His kinsmen were by various means elected the Podestàs of many cities. Three of his brethren, four more of his kindred, had been advanced to the Cardinalate. Bertoldo Orsini, his brother, was created Count of Romagna. His favorite nephew, by his sister's side, Latino Malebranca (a Brancaleone), the Cardinal Bishop of Ostia, a powerful preacher, had great success in allaying the feuds in many of the cities,[2] even in Bologna, wearied by the long strife of the Lambertazzi and the Gieromei; wherever the Cardinal established peace, the Count of Romagna assumed authority. Himself he had declared perpetual Senator of Rome. His nephew Orso was his vicar in this great office. But these were but the first

[1] Pachymer, v. 26, p. 410.

[2] Villani, ii. c. 55. Villani calls Bertoldo Orsini nepote of Nicolas III.

steps to the throne which Nicolas III. aspired to raise for the house of Orsini. It was believed that he had laid before the Emperor Rodolph a plan by which the Empire was to become hereditary in his house, the kingdom of Vienna was to be in Charles Martel, nephew of Charles of Anjou, the son-in-law of the Emperor. Italy was to be divided into the two kingdoms of Insubria and Tuscany, besides that of Sicily and on these thrones were to be placed two of the house of Orsini.[1]

A sudden fit of apoplexy at his castle of Soriano cut short all these splendid designs.[2] From this favorite residence he had dated his Bulls, a practice which had given great offence. The Pope was, as it were, merging himself in the stately Italian sovereign.

Aug. 22, 1280. Death of Nicolas III.

Charles of Anjou heard with the utmost joy the unexpected tidings of the death of his enemy Nicolas III. He instantly took measures to secure himself against the calamity of a second hostile Pope, to wrest the Pontificate from the aspiring family of the Orsini, and form an independent Italian interest.[3] The family of the Annibaldeschi rivalled that of the Orsini in wealth and power. There was a rising in Rome; the divided people had recourse to the vain step

The conclave at Viterbo.

[1] Muratori, Annal. sub ann. 1280, with authorities.

[2] Nicolas is in Dante's hell for his unmeasured nepotism: —

"Sappi che io fui vestito del gran manto;
E veramente fui figliuol del Orsa,
Cupido si per avansar l' Orsatti,
Che su l' havere, e qui mi misi in borsa."
*Inferno*, xix. 66.

"Però ti sta; chè tu sei ben punito,
E guarda ben la mal tolta moneta,
Ch' esser ti fece contra Carlo ardito." — 95.

[3] Villani, vii. c. 57.

for the preservation of peace, the creation of two Senators, one out of each of the rival houses. This, as might have been expected, increased the confusion; Rome became a scene of strife, murder, anarchy. But Viterbo, where the conclave of Cardinals was assembled, was even of more importance, an Annibaldeschi was Lord of that city.[1] The people of Viterbo were won, by force or bribery, to the party of Charles. The constitution of Gregory X. was utterly forgotten; the conclave prolonged its sittings. The Pope had crowded the college with Orsinis and their dependants. The Viterbans surrounded the chamber; they accused the Orsini Cardinals as disturbing or arresting the freedom of election, dragged forth two of them, and cast them into prison. With them they seized and incarcerated Malebranca the Cardinal Bishop of Ostia: the rest were kept on the statutable bread and wine; the French Cardinals, it was said, were furtively provided with better viands. Yet the strife endured for nearly six months before the stubborn conclave would yield to the election of the Cardinal of Santa Cecilia, a Frenchman, the slave and passive instrument of Charles of Anjou. Feb. 22, 1281. Latino.

Martin IV. was born at Mont Pencè in Brie; he had been Canon of Tours. He put on at first the show of maintaining the lofty character of the Churchman. He excommunicated the Viterbans for their sacrilegious maltreatment of the Cardinals; Rinaldo Annibaldeschi, the Lord of Viterbo, was compelled to ask pardon on his knees of the Cardinal Rosso, and forgiven only at the intervention of the Pope.[2] Martin IV. retired to Orvieto. Martin IV.

[1] Muratori, sub ann. 1281. [2] Ptolem. Luc. xxiv. 2.

But the Frenchman soon began to predominate over the Pontiff; he sunk into the vassal of Charles of Anjou. The great policy of his predecessor, to assuage the feuds of Guelf and Ghibelline, was an Italian policy; it was altogether abandoned. The Ghibellines in every city were menaced or smitten with excommunication; the Lambertazzi were driven from Bologna. Forlì was placed under interdict for harboring the exiles; the goods of the citizens were confiscated for the benefit of the Pope. Bertoldo Orsini was deposed from the Countship of Romagna; the office was bestowed on John of Appia, with instructions everywhere to coerce or to chastise the refractory Ghibellines.[1] The Pope himself was elected Senator of Rome, in defiance of the decree of Nicolas III.; Charles of Anjou was his vicegerent. Nor did excommunication confine itself to Italy; Charles was now in a state to carry on his league for the subjugation of the Eastern Empire, in conjunction with the exiled Latin Sovereign and the Venetian republic. Palæologus, who had surrendered the liberties of the Greek Church to the supremacy of Rome, who, at the command of the Pope, had persecuted, had provoked his subjects, his kindred to rebellion, had raised up a rival Greek Patriarch to contest Constantinople, who had been denounced as worse than a heretic, as an apostate, was now, because something was yet thought wanting to his base compliance, or rather because he maintained his throne in defiance of Charles of Anjou, solemnly excommunicated by Martin IV.[2] The last hope of union between

[1] "Che votò l' erario delle smuniche per fulminar tutti i Ghibellini, e chiunque era nemico o poco amico del medesimo Re Carlo." So writes the calm Muratori, p. 185.

[2] This passionate and partial excommunication shocked his own age.

the Churches was thus cut away by the Pope's suicidal hand; Palæologus died repudiated as a renegade by his own Church, under the interdict of the Church of Rome. His son Andronicus, as has been said, dissolved the inauspicious alliance; and the Churches were again for above two centuries in implacable opugnancy.

Charles of Anjou, with the Pope as his obsequious minister, might seem reinstated in more than his former plenitude of power; he resided with the Pope at Orvieto, as it were to dictate his counsels. Though Martin did not yet venture to dispossess the Emperor Rodolph of the Vicariate of Tuscany, Charles might have been justified in the noblest hopes of his ambition in Italy, but he was looking with more wide-grasping predilection to the East. Under the pretext of a Crusade to the Holy Land, he was aspiring to add Constantinople to his realm.

From the date of this act, writes Ptolemy of Lucca, all went wrong with Charles and the Church. See back, p. 137.

## CHAPTER V.

### SICILIAN VESPERS.

Discontent of Sicily.

But a mine had long been working under his throne, which in the next year burst with all the suddenness and terror of one of his kingdom's volcanoes. While he contemplated the sovereignty of the East, Sicily was lost to his house. Around one man has gathered all the glory of this signal revolution; John of Procida has been handed down as almost the sole author of the expulsion of the French, and the translation of the crown of Sicily to the house of Arragon: Peter of Arragon, the Emperor Palæologus, Nicolas III., the revolted Barons of Sicily were but instruments wielded by his strong will, brought into close alliance through negotiations conducted by him alone; excited, sustained, guided by his ubiquitous presence. Even the Vespers of Palermo were attributed to his secret instigation. John of Procida perhaps achieved not all which is ascribed to him alone; in the vast system of secret agency he was not the sole mover; much which was traced to his suggestion arose out of natural passions, resentment, revenge, ambition, interest, patriotism, love of power and glory in those who conspired to this memorable work. A fatal revelation, but too trustworthy, shows John of Procida in his early career (he had been already physi-

John of Procida.

cian to Frederick II. and to Conrad, and confidential counsellor of Manfred) as basely abandoning the cause of the fallen Manfred, crouching at the feet of the Pope at Viterbo, protesting that he had only bowed beneath the storm of Manfred's tyranny; he was commended to the mercy of Charles of Anjou by the Pope, as his beloved son, as the future faithful servant of King Charles. How far he was admitted to favor appears not, but three years after he is involved in a charge of high-treason, and flies from Naples. But however base instead of noble, revenge, disappointed treachery and ambition, are hardly less strong and obstinate motives to action than generous indignation at tyranny, and holy love of country.[1]

In all the conspiracy, a conspiracy of thoughts, feelings, passions, if not of compacts and treaties, the most fatal to Charles was the insupportable, unexampled, acknowledged tyranny of the French dominion.[2] Sicily had groaned and bled under the cruel despotism of the Emperor Henry; the German rudeness aggravated the harshness of his rule. Frederick II., as also his son, had been severe, though just; if his fiscal regulations were oppressive, they were repaid by the brilliancy of his court, by his wise laws, by noble foundations, by the national pride in beholding Naples and Sicily the most civilized kingdom in the world. Charles and his French and Provençal nobles, with the haughtiness and cruelty of foreign rulers, indulged without restraint those outrages which gall to

Tyranny of the French.

[1] See the document among the Pièces justificatives in Cherrier, iv. 524, from a copy in the Royal Library at Paris. Compare Amari's preface and document first edit. iv., Florence, 1851; St. Priest, Histoire de la Conquête de Naples, Paris, 1847.

[2] "Sub tyrannicæ turbine tempestatis."

madness. Charles from the first treated the realm as a conquered land; after the insurrection in favor of Conradin, as a revolted kingdom. The insurgents, or reputed insurgents, were hunted down, torn from their families: happy if only put to a violent death![1] to the exactions of Charles there were no limits. The great fiefs seized, confiscated on the slightest suspicion of disaffection, were granted to French nobles; the foreign soldiers lived at free quarters; they were executioners commissioned to punish a rebellious race. To all complaints of cruelty, outrage, extortion, Charles replied with a haughty scoff, as though it were fit treatment for the impious rebels against himself and the Pope. The laws, severe enough before, were aggravated by still more sanguinary enactments, and by their execution with refined mercilessness. But there were worse cruelties than these; those women only were safe who, being heiresses, were compelled to marry French nobles; of these there was a regular register; of all others the honor was at the mercy of those who in this respect knew no mercy: there was no redress, no pity; it might seem as if Sicilian women were thought honored by being defiled by French and Provençal brutality.[2] Over this tyranny, which himself had inflicted on this beautiful land, Clement IV. had groaned in bitter remorse. Charles in his impartial rapacity spared not the property of the Church; if in his cruelty he respected the sacred persons of ecclesiastics, he taxed even the Templars and Knights of St. John. The

[1] Amari, c. iii., for a full account of these horrors, with his authorities.

[2] See these enactments, quoted in Amari. On the forced marriages, p. 61. His fourth chapter we read with a revulsive shudder, and would fain disbelieve; but the industry of Amari has been too searching, his facts and documents are too strong even for charitable palliation.

Pope had sent remonstrances, embassies, to warn, to threaten, but in vain.[1] He had entreated the intervention of the holy Louis. Gregory X. menaced that for the tyrannies of the same kind which Charles exercised in Tuscany the wrath of God would fall on such a tyrant. "I know not," answered Charles, "what that word tyrant means; this I know, that so far I have been protected by God; I doubt not that he will still protect me." The Archbishop of Capua denounced him at the Council of Lyons; he laughed to scorn the complaints of the Prelates, the Legates of the Council, the letters of the Pope to Philip of France. In Sicily all the abuses of the government were felt in their extreme weight. Naples was the residence of the court, and derived some glory or advantage from its splendor; Palermo sunk to a provincial town, Sicily to a province. The Parliament had fallen into desuetude; it was an iron reign of force without justice, without law, without humanity, without mercy, without regard to morality, without consideration of any one of the rights, or of the interests or the welfare of mankind.

The race of Sicily's old kings was not utterly extinct. In Constance, the daughter of Manfred, the wife of Peter of Arragon, lingered the last drops of Swabian blood: it was said that on the scaffold Conradin had cast down his glove, to be borne to the King of Arragon, as the heir of his rights, the avenger of his death. To the court of the King of Arragon had fled those Sicilians of the Swabian party who had the good fortune to become exiles — among these three of great name, Roger Loria, Conrad Lan-

House of Arragon.

[1] See two letters especially, in Raynaldus, 1267; also in Martene and Durand, Thes. Nov. Anecd. ii. 530, 537, &c.

cia, John of Procida. John of Procida was an exile soon after the failure and death of Conradin. His hatred to the French is said to have been deepened by the worst outrage, perpetrated on his wife and his daughter. Existing grants to his wife Landolfina intimate that she was under the protection of some powerful influence, not improbably of a French paramour.[1] John of Procida was born at Salerno; though a noble, he was profoundly skilled, as in other learning, in the science of his native city, that of medicine. He rose in the favor of Peter of Arragon, became his bosom counsellor, was endowed with lands, the lands of Luxen, Benezzano, and Palma, in the kingdom of Valencia; he was a Valencian noble.[2]

Peter of Arragon.

Peter of Arragon, with his court and his confidential council, thus occupied by Sicilian exiles, who were constantly urging upon him the odious tyranny of Charles the usurper, and the discontent, disaffection, despair of the Sicilians; with his Queen not likely to forget her own hereditary claims, or the wrongs of her noble father Manfred and his ancient house; lord but of his own narrow kingdom hardly won from the Moors, and held, as it were, in a joint sovereignty with his Nobles, was not likely to avert his eyes from the prospect of a greater monarchy which expanded before him. He had made treaties of peace with the rival Kings his neighbors, a treaty for five years with the King of Granada, a league with Castile; and over King Sancho of Castile he held the menace of letting loose the two young princes, nearer to the throne than Sancho, and resident at the court of

[1] Amari, note, p. 82.
[2] See Amari's note, p. 83.

Arragon.[1] He kept up friendly relations with Philip of France, the husband of his sister; he even made advances to Charles of Anjou; there was a proposal of marriage between his son and the daughter of Charles. Peter was embarked in suspicious negotiations with the Saracens in Tunis.[2] At the same time he was making great preparations for war; in his arsenals in Valencia, Tortosa, and Barcelona was gathering a powerful fleet; his subjects granted subsidies; provisions, stores, arms, accoutrements of war were accumulated as for some momentous design. How far John of Procida instigated these designs, or only encouraged the profound ambition of the King for dominion, of the Queen for revenge for her injured house, none can know: nor how far Procida acted from his own intense patriotism or revenge, or but as an instrument in the hand of others.

There can be no doubt that there was a secret understanding, that there was direct communication between the enemies of Charles, the Emperor of the East, Pope Nicolas III., the King of Arragon, perhaps the Sicilian nobles, Alaimo da Lentini and his colleagues: Procida may have been, no doubt was, one of the chief of those agents;[3] if not actually commissioned, tacitly recognized. He was once, if not twice,

John of Procida.

[1] Montaner, c. 40, 45: in Buchon, Collection des Mémoires, D'Esclot, c 76.

[2] Amari, p. 86, with his notes.

[3] Amari is inclined to treat as romance this primary organization of the whole confederacy by John of Procida; his ubiquitous agency: his disguises: especially his frequent intercourse with the Sicilian nobles. But there seems a great difficulty as to the growth of this romance, and this elevation of Procida into the sole hero of the war and the great deliverer, after his apostasy from the cause of Arragon, and after he had incurred the hatred of the Arragonese party.

at the court of Constantinople. There he needed not to rouse the fears and jealousy of Palæologus; the designs of Charles against the Eastern Empire were, if not avowed, but half disguised. Charles was the open ally of Philip, the Latin claimant of the Empire. Palæologus might well enter into correspondence, or admit to a secret interview, the bosom counsellor of King Peter of Arragon. To Procida Palæologus may have intrusted his secret offers of large sums of money for the Pope, the hundred thousand byzantines, not to detach him from the interests of Charles of Anjou, against whom he had already taken hostile measures, but to enable him to defy the power of the Angevine.[1] Procida, according to the common account — an account contradicted only by the silence of other writers — left Constantinople, pretending to be driven away by the Emperor; he disguised himself as a Mendicant Friar, reached Malta, landed in Sicily, had frequent interviews with the disaffected nobles, Walter of Caltagirone, Palmerio Abbate, Alaimo da Lentini. From them he obtained an invitation to Peter of Arragon to advance his claims to the inheritance of his wife. In the friar's garb he made his way to Nicolas III. in Soriano, revealed himself to the Holy Father, explained the extent, the success of his negotiations; laid the treasures of Palæologus at his feet. Nicolas consented to recognize the claims of Peter of Arragon, and by letters of the most profound secrecy promised him the investiture of the realm. Procida appeared at Barce-

[1] "E guarda ben la mal tolta moneta,
Ch' esser ti fece contra Carlo ardito."
Dante, *Inf.* xix. 98.
Amari's new interpretation of this verse is to me quite unsatisfactory.

lona with these animating tidings to rekindle the somewhat slumbering ambition of the King. The warlike preparations were urged with greater activity. Procida set forth on a second mission: he landed at Pisa; at Viterbo he saw the Pope; at Trapani conferred with the Sicilian nobles; passed to Negropont undiscovered, reached Constantinople. He was welcomed by the Emperor; negotiations were commenced for an alliance by marriage between the courts of Arragon and Constantinople. Accardo, a Lombard knight, was secretly despatched by the Emperor to the court of Peter with thirty thousand ounces of gold. Procida embarked on board a ship of Pisa. Accardo was concealed in the ship. At Malta they met the Sicilian conspirators, with the news of the death of Nicolas III. The Sicilians would have abandoned the hopeless enterprise; Procida reinvigorated them by the introduction of Accardo, and the sight of the Byzantine gold. All Procida's eloquence, all his ability, it is said, but very improbably, was needed to dissuade the King of Arragon from the abandonment of the hopeless enterprise. Again the plan was fully organized; the manner, the time of the insurrection arranged.[1]

It is certain that the warlike preparations of the King of Arragon had not escaped the jealous observation of Charles of Anjou; he could not but know the claims, the wrongs, of the Queen of Peter of Arragon; the stern, reserved, ambitious character of Peter; perhaps he had obtained some clue to the great league which was secretly forming against him. The vague rumors industriously propagated of designs against the

[1] The sons of Manfred were living, but in prison, from whence they never came forth.

Saracens of Africa by Peter of Arragon, however at other times they might have justified vast and secret armaments, could not blind the Angevine's keen apprehensions. Charles had himself demanded explanations. Among the first acts of Martin IV. was to require, through Philip of France, and from Peter himself directly, the scope and object of these menacing preparations: if they were against the infidels, he offered his sanction, his prayers, his contributions. Peter baffled his inquiries with his dexterous but inflexible reply. He implored the prayers of the Pope on his design; "but if he thought his right hand knew his secret, he would cut it off, lest it should betray it to his left."

Charles, on his part, had been making great preparations; he had a large fleet in the ports of Sicily and Naples; a powerful land force was assembled for embarkation. He had increased the burdens of the kingdom to provide this army, compelled the Sicilian nobles to furnish vessels; and he was as little disposed to disclose his own secret objects as the King of Arragon. The ostensible object was the deliverance of the Holy Land; the immediate one the subjugation of the Greek Empire. These forces were still in the garrisons and towns of Sicily. Forty-two castles had been built, either in the strongest positions, or to command the great cities, and were held by French feudatories. They were provided with arms, and could summon at an instant's notice all their French sub-feudatories, or the Sicilians on whom they could depend for aid. Heribert of Orleans, the King's Lieutenant, was in Messina; in Palermo, John di San Remi, the Justiciary of the Val di Mazzara.

At this juncture the crisis was precipitated by one of those events which no sagacity could have foreseen,[1] which all the ubiquitous activity ascribed to John of Procida could not have devised — an outburst of popular fury excited by one of those acts of insulting tyranny which goad an oppressed people to madness. The insurrection of Palermo received the darkly famous name of the "Sicilian Vespers." Sicilian Vespers

The Sicilians still crowded to their religious festivals with all the gayety and light-heartedness of a southern people. Even their churches, where they assembled for the worship of that God whose representative on earth had handed them over to their ruthless tyrant, where alone they found consolation under the grinding tyranny, were not secure against the all-present agents of that tyranny. The officers of the revenue watched the doors of the churches: as all who had not paid their taxes went in or came forth, even from within the sanctuary itself they dragged off their miserable victims, whom they branded with the name of heretics — "Pay, ye Paterins, pay!"

It was at a festival on Easter Tuesday that a multitude of the inhabitants of Palermo and the neighborhood had thronged to a church, about half a mile out of the town, dedicated to the Holy Ghost. The religious service was over, the merriment begun; tables were spread, the amusements of all sorts, games, dances under the trees, were going gayly on; when March 31

[1] Amari, c. v. p. 89. "Da trame coi Ghibellini e con alcun Baroni di Napoli o di Sicilia non si possono ormai revocare in dubbio. Falsa è che la pratica, si strettamente condotta, fosse a punto riuscita a produrre lo scoppio del Vespro." I fully subscribe to this latter clause.

the harmony was suddenly interrupted, and the joyousness chilled by the appearance of a body of French soldiery, under the pretext of keeping the peace. The French mingled familiarly with the people, paid court, not in the most respectful manner, to the women; the young men made sullen remonstrances, and told them to go their way. The Frenchmen began to draw together. "These rebellious Paterins must have arms, or they would not venture on such insolence." They began to search some of them for arms. The two parties were already glaring at each other in angry hostility. At that moment the beautiful daughter of Roger Mastrangelo, a maiden of exquisite loveliness and modesty, with her bridegroom, approached the church. A Frenchman, named Drouet, either in wantonness or insult, came up to her, and under the pretence of searching for arms, thrust his hand into her bosom. The girl fainted in her bridegroom's arms. He uttered in his agony the fatal cry, "Death to the French!" A youth rushed forward, stabbed Drouet to the heart with his own sword, was himself struck down. The cry, the shriek, ran through the crowd, "Death to the French!" Many Sicilians fell, but of two hundred on the spot, not one Frenchman escaped. The cry spread to the city: Mastrangelo took the lead; every house was stormed, every hole and corner searched; their dress, their speech, their persons, their manners denounced the French. The palace was forced; the Justiciary, being luckily wounded in the face, and rolled in the dust, and so undetected, mounted a horse, and fled with two followers. Two thousand French were slain. They denied them decent burial, heaped them together in a great pit. The horrors of the scene

were indescribable: the insurgents broke into the convents, the churches. The friars, especial objects of hatred, were massacred; they slew the French monks, the French priests. Neither old age, nor sex, nor infancy, was spared; it is a charge more than once repeated in the Papal acts, that they ripped up Sicilian women who were pregnant by Frenchmen, in order to exterminate the hated brood. A government was hastily formed; Roger Mastrangelo, Arrigo Barresi, Niccoloso d'Ortoleva (knights), with Niccolo de Eblemonia were summoned by acclamation to be Captains of the people. They then proclaimed the "Good estate and liberty," unfolded the banner of the city, an eagle on a field of gold; the keys of the Church were still quartered upon it.

The Justiciary was pursued to Vicari, thirty miles distant; the people rose at the cry of "Death to the French!"[1] The garrison at first refused to capitulate, and to be sent safe to Provence; it was now too late, the Justiciary was shot down by a random arrow, every Frenchman massacred. Sicily was everywhere in arms; Corleone first followed the example of Palermo. Everywhere the French were hunted down and murdered. One man alone was spared. William Porcelet, Governor of Calatafimi, who had ruled with justice and humanity, was, by common consent, sent safe on board ship by the Palermitans, and returned to Provence. In Messina was the strength of the French force, under the Viceroy, Heribert of Orleans. Messina rose. Heribert was

Insurrection general.

[1] Muoiano le Francese! In this account I am quite with Amari against Mon de St. Priest, who cannot forget to be a Frenchman. — See Amari's authorities, p. 103, and Appendix.

compelled to submit to terms; he swore to transport himself and all his soldiers to Aigues Mortes, in Provence. He broke his oath, and landed in Calabria; the Messinese revenged his perjury on every Frenchman who was left behind. In one month, that of April, Sicily was free; the French had disappeared.

Such was the revolution which bears in history the appalling name of the Sicilian Vespers, sudden, popular, reckless, sanguinary, so as to appear the unpremeditated explosion of a people goaded to frenzy by intolerable oppression; yet general, simultaneous, orderly, so as to imply, if not some previous organization, some slow and secret preparation of the public mind. John of Procida, the barons in league with John of Procida, appear not during the first outburst; the fleets of Peter of Arragon are yet within their harbors. The towns take the lead; they assert their own independence, and form a league for mutual defence. Acts are dated as under the rule of the Church and the Republic. The Church is everywhere respected; it might seem as if the Sicilians supposed Nicolas III. still on the Pontifical throne, or that they would not believe that the Pope was so servile an adherent of the Angevine. They were soon disabused. When Charles first heard of the revolt, of the total loss of Sicily, and the massacre of at least two thousand Frenchmen, he lifted his eyes to Heaven in devout prayer: "O Lord God, if it hath pleased thee to visit me with adverse fortune, grant at least that it may come with gentle steps."[1] As though he had satisfied his religion by this one stern act of humility, no sooner had he reached Naples than he burst into the most fu-

Conduct of Charles of Anjou.

[1] Villani, vii. 71.

rious paroxysms of wrath. Now he sat silent, glaring fiercely around him, gnawing the top of his sceptre; then broke forth into the most horrible vows of vengeance: "if he could live a thousand years, he would go on razing the cities, burning the lands, torturing the rebellious slaves. He would leave Sicily a blasted, barren, uninhabited rock, as a warning to the present age, an example to the future." Pope Martin, less violent in his demeanor, was hardly less so in his public acts. The Palermitans sent an embassy declaring their humble submission to the Papal See. The messengers were monks. They addressed the Pope — "O Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us!" Martin compared them to the Jews, who smote the Saviour, and cried "Hail, King of the Jews." [1] His bull of excommunication describes in the blackest terms the horrors of the massacre.[2] A crusade was proclaimed against the Sicilians: all ecclesiastics, archbishops, bishops, abbots, who favored the insurgents, were at once deprived and deposed; all laymen stripped of their fiefs or estates. The people of Palermo sternly replied, that "they had unfolded the banner of St. Peter, in hopes, under that protection, to obtain their liberties; they must now unfold the banner of another Peter, the King of Arragon." [3]

Charles made the most vigorous preparations for war. The age and state of public mind are singularly illustrated by the following story: a Mendicant Friar, Bartolomeo Piazza, appeared in his

The Mendicant Friar.

1 Villani, vii. 62.

2 Saba Malespina. The Bull in Raynald. sub ann. 1282.

3 Compare Amari, Documento x.; a long oration, assuredly made after the time.

camp, a man of blameless morals and some learning; he disdained the disguise of a spy. He was led before the King. "How darest thou," Charles abruptly accosted him, "come from that land of traitors?" "Neither am I a traitor, nor come I from a land of traitors. I come, urged by religion and conscience, to warn my holy brethren that they follow not your unjust arms. You have abandoned the people committed by God to your charge to be torn by wolves and hounds; you have hardened your heart against complaints and supplications; they have avenged their wrongs, they will defend, they will die for, their holiest rights. Think of Pharaoh!" Either awe, or the notion that Bartolomeo would bear back a true account of his overwhelming forces, induced the King to endure this affront; the Friar returned to Messina.[1]

Charles before Messina.

Before Messina appeared Charles with all his army, burning for revenge. At first he obtained some successes; but the popular leader, Manfrone, was deposed, the Noble Alaimo da Lentini placed at the head of the garrison. The resistance became obstinate. The women were most active, as perhaps most exposed to the vengeance of the French. Their delicate hands bore stones, ammunition; they tended the sick and wounded.[2] The Legate of the Pope, the Cardinal Gerard, accompanied the King; he was armed with the amplest powers. He demanded, or was invited

[1] Bartolom. de Neocastro, cap. 32, 34.

[2] "Deh com' egli è gran pietate,
Delle donne de Messina,
Veggendole scapigliate,
Portando pretia e calcina.
Iddio gli dia briga e travaglia,
A chi Messina vuol questar."
Popular song, quoted by Villani, vii. 77.

to enter the city. He was received with general jubilation, and escorted to the Cathedral: Alaimo da Lentini laid at his feet the keys of the city and his own staff of command. They entreated him to accept the dominion of the city in the name of the Church, to appoint a governor: "to the Church they would willingly pay their tribute, but away with the French! in the name of God let them be driven from the lands of the Church!" Gerard replied, if not in the fierce and criminatory tone ascribed to him by one historian as to insolent rebels, yet with a haughty condescension.[1] "Heinous as were their sins, they were not beyond the mercy of their mother the Church; he would reconcile the Messinese to their King; subjects must not speak of terms to their sovereign. Let them trust the magnanimity, the clemency of Charles; the savage murderers alone would meet with condign punishment. Let Messina lay herself in the lap of the Church; in her name to be restored to King Charles." "To Charles! Never!" shouted Alaimo; he seized his staff from the hand of the astonished Prelate. "To the French, never! so long as we have blood to shed and swords to wield." The whole people took up the cry; Gerard made one more effort: thirty citizens were appointed to treat with the Legate; but all was vain. They knew too well the mercy of Charles. "O, candid counsel of the Church to lay our necks down before the headsman! We are sold to the French; we must ransom ourselves by arms. We offer to the Pope the sovereignty of the land; Martin declines it. Instead of being the mild and gentle Vicar of Christ, he is but the tool of the French. Go tell the Angevine tyrant

[1] Neocastro, Villani, Malespina, &c.

that lions and foxes shall never more enter into Messina."

In the mean time, the fleets of Peter of Arragon were upon the seas; still disguising his aim, as if he designed to make war only on the Saracens of Africa, he landed his forces on the coast of Tunis. He appeared as the ally of the Prince of Constantina. He disembarked in the Port of Collo: he had some vigorous engagements with the Saracens.[1] He despatched ambassadors to Rome to implore the blessing of the Pope on his Crusade against the infidels, the protection of the Church for his dominions in Spain, the presence of a Legate, the right to levy the tenths for a war against the infidels. This specious embassage was received with specious civility by the Pope at Monte Fiascone.

Peter of Arragon.

June 3.

June 28.

The Parliament had met at Palermo; it had been determined to offer the throne of Sicily to Peter. He received the ambassadors of the Sicilians with grave solemnity; as offering to him unexpected, unsolicited honors. The Holy War was at an end; Peter and his fleet in the port of Trapani. At Palermo he was saluted by acclamation King of Sicily. The relief of Messina was the first aim of the new King. He ordered a general levy of all who could bear arms: men crowded to his banner. To Charles he sent an embassy of the noble Catalonians, Pietro Queralto, Ruy Ximenes de Luna, William Aymeric, Justiciary of Barcelona. He demanded safe-conduct by two Carmelite Friars. In two days Charles declared that he would give them audience; two days — during which he hoped to find

King of Sicily.

Aug. 30.

Sept. 14.

[1] Zurita.

himself master of Messina. But his terrific assault by sea and land was repelled; instead of receiving the ambassadors of the King of Arragon as a haughty conqueror, he received them weary with toil, boiling with rage and baffled pride. He was seated on his bed, which was covered with rich silk drapery. He threw disdainfully aside on his pillow the letter of the King of Arragon: he awaited the address of the ambassador Queralto. Queralto's words were doubtless those of the letter, they ran thus: "The illustrious Peter, King, by the grace of God, of Arragon and Sicily, commands you, Charles, Count of Provence and King of Jerusalem, to depart from his kingdom; to give him free passage into his city of Messina, which you are besieging by sea and land; he is astonished at your presumption in impeding the passage of the King through his own dominions."[1] The ambassadors no doubt asserted the hereditary claim of the King of Arragon. Charles, with the gesture constantly ascribed to him, bit his sceptre in his wrath; his reply had his usual pride, but, by one account, something of dejection. He told the ambassadors to survey his vast forces; he expressed utter astonishment that the King of Arragon should presume to interfere between him and his rebellious subjects; he held Naples and Sicily as a grant from the Pope; but he intimated that he might withdraw his weary troops to refresh them in Calabria: it would only, however, be to return and wreak his vengeance on Sicily; the Catalonian dominions of the King of Arragon would not be safe from his resentment.

Ambassadors to Charles.

From this period the mind of Charles, never strong,

[1] See, in Amari, the variations in the copies of this letter, p. 166, note.

but so insolent and tyrannical in prosperity, sank into a strange prostration, in which fits of an absurd chivalry alternated with utter abjectness. He would neither press vigorously, nor abandon the siege of Messina. Now he wreaked his vengeance on all the lands in his possession, burned churches and monasteries; now offered advantageous terms to the Sicilians; now endeavored openly to bribe Alaimo da Lentini, who cast back his offers with public scorn. At length, threatened by the fleets of Arragon, he withdrew to his continental dominions.

Conduct of Charles.

The climax of this strange state of mind was his challenge to the King of Arragon, to determine their quarrel by single combat. In vain the Pope denounced the impiety, and remonstrated against the wild impolicy of this feudal usage, now falling into desuetude. The King of Arragon leaped at the proposition, which he could so easily elude; and which left him full time to consolidate undisturbed his new kingdom, to invade Calabria, to cover the sea with his fleets. This defiance to mortal combat, this wager of battle, was an appeal, according to the wild justice of the age, to the God of Battles, who, it was an established popular belief, would declare himself on the righteous side. Charles of Anjou had the opportunity of publicly arraigning before Christendom his hated rival of disloyal treachery, of secret leaguing with his revolted subjects, of falsehood in his protestations of friendship. The King of Arragon stood forth on the broad ground of asserting his hereditary right, of appearing as the deliverer of a people most barbarously oppressed, as summoned to the crown by the barons and people of Sicily. He was almost admitted as possessing an equal

claim with him who had received the Papal investiture. The grave and serious manner in which the time, the place, the manner of holding those lists were discussed might seem to portend a tragic close; this great ordeal would be commended to still greater honor and acceptance by the strife of two monarchs for one of the noblest kingdoms of the earth, the kingdom of Naples. Italy itself offered no fair or secure field. The King of England, Edward I., was the one powerful and impartial monarch, who might preside as umpire; his Gascon territories, a neutral ground, on which might be waged this momentous combat. All proceeded with the most serious and solemn dignity, as if there could be no doubt that the challenge so given, so accepted, would come to direct and inevitable issue. Bordeaux was chosen as the scene of the kingly tournament. The lists were prepared at great cost and with great splendor. Each King proceeded to enroll the hundred knights who were to have the honor of joining in this glorious conflict with their monarch. The noblest and bravest chivalry of France offered themselves to Charles of Anjou; his brother, Philip the Hardy, offered to enter the lists with him. On the side of Peter of Arragon were the most valiant Spanish knights, men accustomed to joust with the Moor, to meet the champions of the Crescent from Cordova or Granada. A Moorish Prince presented himself; if God gave the victory to Peter, not only would the Moor share the triumph, but submit to baptism in the name of the Christian's God. The Pope was overborne; the Church had pronounced its condemnation on judicial combats. Martin had condemned

The Pope endeavors in vain to prohibit the battle.

this on general grounds,[1] on the special objection, that it was setting on the issue of arms that which had already been solemnly adjudged by the supreme Pontiff; it was to call in question the Pope's right of granting the kingdom of Naples. He commanded Charles to desist from the humiliating comparison of himself and his heaven-sanctioned claims, with those of a presumptuous adventurer, of one already under the censure, under the excommunication of the Roman See; he offered to absolve the King from all his oaths: yet even on this point the Pope was compelled to yield his reluctant consent to the imperious will of his master.

The wrath of the Pope on the first intelligence of the insurrection, still more at the invasion of the realm by Peter of Arragon, had been hardly less violent than that of Charles of Anjou. At Orvieto he proclaimed more than the excommunication, the degradation of Peter. He denounced again the crime of the Palermitans in the massacre of the French; the impious rebellion of the realm of Sicily; he boasted the mild attempts of the Church, especially through Cardinal Gerard in Messina, to reconcile them to their lawful Sovereign. "Since Peter, King of Arragon, under the false color of an expedition to Africa, has invaded the island of Sicily — the peculiar territory of the Roman Church — with horse and foot; has set up the claim of his wife, the daughter of the accursed Manfred, to the throne; has

His censure on the King of Arragon. March 21, 1283.

[1] Martin writes to King Edward of England that he had power "impediendi tam detestanda tam nociva." — MS., B. M., vol. xiv. Orvieto, April 15, 1284.

usurped the name of King of Sicily;[1] has openly countenanced the Messinese as he before secretly instigated the Palermitans to rebellion against their Sovereign: he has incurred the severest penalties, of usurpation, sedition, and violence. His crime is aggravated by the relation of the crown of Arragon to the See of Rome. That crown was granted by the Pope; his grandfather, Peter of Arragon, received it from the Pope, and swore fealty in his own name and in that of his successors to the successor of St. Peter. The King was now not only in rebellion; he had practised an impious fraud on his holy Father; he had implored the aid of the Pope, his blessing on his army, as though designed against the African barbarians. For these reasons not only was Peter adjudged a lawless usurper of the realm of Sicily, but deposed from his kingdom of Arragon; his subjects were discharged from all their oaths of fealty. His kingdom was to be seized and occupied by any Catholic Sovereign, who should be duly commissioned to that end by the Pope. The Cardinal of St. Cecilia was sent into France to offer the forfeited throne of Arragon to any one of the King's sons who would undertake the conquest: the only provision was the exclusion of the heir of the French throne: the two kingdoms could not be united under the same Sovereign. The subjugated realm was to be held of Pope Martin and his successors in the Apostolic See. The forfeiture comprehended the whole dominions of Peter, the kingdom

[1] The Pope seems here to charge Peter of Arragon with being the prime mover of the rebellion. "Sicque non solum Panormitanos eosdem, quos alias pluries ad hæc solicitasse per nuncios dicebatur, in inchoatæ contra præfatum regem seditionis et rebellionis contumaciâ obfirmavit," &c., &c. — Raynald. 1283, xix.

of Arragon, the kingdom of Valencia, Catalonia, and Barcelona.

Wager of battle.

The wager of battle between the Kings, which maintained its solemn dignity up almost to the appointed time, ended in a pitiful comedy, in which Charles of Anjou had the ignominy of practising base and disloyal designs against his adversary; Peter, that of eluding the contest by craft, justifiable only as his mistrust of his adversary was well or ill grounded, but much too cunning for a frank and generous knight. He had embarked with his knights for the South of France; he was cast back by tempests on the shores of Spain. He set off with some of his armed companions, crossed the Pyrenees undiscovered, appeared before the gates of Bordeaux, and summoned the English Seneschal. To him he proclaimed himself to be the King of Arragon, demanded to see the lists, rode down them in slow state, obtained an attestation that he had made his appearance within the covenanted time, and affixed his solemn protest against the palpable premeditated treachery of his rival, which made it unsafe for him to remain longer at Bordeaux. Charles, on his part, was furious that Peter had thus broken through the spider's web of his policy. He was in Bordeaux, when Peter appeared under the walls, and had challenged him in vain. Charles presented himself in full armor on the appointed day, summoned Peter to appear, proclaimed him a recreant and a dastardly craven, unworthy of the name of knight.

Peter at Bordeaux.

May 31.

Pope Martin's enmity was as indefatigable as the ambition of Peter of Arragon. He strained his utmost power to break off a marriage proposed between Alfonso,

the elder son of Peter, with Eleanora, the daughter of Edward of England. He expostulated with Edward on the degradation of allying his illustrious house with that of an excommunicated prince; he inhibited the marriage as within the fourth degree of consanguinity. By enormous charges on the Papal treasury he bought off the Venetians from a treaty, which would have placed their fleet on the enemy's side.[1] He borrowed still larger sums on the security of the Papal revenues, above 28,393 ounces of gold: the tenths decreed by the Council of Lyons were awarded to this new Crusade. The annual payment of 8000 ounces of gold for the kingdom of Naples was postponed, on account of the inability of the Prince of Salerno to discharge the debt. Thrice in the following year, on A.D. 1283. Holy Thursday, on Ascension Day, on the Dedication of St. Peter's church, the excommunication was promulgated at Orvieto, in Rome, in every city in Italy which would admit this display of Papal authority. The Cardinal Gerard, of St. Sabina, was commissioned to preach everywhere the Crusade: he might offer unlimited indulgences to all who would take up arms against Peter and the Sicilian rebels. The kingdom of Arragon, with the county of Barcelona and the kingdom of Valencia, were solemnly adjudged to Charles of Valois, the son of the King of France. Great forces were prepared in France to invade these Spanish realms of Peter. But in the mean time, Martin himself might tremble in his dominions. Guido of Montefeltro was in arms, hardly kept in check by John of Epps, the Papal General. At Rome were threatening

[1] Five thousand ounces of gold, which were likewise to hire and man twenty galleys for the fleet of Charles.

commotions; the Pope endeavored to maintain his influence by the purchase of corn in great quantities in Apulia during a famine, its free or cheap distribution, and by other concessions. But the King of Arragon was not without his secret allies within the city.

Worse than this, Charles of Anjou returned to Italy; he was met by the disastrous tidings of the utter destruction of his fleet by Roger Loria, and the capture of his son Charles, Prince of Salerno. This precious hostage was in the power of his enemies; on him they might wreak their vengeance for the death of the young Conradin. Charles put on a haughty equanimity: "I had rather have heard of his death than of his captivity." He overwrought this proud endurance. He assembled the nobles; he enjoined them to rejoice with him that he had lost a priest, who had only impeded the vigor and success of his arms.[1] He entered Naples, and declared it mercy that he impaled only one out of a hundred and fifty, who were suspected or accused of tampering with the victorious Arragonese.

But his arms were to be arrested by a mightier power. One fatal year was to witness the death of all the great personages engaged in this conflict; it was to be bequeathed to a new generation of combatants. In the midst of his preparations for a more determined invasion of Sicily, Charles, exhausted by disappoint-
June 7, 1285. ment and sorrow, died at Foggia: the Papal writers aver he made a most Christian end. Philip of France, after a doubtful campaign in Catalonia, for the conquest of the Spanish dominions of Peter of Arra-
Oct 5. gon, in behalf of his brother, Charles of Va-

[1] Ptolem. Luc. xiv. 9. Compare throughout Raynaldus, and Muratori, Annal. sub annis, with their authorities.

lois, died at Perpignan: Peter of Arragon about a month later at Villa Franca di Penades. Alfonso, the elder son, quietly succeeded to his father's Arragonese crown; the infant James, according to his father's will, to that of Sicily. On the 29th of March before had died at Orvieto Pope Martin IV., who had emptied the whole armory of excommunication against the enemies of Charles of Anjou.[1] Such was the issue of all the interdicts, the anathemas, the crusades, and all the blood shed to determine the possession of the throne of Sicily. Nov. 11.

There was now no commanding interest to contest the Pontificate. The Emperor Rodolph did not busy himself much in Italian politics. A Roman Prelate, John Boccamuzza, Archbishop of Monreale, Cardinal Bishop of Tusculum, resided as Legate in Germany; he presided over a Council at Wurtzburg, in the presence of the Emperor Rodolph. A chronicler of the times compares him with the Dragon in the Revelations, dragging his venomous tail (a host of corrupt Bishops) through Germany, which he contaminated with his simoniac perversity, amassing riches from all quarters, selling privileges, which he instantly revoked to sell them again, bartering with utter shamelessness the patrimony of the Crucified: he was insulted by the lofty German Prelates; he retired muttering vengeance.[2] In Italy the Angevine cause was paralyzed by the death of Charles, and the imprisonment of his son. The house of Arragon had no footing in the conclave. Under such circumstances the great families of Rome

[1] Muratori, sub ann. 1285.

[2] Gothofridus Esm. apud Boehmer, Fontes, ii. 111. Labbe, Concil sub ann. 1286.

had usually some Prelate of sufficient weight and character, if parties among themselves were not too equally balanced, to advance to the highest eminence in the Church.

An Orsini had but now occupied the Papal throne, then a Savelli, and then a Pope of humble birth, enslaved by a nepotism of favor, not of blood, to the family of Colonna, followed in rapid succession. The Savelli, Honorius IV., was a man of great ability, a martyr to the gout. Almost his only important acts were the publication of two Edicts, matured under his predecessor Martin, which if issued and carried out under the Angevine reign in Naples and Sicily, might perhaps have averted the revolt. One was designed to propitiate the clergy of the realm: it asserted in the highest terms their independence, immunities, freedom of election, and other privileges. The second reënacted the laws, and professed to renew the policy of William the Good, the most popular monarch who had ever reigned in Sicily.[1] But they came too late. Sicily first under James, the second son of Peter of Arragon, afterwards, on the accession of James to the throne of Arragon, under Frederick, defied the Papal authority, and remained an independent kingdom. The captive Charles, now King of Naples, had framed a treaty for his own deliverance; he bought it at the price of his kingdom of Sicily and the city of Reggio. Although the Pope annulled the treaty which granted away the dominion of the Apostolic See, it was held to be of force by the contracting parties. This was the last act of Honorius IV.[2]

Honorius IV. April 2, 1285.

James crowned. Feb. 2, 1286.

The Conclave met; for months, the hot summer

[1] Raynald. sub ann. Sept. 17.

[2] He died April 3, 1287.

months, they sat in strife: six of them died. The Cardinal Bishop of Præneste, by keeping a constant fire in his chamber, corrected the bad air, and maintained his vigor; the rest fled in fear. In February they met again: their choice fell on the Cardinal of Præneste, the General of the Franciscan Order, the first of that Order who had ascended the Papal throne. The Bishop of Præneste, born, it is said, of lowly race, at Ascoli, owed his elevation to the Cardinalate to the Orsini, Nicolas III. In gratitude to his patron he took the name of Nicolas IV. His first promotion of Cardinals, though it seemed impartially distributed among the great local and religious interests, betrayed his inclinations. There was one Dominican, Matthew Acquasparta, the General of the Order; an Orsini, Napoleon; one of the house of Colonna, Peter; there was one already of that house in the Conclave, Jacobo Colonna. On the Colonnas were heaped all the wealth and honors; under their safeguard the Pope, who at first took up his residence at Reate, ventured to occupy the Papal palace at Rome.

Feb. 22, 1288. Nicolas IV.

The liberation of Charles the Lame, the King of Naples, from his long captivity, was the great affair of Christendom. The mediation of Edward of England, allied with the houses of Arragon and of Anjou, and now the most powerful monarch in Europe, was employed to arrange the terms of some treaty which should restore him to freedom. The King of Arragon would not surrender his captive, still in prison in Catalonia, but at the price of the recognition of the Arragonese title to the kingdom of Sicily; Charles, weary of bondage, had already at Oleron acceded to this basis of the treaty.

By the treaty of Oleron,[1] Charles was to pay fifty
July 15, 1287. thousand marks of silver. He pledged himself to arrange a peace in a manner satisfactory to the Kings of Arragon and of Sicily: in the mean time there was to be truce between the two realms, including Sicily. Charles was to obtain the ratification of the Pope, and the cession of Charles of Valois, who still claimed, as awarded by the Pope, the crown of Arragon; or at the close of that period he was to return into captivity. He was to surrender his three sons, and sixty Provençal Nobles and Barons, as hostages: the Seneschals of the fortresses in Provence were to take an oath that if the King did not terminate the peace or return into bondage, they were to surrender those fortresses to the King of Arragon. This treaty had been annulled first during the vacancy by the College of Cardinals, again at Reate by Nicolas IV. The King of England was urged to find some other means of releasing the royal captive. King Alfonso was forbidden to aid the cause of his brother James of Sicily; in that cause Alfonso himself had grown cool. A new treaty was framed at Campo Franco; it was written by a Papal notary. Charles was to pay at once twenty thousand marks (England lent ten thou-
Oct. 20, 1288. sand); he was to give security for the rest. He was to pledge his word to the other conditions of the compact.[2] In this treaty there was a vague silence concerning the kingdom of Sicily: within one year Charles was bound to procure peace between France and Arragon: for this he left

Liberation of Charles the Lame. Nov. 1288.

[1] The treaty and documents in Rymer, 1286–7.

[2] Rymer, p. 368 *et seq.* The whole progress of the negotiation is well and accurately traced by Amari, in a note to c. 13, p. 321.

his three sons as hostages; and solemnly swore that if this peace was not ratified, he would return to his prison. He obtained his freedom.

Nicolas IV. on his accession had not dared to take up his residence at Rome; Charles appeared before him at Reate. He was crowned, if not in direct violation of the words, of the whole spirit of the treaty, King of Naples and Sicily; for the whole of the dominions claimed by the house of Anjou he did homage and swore fealty to the Pope.[1] The Pope boldly and without scruple annulled the treaty written by his own notary, signed, executed without any protest on his part, by which Charles the Lame had obtained his freedom. This decree of Nicolas was the most monstrous exercise of the absolving power which had ever been advanced in the face of Christendom: it struck at the root of all chivalrous honor, at the faith of all treaties. It declared in fact that no treaty was to be maintained with any one engaged in what the Holy See might pronounce an unjust war, that is a war contrary to her interests, a war such as that now waged between James of Arragon, as King of Sicily, and the crusading army of the son of Charles the Lame. The war of the house of Arragon against the house of Anjou being originally unjust, no compact was binding. The kingdom of Naples, including Sicily having been granted by the Holy See as a fief, the title of Charles was indefeasible; himself had no power of surrendering it to another. It declared that all obligations entered into by a prince in captivity were null and void, even though oaths had been interchanged, and hostages given for their performance. Charles had no right to pledge the

[1] May 29 (Muratori), June 19 (Amari), 1289.

Roman See and the King of France, and the King of Arragon (Charles of Valois had assumed that title) to such terms. If Charles had sworn that should those Kings not accede to the treaty, he would return into captivity, the Pope replied that the imprisonment having been from the first unjust, Charles was not bound to return to it: his services being imperiously demanded as a vassal and special athlete for the defence of the Church, he was bound to fulfil that higher duty.[1] On these grounds Pope Nicolas IV. declared the King and his heirs altogether released from all obligations and all oaths. He went further; he prohibited Charles the Lame from observing the conditions of the treaty, and surrendering his eldest son, according to the covenant, as one of the hostages. Nor was the Pope content with thus entirely abrogating the treaty; he anathematized King Alfonso for exacting, contrary to the commands of the Church, such hard terms; he ordered him, under pain of the highest ecclesiastical censure, to release Charles from all the conditions of the treaty; he even threatened the King of England with interdict, if, as guarantee of the treaty, he should enforce its forfeitures. But Charles the Lame himself would not be content with the Papal absolution: he satisfied his chivalrous honor with a more miserable subterfuge. He suddenly appeared near the castle of Panicas, on the borders of Arragon, proclaimed that he was come in conformity to his oath to surrender himself into captivity. But as no one was there on the part of the King of Arragon to receive him, he

[1] "Nominatæ Ecclesiæ incommoda multa proveniant, dum ipse ejusdem ecclesiæ vassallus præcipuus, et specialis athleta ab illius per hoc defensione subtrahitur." — Bulla Nicolai IV. Compare Raynaldus, sub ann.

averred that he had kept his faith, and even demanded the restoration of the hostages and of the money left in pawn.

The war continued: James, not content with the occupation of Sicily, invaded Apulia: before Gaeta he suffered an ignominious failure. Charles, weakly, to the disgust of the Count of Artois and his other French followers who returned to France, agreed to a truce of two years. The death of his brother Alfonso made James King of Arragon: he left his younger brother Frederick his Viceroy in Sicily. Frederick became afterwards the founder of the line of Arragonese Kings of the island. Spring, 1289. 1289-1291. June 18, 1291.

Nicolas IV. closed his short Pontificate in disaster, shame, and unpopularity. He had in some respects held a lofty tone; he had declared the kingdom of Hungary a fief of the Holy See; and rebuked the Emperor Rodolph for causing his son, Albert, without the Pope's permission, to be chosen King of the Romans.[1] But the total loss of the last Christian possessions in the East, the surrender of Berytus, Tripoli, even at last Acre,[2] to the irresistible Sultan: the fatal and ignominious close of the Crusades, so great a source of Papal power and Papal influence, the disgrace which was supposed to have fallen on all Christendom, but with special weight upon its Head, bowed Nicolas down in shame and sorrow. The war between Edward of England and Philip of Close of Crusades.

1 Raynald. sub ann.

2 Read the siege of Acre (Ptolemaïs) in Michaud, iv. 458, *et seq.* Wilken, vii. p. 735, *et seq.* Acre fell, May 18, 1291. Michaud quotes the emphatic sentence of a Mussulman writer on this, it seems, final close of the Crusades: — "Les choses, s'il plaît à Dieu, resteront ainsi jusqu'au dernier jugement." — P. 487.

France, in which his mediation, his menace, were loftily rejected or courteously declined, destroyed all hopes of a new Crusade; that cry would no longer pacify ambitious and hostile Kings.

Nicolas had become enslaved to the Colonnas. No doubt under their powerful protection he had continued to reside in Rome.[1] They were associated in his munificence to the Churches. On the vault of S. Maria Maggiore, repaired at their common cost, appeared painted together the Pope and the Cardinal James Colonna. John Colonna was appointed Marquis of Ancona, Stephen Colonna Count of Romagna: this high office had been wrested from the Monaldeschi. Cesena, Rimini after some resistance, Imola, Forlì were in his power. In attempting to seize Ravenna he was himself surprised and taken prisoner by the sons of Guido di Polenta. But they were afterwards overawed by the vigorous measures of the Pontiff, urged by the Colonnas. Ildobrandino da Romagna, Bishop of Arezzo, was invested with the title of Count of Romagna; the subject cities leagued under his influence;[2] the sons of Polenta were compelled to pay three thousand florins of gold for their daring attack on the Pope's Count.[3] The Romans seemed to enter into the favoritism of the Pope. James Colonna was created Senator; he was dragged, as in the guise of an Emperor, through the city, and saluted with the name of Cæsar; he gratified the Romans by marching at their head to the attack of

Nicolas IV. and the Colonnas.

[1] Franciscus Pipon., S. R. I., t. ix.

[2] Muratori, sub annis 1290, 1291.

[3] Rubeus, Chronic. Ravennat., Chronic. Parm., Chronic. Forliviens. S. R. I. xxii.

Viterbo and other cities over which Rome, whenever occasion offered, aspired to extend her sovereignty.[1]

There were acts in these terrible wars that raged in almost every part of Italy which might have grieved the heart of a wise and humane Pontiff more than the loss of the Holy Land. The mercy of Christendom might seem at a lower ebb than its valor. The Bishop of Arezzo, an Ubaldini, was killed in a battle against the Florentines; the Florentines slung an A.D. 1290. ass, with a mitre fastened on his head, into his beleaguered city.[2] The Marquis of Montferrat, the most powerful prince in northern Italy, was taken prisoner by the Alexandrians, shut up in an iron cage, in which he languished for nearly two years and died.[3] Dante has impressed indelibly on the heart of man the imprisonment and death of the Pisan Ugolino (a man, it is true, of profound ambition and treachery) with that of his guiltless sons.

Nicolas is said to have died in sorrow and humiliation; he died accused by the Guelfs of April 4, 1292. unpapal Ghibellinism,[4] perhaps because he was more sparing of his anathemas against the Ghibellines, and had consented, hardly indeed, but had consented to the peace between France and Arragon, Naples and Sicily: still more on account of his favor to the Colonnas,

[1] The play upon the name of Colonna, which Petrarch afterwards enshrined in his noble verse, had long occurred to the Saturnalian wit of Rome. In the frontispiece of a book, entitled "The Beginning of Evils," the Pope Nicolas IV. was represented as a column crowned by his own mitred head, and supported by two other columns. — Muratori.

[2] 1289. Villani, vii. c. 130. Muratori, sub ann.

[3] Annal. Mediolanens. S. H. T. t. xvi.

[4] Rodolph of Hapsburg, the Emperor, died July 15, 1291.

Ghibelline by descent and tradition, and hereafter tc become more obstinately, furiously and fatally Ghibelline in their implacable feud with Boniface VIII.[1]

[1] "Ma molto favoreggiò i Ghibellini." So writes the Guelf Villani, vii. c. 150.

# CHAPTER VI.

## CŒLESTINE V.

NICOLAS IV. died on the 4th of April, 1292. Only twelve Cardinals formed the Conclave. The constitution of Gregory X. had been long suspended, and had fallen altogether into disuse. Six of these Cardinals were Romans, of these two Orsinis and two Colonnas; four Italians; two French.[1] Each of the

Conclave.

[1] The list in Ciacconius: —

*Romans.*

1. Latino Malebranca, a Franciscan, Cardinal of Ostia, the nephew of, and created by, Nicolas III.
2. John Buccamuzza, Cardinal of Tusculum (once Legate in Germany), created by Martin IV.
3. Jacobo Colonna, Cardinal of St. Maria in Viâ Latâ, created by Nicolas III.
4. Peter Colonna Cardinal of St. Eustachio, created by Nicolas IV.
5. Napoleon Orsini, Cardinal of St. Hadrian, created by Nicolas IV.
6. Matteo Rosso (Rubeus), Cardinal of St. Maria in Porticu, created by Urban IV.

*Italians.*

7. Gerard Bianchi of Parma, Cardinal Sabinus, created by Honorius IV
8. Matthew Acquasparta, Cardinal of Porto, created by Nicolas IV.
9. Peter Peregrosso, a Milanese, Cardinal of St. Mark, created by Nicolas IV.
10. Benedetto Gaetani of Anagni, Cardinal of St. Silvester (afterwards Boniface VIII.), created by Martin IV. He was dangerously ill, retired to his native Anagni, and recovered.

*Frenchmen.*

11. Hugh de Billiom, Cardinal of St. Sabina, created by Nicolas III.
12. Jean Cholet, Cardinal of St. Cecilia, died of fever in Rome, Aug. 2, 1292.

twelve might aspire to the supreme dignity. The Romans prevailed in numbers, but were among themselves more implacably hostile: on the one side stood the Orsinis, on the other the Colonnas.[1] Three times they met, in the palace of Nicolas IV., near S. Maria Maggiore, in that of Honorius IV. on the Aventine, and in S. Maria sopra Minerva.[2] The heats of June, and a dangerous fever (of which one, the Frenchman, Jean Cholet, died), drove them out of Rome; and Rome became such a scene of disorder, feud, and murder (the election of the Senator being left to the popular suffrage), that they dared not reassemble within the walls. Two rival Senators, an Orsini and a Colonna, were at the head of the two factions.[3] Above a year had elapsed, when the Conclave agreed to meet again at Perugia. The contest lasted eight months more. At one time the two Colonnas and John of Tusculum had nearly persuaded Hugh of Auvergne and Peter the Milanese to join them in electing a Roman, one of the Colonnas. The plan was discovered and thwarted by the Orsini, Matteo Rosso. The

Oct. 18, 1293. St. Luke's day.

[1] The proceedings of each member of the Conclave, during this interval, are described in the preface to the poem of the Cardinal St. George. — Muratori, v. p. 616. The Cardinal describes himself as being "veluti præsens, videns, ministrans, palpans, et audiens, notusque Pontifici, quia Pontificibus carus." — P. 614.

[2] The Cardinal of St. George highly disapproved of the building of new palaces, by Honorius IV. on the Aventine, by Nicolas IV. near St. Maria Maggiore. It implied the desertion of the Lateran and the Vatican: —

> "nec utile mundo
> Exemplum, nam quisque suas (e?) ducet in altum
> Ædes, et capitis Petri delubra relinquet,
> Ac Lateranenses aulas, regalia dona,
> Despiciet, gaudens proprios habitare penates." — P. 621.

[3] One of the Senators was Peter the son of Stephen, father of the author; the other, Otho de San Eustazio. — See Cardinal St. George.

Guelfic Orsini were devoted to the interests of Charles, the King of Naples; they labored to advance a prelate in the Angevine interest. The Colonnas, Ghibelline because the Orsini were Guelf, were more for themselves than for Ghibellinism. Charles of Naples came to Perugia, by his personal presence to over- In Perugia.
awe the refractory members of the Conclave. The intrepid Benedict Gaetani, the future Boniface VIII., haughtily rebuked him for presuming to interfere with the office of the Holy Spirit. No one of the Cardinals would yield the post to his adversary, and expose himself to the vengeance of a successful rival; yet all seemed resolute to confine the nomination to their own body.

Suddenly a solitary monk was summoned from his cell, in the remote Abruzzi, to ascend the Pontifical throne. The Cardinal of Ostia, Latino Mal- Latino Malebranca.
ebranca, had admired the severe and ascetic virtues of Peter Morrone, a man of humble birth, but already, from his extraordinary austerities, held by the people as a man of the highest sanctity. He had retired from desert to desert, and still multitudes had tracked him out in vast swarms, some to wonder at, some to join his devout seclusion. He seemed to rival if not to outdo the famous anchorites of old. His dress was hair-cloth, with an iron cuirass; his food bread and water, with a few herbs on Sunday.

Peter Morrone has left an account of his own youth. The brothers of his Order, who took Peter Morrone.
his name, the Cœlestinians vouched for its authenticity. His mother was devoutly ambitious that one of her eleven children should be dedicated to God. Many of them died, but Peter fulfilled her most ardent

desires. His infancy was marked with miracles. In his youth he had learned to read the Psalter; he then knew not the person of the Blessed Virgin, or of St. John. One day they descended bodily from a picture of the Crucifixion, stood before him, and sweetly chanted portions of the Psalter. At the age of twenty he went into the desert: visions of Angels were ever round him, sometimes showering roses over him. God showed him a great stone, under which he dug a hole, in which he could neither stand upright, nor stretch his limbs, and there he dwelt in all the luxury of self-torture among lizards, serpents, and toads. A bell in the heavens constantly sounded to summon him to prayers. He was offered a cock; he accepted the ill-omened gift; for his want of faith the bell was thenceforth silent. He was more sorely tried; beautiful women came and lay down by his side.[1] He was encircled by a crowd of followers, whom he had already formed into a kind of Order or Brotherhood; they were rude, illiterate peasants from the neighboring mountains.[2]

Either designedly or accidentally the Cardinal Malebranca spoke of the wonderful virtues of the hermit, Peter Morrone; the weary Conclave listened with interest. A few days after the Cardinal declared that a vision had been vouchsafed to a Holy Man, that if before All-Saints' Day they had not elected a Pope, the wrath of God would fall on them with some signal

[1] One vision is too coarse almost to allude to; but how are we to judge of the times or the men without their coarseness? The question was whether he should offer mass "post pollutionem nocturnam." The vision which sets his mind at rest is that of "aselli stercorandi" on the steps of a palace, that of the Holy Trinity. One of these awful persons is represented as pointing the moral of this foul imagination.

[2] "Non culta satis sed rustica turba
Montibus altisonis." — *Card. St. George.*

chastisement. "This, I presume," spake Benedetto Gaetani, "is one of the visions of your Peter Morrone." In truth it was; Malebranca had received a letter purporting to be in his hand. The Conclave was in that perplexed and exhausted state, when men seize desperately on any strange counsel to extricate themselves from their difficulty. To some it might seem a voice from heaven. Others might shelter their own disappointment under the consolation that their rivals were equally disappointed: all might think it wise to elect a Pope without personal enmity to any one. It might be a winning hazard for each party, each interest, each Cardinal; the Hermit was open to be ruled, as ruled he would be, by any one. Malebranca saw the impression he had made; he pressed it in an eloquent speech. Peter Morrone was declared supreme Pontiff by unanimous acclamation.[1] Election of Celestine V.

The fatal sentence was hardly uttered when the brief unanimity ceased. Some of the cardinals began to repent or to be ashamed of their precipitate decree. No one of them (this they were hereafter to rue) would undertake the office of bearing the tidings of his elevation to the Pope. The deputation consisted of the Archbishop of Lyons, two Bishops, and two notaries of the Court.

The place of Morrone's retreat was a cave in a wild mountain above the pleasant valley of Sulmona. The ambassadors of the Conclave having achieved their journey from Perugia, with difficulty found guides to conduct them to the solitude. As they toiled up the rugged ascent, they were overtaken His retreat.

[1] The Cardinal St. George describes the order and manner in which the Cardinals gave their accession to this vote. — P. 617.

by the Cardinal Peter Colonna, who had followed them without commission from the rest, no doubt to watch their proceedings, and to take advantage of any opportunity to advance his own interests. The cave, in which the saint could neither sit upright nor stretch himself out, had a grated window with iron bars, through which he uttered his oracular responses to the wondering people. None even of the brethren of the order might penetrate into the dark sanctuary of his austerities. The ambassadors of the Conclave found an old man with a long shaggy beard, sunken eyes overhung with heavy brows, and lids swollen with perpetual weeping, pale hollow cheeks, and limbs meagre with fasting: they fell on their knees before him, and he before them. The future Cardinal-Poet was among the number: his barren Muse can hardly be suspected of invention.[1]

Ambassadors before him.

So Peter Morrone the Hermit saw before him, in submissive attitudes, the three prelates, attended by the official notaries, who announced his election to the Papacy. He thought it was a dream; and for once assuredly there was a profound and religious reluctance to accept the highest dignity in the world. He protested with tears his utter inability to cope with the affairs, to administer the sacred trust, to become the successor of the Apostle.[2] The news spread abroad; the neighboring people came hurrying by thousands, delighted that

[1] Cardinal St. George, apud Muratori.

[2] The Cardinal St. George, however, asserts that Cœlestine hardly affected reluctance; and the Cardinal says that he was among a great multitude of all ranks, who clambered up the mountain,

> "cursu conscendere montem
> Gliscebam vates, membris vultuque resudans,"

to catch a glimpse of the Pope.

they were to have a saint, and their own saint, for a Pope. The Hermit in vain tried to escape; he was brought back with respectful force, guarded with reverential vigilance. Nor was it the common people only who were thus moved. King Charles himself may not have been superior to the access of religious wonder, for to him especially (if indeed there was no design in the whole affair) this sudden unanimity among the ambitious Cardinals might pass for a miracle, more miraculous than many which were acknowledged by the common belief. The King of Naples, accompanied by his son, now in right of his wife entitled King of Hungary, hastened to do honor to his holy subject, to persuade the Hermit, who perhaps would be dazzled by royal flatteries into a useful ally, to accept the proffered dignity. The Hermit-Pope was conducted from his lowly cave to the monastery of Santo Spirito, at the foot of the mountain. He still refused to be invested in the pontifical robes. At length arrived the Cardinal Malebranca: his age, dignity, character, and his language, urging the awful responsibility which Peter Morrone would incur by resisting the manifest will of God, and by keeping the Popedom longer vacant (for all which he would be called to give account on the day of judgment), prevailed over the awe-struck saint. Not the least earnest in pressing him to assume at once the throne were his rude but not so unambitious hermit brethren: they too looked for advancement; they followed him in crowds wherever he went, to Aquila and to Naples. Over his shaggy sackcloth at length the Hermit put on the gorgeous attire of the Pontiff; yet he would not go to Perugia to receive the homage of the Conclave. Age and the heat of the season (he had

Peter Morrone Pope.

been accustomed to breathe the mountain air) would not permit him to undertake the long unwonted journey. He entered the city of Aquila riding on an ass, with a King on each side of him to hold his bridle. Some of the indignant clergy murmured at this humiliation of the Papal majesty (the successor of St. Peter was wont to ride on a stately palfrey), but they suppressed their discontent.

Inauguration.

If there had been more splendid, never was there so popular an election. Two hundred thousand spectators (of whom the historian, Ptolemy of Lucca, was one[1]) crowded the streets. In the evening the Pope was compelled again and again to come to the window to bestow his benediction; and if hierarchical pride had been offended at the lowliness of his pomp, it but excited greater admiration in the commonalty: they thought of Him who entered Jerusalem "riding on an ass's colt." Miracles confirmed their wonder: a boy, lame from the womb, was placed on the ass on which the Pope had ridden; he was restored to the full use of his limbs.

The Cardinals repent.

But already the Cardinals might gravely reflect on their strange election. The Pope still obstinately refused to go to Perugia, or even to Rome, though they suggested that he might be conveyed in a litter. The Cardinals declared that they were not to be summoned to the kingdom of Naples. Two only, Hugh of Auvergne and Napoleon Orsini, condescended to go to Aquila. Malebranca probably had begun to droop under the illness which erelong carried him off. But the way in which the Pope began to use his vast powers still more appalled and offended

[1] "Quibus ipse interfui." — Ptolem. Luc.

them. He bestowed the offices in his court and about his person on rude and unknown Abruzzese; and to the great disgust of the clergy appointed a layman his secretary. High at once in his favor rose the French Prelate, Hugh Ascalon de Billiom, Archbishop of Benevento under Nicolas IV., Cardinal of St. Sabina. He had been the first to follow Malebranca in the acclamation of the Pope Morrone. On the death of Malebranca he was raised to the Bishopric of Ostia and Velletri, and became Dean of the College of Cardinals. Large pensions, charged on great abbeys in France, gilded his elevation. The Frenchman seemed destined to rule with undivided sway over the feeble Cœlestine: the Italians looked with undisguised jealousy and aversion on the foreign prelate.[1] Hugh of Ascalon.

The Cardinal, Napoleon Orsini, assisted at the inauguration, gave to the Pope the scarlet mantle, the mitre set with gold and jewels; he announced to the people that Peter had taken the name of Cœlestine V. The foot of the lowly hermit was kissed by kings, cardinals, bishops, nobles. He was set on high to be adored by the people.[2] The numbers of the clergy caused singular astonishment; but the Cardinals, though reluctant, would not allow the coronation to proceed without them; they came singly and in unwilling haste.[3] Last

1 Compare on Hugh Ascalon de Billiom, Hist. Littér. de la France, xx. 73.

2 "Quod stupori erat videre, quia magis veniebant ad suam obtinendam benedictionem, quam pro præbendæ acquisitione." — Ptolem. Luc.

3 "Domini Jacobus de Colonna, et Dominus Rubeus, et Dominus Hugo de Ascalon" — (he must have been there before) — "Aquilam veniunt, factique sunt domini Curiæ, quod alii Cardinales videntes Aquilam properant." — Ptolem. Luc. Annal. p. 1298.

"Hæc postquam videre Rubri, seu morte Latini
Fracti animos, celerant ad tanta pericula cursim."
*Cardin. St. George*, p. 635.

of all came Benedetto Gaetani: he had deeply offended Charles of Naples by his haughty rebuke at Perugia. Coronation. Yet still, though all assisted at the ceremony, the place of honor was given to the French Cardinal: he anointed the new Pope, but the Pontiff was crowned by Matteo Rosso, after Malebranca's death, probably the elder of the Cardinals present.[1]

A few months showed that meekness, humility, holiness, unworldliness might make a saint; they were not the virtues suited to a Pope. To Naples he had been led, as it were, in submissive triumph by King Charles; he took up his residence in the royal palace, an unsuspecting prisoner, mocked with the most ostentatious veneration. So totally did the harmless Cœlestine surrender himself to his royal protector, that he stubbornly refused to leave Naples. His utter incapacity for business soon appeared; he lavished offices, dignities, bishoprics, with profuse hand; he granted and revoked grants, bestowed benefices, vacant or about to be vacant.[2] He was duped by the officers of his court, and gave the same benefice over and over again; but still the greater share fell to his brethren from the Abruzzi. His officers issued orders of all kinds in his name. He shrunk from pub-

Cœlestine V. in Naples.

His conduct.

[1] He was created by Urban IV.

[2] "Dabat enim dignitates, prælationes, officia et beneficia, in quibus non sequebatur curiæ consuetudinem, sed potius quorundam suggestionem, et suam rudem simplicitatem." — Jacob. a Vorag. apud Muratori S. R. T. ix. p. 54. Multa fecit de plenitudine potestatis, sed plura de plenitudine simplicitatis, *ibid.* The favoritism of the French Cardinal of St. Sabina, by this author's account, was generally odious.

> "O quam multiplices indocta potentia formas
> Edidit, indulgens, donans, faciensque recessu,
> Atque vacaturas concedens atque vacantes."
>
> *Card. St. George.*

— See also Ptolem. Luc. lxxiv. c. 29.

licity, and even from the ceremonial duties of his office; he could speak only a few words of bad Latin. One day, when he ought to have sat on the pontifical tribunal, he was sought in vain; he had taken refuge in the church, and was with difficulty persuaded to resume his state. His weakness made him as prodigal of his power as of his gifts.[1] At the dictation of King Charles he created at once thirteen new Cardinals, thus outnumbering the present Conclave.[2] Of these, seven were French; the rest Italians; of the latter, three Neapolitans, not one Roman. In order to place the Conclave more completely in the power of Charles, who intended to keep him till his death in his own dominions, he reënacted the Conclave law of Gregory X. Sept. 1294.

The weary man became anxious to lay down his heavy burden. Some of the Cardinals urged upon him that he retained the Papacy at the peril of his soul. Gaetani's powerful mind (once at Naples, he resumed the ascendency of his commanding abilities) had doubtless great influence in his determination. He was soon supposed to rule the Court and the Pope himself, to be Cœlestine's bosom counsellor.[3] It was reported, and the trick was Wishes to abdicate. Benedetto Gaetani.

[1] There was a small monkish tyranny about the good Cœlestine. He compelled the monks of the ancient and famous abbey of Monte Casino to wear the dress of his own order. The Cardinal-Poet is pathetic on this: —

"Syderei collis, Montisque Casini
Compulit, heu! monachos habitus assumere fratrum
Degentum sub lege Petri: (Morrone) nonnullus ab inde,
Dum parere negat, monachus tunc exulat. O quam.
Deciperis!"

[2] See the list in Ciacconius. One, a Beneventan, Cardinal of St. Vitale, died the next year.

[3] "Gaetani — eo quod Regem Carolum Perusii multum exasperâsset, qui statim suis ministeriis et artibus factus est Dominus Curiæ et amicus Regis." Ptolem. Luc. p. 1299.

attributed to Gaetani his ambitious successor, that through a hole skilfully contrived in the wall of his chamber, a terrible voice was repeatedly heard at the dead of night, announcing itself as that of a messenger of God. It commanded the trembling Pontiff to renounce the blandishments of the world, and devote himself to God's service. Rumor spread abroad that Cœlestine was about to abdicate. The King secretly, the monks of his brotherhood openly, worked upon the lower orders of Naples, and instigated them to a holy insurrection. Naples was in an uproar at this rumored degradation of the Pope. A long and solemn procession of all the clergy, of whom Ptolemy of Lucca was one, passed through the city to the palace. A Bishop, a kind of prolocutor, addressed him with a voice like a trumpet, urging him to abandon his fatal design. The speech was heard by Ptolemy of Lucca. Another Bishop from the walls announced that the Pope had no such intention. The Bishop below immediately broke out into a triumphant *Te Deum*, which was taken up by a thousand voices. The procession passed away.[1]

But Advent was drawing on. Cœlestine would not pass that holy season in pomp and secular business. He had contrived a cell within the royal palace, from whence he could not see the sky. He had determined to seclude himself in all his wonted solitude and undisturbed austerities, like a bird, says the Cardinal-Poet, which hides its head from the fowler, and thinks that it is unseen.[2] He had actually signed a commission to three Cardinals to administer during his seclusion the affairs of the Popedom: it wanted but

Advent.

[1] Ptolem. Luc. apud Muratori.

[2] P. 638.

the seal to be a Papal Bull. But this perhaps more dangerous step of putting the Papacy in commission was averted.

Long and inconclusive debates took place on the legality of a Papal abdication. Could any human power release him who was the representative of Christ on earth from his obligations? Could the successor of St. Peter, of his own free will, sink back into the ordinary race of men? Holy Orders were indelible: how much more indelible must be the consecration to this office, the fount and source of all Apostolic ordination? Celestine himself, from irresolution doubtless rather than artful dissimulation, had lulled his supporters, even the King himself, into security.[1] On a sudden, on the day of St. Lucia, the Conclave was summoned to receive the abdication of the Pope. The trembling Celestine alleged as the cause of his abdication, his age, his rude manners and ruder speech, his incapacity, his inexperience. He confessed humbly his manifold errors, and entreated the Conclave to bestow upon the world of Christendom a pastor not liable to such infirmities. The Conclave is said to have been moved to tears, yet no one (all no doubt prepared) refused to accept the abdication. But the Pope was urged first, while his authority was yet full and above appeal, to issue a Constitution declaring that the Pope might at any time lay down his dignity,

Powers in Conclave.

[1] "Dissimulans, ceu vera loquens, aliisque vacare,
Sollicitus, quo ad illa domus secreta, Patresque
Crediderint hunc nolle quidam dimittere primum.
Cumque foret generata fides, omnesque putarent,
Rex etiam, miri cæpisse oblivia facti,
Immemorem variumque Petrum, &c."
*Card. St. George.*

and that the Cardinals were at liberty to receive that voluntary demission of the Popedom. No sooner was this done than Cœlestine retired; he stripped off at once the cumbrous magnificence of his Papal robes and his two-horned mitre; he put on the coarse and rugged habit of his brotherhood. As soon as he could, the discrowned pope withdrew to his old mountain hermitage.

Abdication.

The abdication of Cœlestine V. was an event unprecedented in the annals of the Church, and jarred harshly against some of the first principles of the Papal authority. It was a confession of common humanity, of weakness below the ordinary standard of men in him whom the Conclave, with more than usual certitude, as guided by the special interposition of the Holy Ghost, had raised to the spiritual throne of the world. The Conclave had been, as it seemed, either under an illusion as to this declared manifestation of the Holy Spirit, or had been permitted to deceive itself. Nor was there less incongruity in a Pope, whose office invested him in something at least approaching to infallibility, acknowledging before the world his utter incapacity, his undeniable fallibility. That idea, formed out of many conflicting conceptions, yet forcibly harmonized by long traditionary reverence, of unerring wisdom, oracular truth, authority which it was sinful to question or limit, was strangely disturbed and confused, not as before by too overweening ambition, or even awful yet still unacknowledged crime, but by avowed weakness, bordering on imbecility. His profound piety hardly reconciled the confusion. A saint, after all, made but a bad Pope.

It was viewed, in his own time, in a different light

by different minds. The monkish writers held it up as the most noble example of monastic, of Christian perfection. Admirable as was his election, his abdication was even more to be admired. It was an example of humility stupendous to all, imitable by few.[1] The divine approval was said to be shown by a miracle which followed directly on his resignation;[2] but the scorn of man has been expressed by the undying verse of Dante, who condemned him who was guilty of the baseness of the "great refusal" to that circle of hell where are those disdained alike by mercy and justice, on whom the poet will not condescend to look.[3] This sentence, so accordant with the stirring and passionate soul of the great Florentine, has been feebly counteracted, if counteracted, by the praise of Petrarch in his declamation on the beauty of a solitary life, for which the lyrist professed a somewhat hollow and poetic admiration.[4] Assuredly there was no magnanimity contemptuous of the Papal greatness in the abdication of Cœlestine: it was the weariness, the conscious inefficiency, the regret of a man suddenly wrenched away from all his habits, pursuits, and avocations, and unnaturally compelled or tempted to assume an uncongenial dignity. It was the cry of passionate feebleness to be released from an insupportable burden.

How thought of in his own time.

Dante.

Petrarch.

[1] "Præbuit humilitatis exemplum, stupendum cunctis, imitabile paucis." — Jordan. MS., quoted by Raynaldus.

[2] Bernard, in Chron. Roman. Pontif.

[3] "Che fece per viltà il gran rifiuto."

*Inferno*, iii. 60.

I cannot for an instant doubt the allusion to Cœlestine; perhaps it was imbittered by Dante's hatred of Boniface VIII.

[4] "Petrarch de Vitâ solitariâ," a rhetorical exercise.

Compassion is the highest emotion of sympathy which it would have desired or could deserve.

Jacopone da Todi.

But coeval with Dante there was another, a ruder poet, who must be heard, that we may fully comprehend the times. Jacopone da Todi, the Franciscan, had been among those who hailed with mingled exultation and fear the advancement of the holy Cœlestine.[1] "What wilt thou do, Peter Morrone,

[1] "Che farai, Pier Morrone,
Se' venuto al paragone.
* * * *
Se 'l mondo e in te ingannato,
Seguirâ maledizione.
La tua fama alto è salita,
E in molta parte è gita:
Se ti tozza, a la finita,
A i buon sarai confusione.
Come segno a sagitta
Tutto il mondo a té s' affitta;
Se non tien bilancia ritta,
A Dio ne va appellazione.
* * * *
Questa corte e una fucina,
Ch' l' buon auro si ci afina.
* * * *
Se l' officio ti diletta,
Nulla malsania più infetta;
Bene e vita maladetta,
Perder Dio per tal boccone.
* * * *
Che' t' hai posto giogo in coglio,
Da temer tua damnatione.
* * * *
L' ordine Cardinalato,
Posto a in basso stato;
Che suo parentado
D' arriscar ha intentione.
* * * *
Guardate dā barettiere,
Ch' el ner bianco fan videre;
Se non te fai ben schermire,
Canterai mala canzone." — *Satir* xv.

now that thou art on thy trial?" "If the world be deceived in thee, malediction! Thy fame has soared on high; it has spread through the world. If thou failest, there will be confusion to the good. As the arrow on its mark, the world is fixed on thee. If thou holdest not the balance right, there is no appeal but to God." "The Court of Rome is a furnace which tries the fine gold." "If thou takest delight in thine office (there is no malady so infectious); accursed is that life which for such a morsel loses God." "Thou hast put the yoke on thy neck, must we not fear thy damnation?" "The order of Cardinals has sunk to the lowest level: their sole aim is to enrich their kindred." "Guard thyself from the traffickers who make black white. If thou dost not guard thyself well, sad will be the burden of thy song." Yet in these mistrustful warnings of the poet there is the manifest pride and hope of a devoted partisan that a new era has begun, that Peter Morrone is destined to regenerate the Papacy. The abdication, no doubt, was the last event to which these hermit followers of Peter Morrone looked forward. Bitter must have been their disappointment when he himself thus frustrated their pious expectations, their passionate vaticinations; yet they adhered to him in his self-chosen lowliness; they were still his steadfast admirers; they denied his right to abdicate, no doubt they disseminated the rumors of the arts employed to frighten him from the throne. Their hatred of Boniface, who supplanted him, was as deep and obstinate as their love of Cœlestine. This poet will appear as at least cognizant of

There are other passages which betray the pride in the elevation of Pier Morrone.

the formidable conspiracy which threatened the power of Boniface VIII. Nor was the poet alone: his was but the voice which expressed, in its coarse but vigorous strains, the sense of a vast and to a certain extent organized party, in every rank, in every order, but especially among the low, and the lowest of the low.

# CHAPTER VII.

## BONIFACE VIII.

THE Conclave might seem determined to retrieve their former error in placing the devout but unworldly Cœlestine in the chair of St. Peter, by raising to the Pontificate a prelate of the most opposite character. Human nature could hardly offer a stronger contrast than Benedetto Gaetani and Peter Morrone, Boniface VIII. and Cœlestine V. Of all the Roman Pontiffs, Boniface has left the darkest name for craft, arrogance, ambition, even for avarice and cruelty. Against the memory of Boniface were joined in fatal conspiracy, the passions, interests, undying hostilities, the conscientious partisanship, the not ungrounded oppugnancies, not of individual foes alone, but of houses, of factions, of orders, of classes, of professions, it may be said of kingdoms. His own acts laid the foundation of this sempiternal hatred. In his own day his harsh treatment of Cœlestine and the Cœlestinians (afterwards mingled up or confounded with the wide-spread Fraticelli, the extreme and democratic Franciscans) laid up a deep store of aversion in the popular mind. So in the higher orders, his terrible determination to crush the old and powerful family of the Colonnas, and the stern hand with which he repressed others of the Italian nobles: his resolute Guelfism, his invitation of Charles

of Valois into Italy, involved him in the hatefulness of all Charles's tyranny and oppression. This with his own exile goaded the Guelf-born Dante into a relentless Ghibelline, and doomed Pope Boniface to an earthly immortality of shame and torment in the Hell of the poet. The quarrel with the King of France, Philip the Fair, brought him during his lifetime into formidable collision with a new power, the strength of which was yet unsuspected in Christendom, that of the lawyers, his fatal foes; and bequeathed him in later times throughout the writings of the French historians, and even divines (French national pride triumphing over the zeal of the Churchman), as an object of hostility during two centuries of the most profound Roman Catholic learning, and most perfect Roman Catholic eloquence. The revolt against the Papal power at the Reformation seized with avidity the memory of one, thus consigned in his own day, in life and after death, to the blackest obloquy, abandoned by most of his natural supporters, and from whose broad and undisguised assertions of Papal power later Popes had shrunk and attempted to efface them from their records. Thus Boniface VIII. has not merely been handed down, and justly, as the Pontiff of the loftiest spiritual pretensions, pretensions which, in their language at least, might have appalled Hildebrand or Innocent III., but almost all contemporary history as well as poetry, from the sublime verse of Dante to the vulgar but vigorous rhapsodies of Jacopone da Todi, are full of those striking and unforgotten touches of haughtiness and rapacity, many of which cannot be true, many no doubt invented by his enemies, many others are suspicious, yet all show the height of detestation which, either by adherence to

principles grown unpopular, or by his own arrogance and violence, he had raised in great part of Christendom. Boniface was hardly dead, when the epitaph, which no time can erase, from the impression of which the most candid mind strives with difficulty to emancipate itself, was proclaimed to the unprotesting Christian world: "He came in like a fox, he ruled like a lion, he died like a dog." Yet calmer justice, as well as the awful reverence for all successors of St. Peter, and the ardent corporate zeal which urges Roman Catholic writers on the forlorn hope of vindicating every act and every edict of every Roman Pontiff, have not left Boniface VIII. without defence; some, indeed, have ventured to appeal to the respect and admiration of posterity.[1]

The abdication of Cœlestine took place on the feast of St. Lucia. The law of Gregory X., which secluded the Conclave in unapproachable separation from the world, had been reënacted, but was not enforced to its utmost rigor. Latino Malebranca, the Cardinal who had exercised so much influence in the election of Cœlestine V., had been some months dead. The old Italian interest was represented by the Cardinals of the two great houses, long opposed in their fierce hereditary hostility, Guelf and Ghibelline, Matteo Rosso and Napoleon the Orsinis, and the two Colonnas, of whom the elder, Peter, was a man of bold and unscrupulous ambition. But the preponderance of num-

Dec. 13. Conclave.

1 Cardinal Wiseman has embarked in this desperate cause with considerable learning and more ingenuity. His article in the "Dublin Review," now reprinted in his Essays, was answered at the time by a clever paper in the "British and Foreign Review," in which may be traced an Italian hand. Since that time have appeared Tosti's panegyrical, but not very successful biography; and a fairer, more impartial Life by Drumann; not, however, in my opinion equal to the subject.

bers was with the new Cardinals appointed by Cœlestine at the dictation of Charles of Naples. Of these thirteen, seven (one was dead) were Frenchmen: it might seem that the election must absolutely depend on the will of Charles. Benedetto Gaetani stood alone; he was recommended by his consummate ability; but on that account, too, he was feared, perhaps suspected, by all who wished to rule, and few were there in the Conclave without that wish. The strong reaction might dispose the Cardinals to elect a Pope of the loftiest spiritual views, who might be expected to rescue the Popedom from its present state of impotency and contempt: but that reaction would hardly counterpoise the rival ambition of the Orsinis and Colonnas, and the sworn subserviency of so many to the King of Naples.

Benedetto Gaetani.

The Cardinal Benedetto Gaetani was of a noble family in Anagni, which city from its patriciate had already given two of its greatest Popes to the chair of St. Peter. He was of blameless morals, and unrivalled in his knowledge of the Canon law, equally unrivalled in experience and the despatch of business. He had been in almost every kingdom of Western Christendom, England, France, Portugal, as the representative of the Pope; was personally known to most of the monarchs, and acquainted with the politics and churches of most of the realms in Europe. It had been at first supposed that Benedetto Gaetani, who had insulted King Charles at Perugia, and had haughtily rebuked him for his interference with the Conclave, would not venture to Naples. He had come the last, and with reluctance:[1] but his knowledge of

[1] See quotation above from Ptolem. Luc. "Venit igitur ultimus, et sic scivit deducere sua negotia, quod factus esset quasi Dominus Curiæ." — c. xxii. Ptolemy was present during most of these proceedings.

affairs, and the superiority of his abilities, soon made him master in the deliberations of the Conclave. The abdication of Celestine had been, if not at his suggestion, urged on the irresolute and vacillating Pope by his commanding mind; even if the vulgar artifices of frightening him into the determination were unnecessary, and beneath the severe character of Gaetani. The Conclave sat, in the Castel Nuovo at Naples, for ten days; at the close, Benedetto Gaetani, as it seemed, by unanimous consent, was declared Pope. The secrets of the intermediate proceedings might undoubtedly transpire; the hostility, which almost immediately broke out among all parties, would not scruple to reveal the darkest intrigues; those intrigues would even take the most naked and distinct form. Private mutual understandings would become direct covenants; promises made with reserve and caution, undisguised declarations. The vulgar rumors, therefore, would contain the truth, but more than the truth. It was no sudden acclamation, no deference at once to the superiority of Gaetani. The long delay shows a balance and strife of parties; the conqueror betrays by his success that he conducted most subtly, or adroitly, the game of conquest. Gaetani, it is said, not only availed himself of the irreconcilable hostility between the Orsinis and Colonnas, but played each against the other with exquisite dexterity. Each at length consented to leave the nomination to him, each expecting to be named. Gaetani named himself; the Orsini, Matteo Rosso, submitted: the Colonnas betrayed their indignation; and this, if not the first, was the deepest cause of the mutual unforgiving hatred.[1] From that time (it may

[1] Ferretus Vincentinus apud Muratori, S. R. T. t. ix. Ferretus, though

however be remembered that the Colonnas were Ghibelline) was implacable feud between the Pope and that house. But the Italian interest, represented by the Orsinis and Colonnas, no longer ruled the Conclave. Charles of Naples must be propitiated, for he held perhaps twelve suffrages. Gaetani suggested, it was said, at a midnight interview with Charles, that a weak Pontiff could not befriend the King with half the power which might be wielded by a strong one. "King Charles, your Pope Cœlestine had the will and the power to aid you, but knew not how; influence the Cardinals, your friends, in my favor, I shall have not only the will and the power, but the knowledge also to serve you."[1] Charles's obsequious Cardinals gave their vote for Gaetani, it may be presumed with the consent or cognizance at least of Charles. Nor in justice can it be denied that if he pledged himself to use every effort for the reconquest of Sicily, he did more than adhere with unshaken fidelity to his engagements, even when it had been perhaps the better Papal policy to have abandoned the cause. It was unquestionably through the Pope's consummate ability, rather than by favoring circumstances or the popularity of his character, that Charles afterwards maintained the contest for that kingdom. Guelfism, too, brought Charles and Benedetto Gaetani into one common interest.

Benedetto Gaetani was chosen Pope with all apparent unanimity on the 23d of December; no doubt it

a contemporary, is by no means an accurate writer: he has made some singular mistakes, and he wrote at Vicenza. Before it reached him, any private and doubtful negotiation, which we can hardly question took place, would become positive and determinate.

[1] "Re Carlo, il tuo Papa Celestino t' ha voluto e potuto servire, ma non ha saputo: onde se tu adoperi co' tuoi amici Cardinali che io son eletto Papa, io saprò e vorrò e potrò." — Villani, viii. 6.

was truly said, not to his own dissatisfaction.[1] He took the name of Boniface; it was reported that he intimated by that name that he was to be known by deeds rather than by words. The abdication, the negotiation with the conflicting Cardinals, with Charles of Naples was the work of ten days, implying by its duration strife and resistance; by its rapidity despatch, and boldness in reconciling strife and surmounting difficulty.

But no sooner was Gaetani Pope, than he yearned for the independence, the sole supremacy, of Rome or the Roman dominions; he would not be a Pope, the instrument of, and in thrall to a King at Naples. The most pressing invitations, the most urgent remonstrances, would not induce him to delay; he hurried on by Capua, Monte Casino, Anagni. In his native city he was welcomed with festive dances; everywhere received with humble deference, deference which he enforced by his lofty demeanor. At the gates of Rome he was met by the militia, by the knighthood, by the clergy of Rome, chanting in triumph, as though the Pope had escaped from prison. Italy, Christendom were to know that a true Pope had ascended the throne.

The inauguration of Boniface was the most magnificent which Rome had ever beheld.[2] In his procession to St. Peter's and back to the Lat- Inauguration at Rome. Jan. 16, 1295.

[1] "Electus est ipse non invitus, non gemens" — Pepin. Chronic. apud Muratori, c. xli. Dante suggests the fraudulent means of success: —

> "Sei tu si tosto de quel haver sazio,
> Per la qual non temesti torre a inganno,
> La bella Donna, e di poi farne strazio."
>
> *Inferno*, xix. 55.

[2] There is a very odd account of the difference of the voices of the Italian and French clergy during this ceremony: —

> "Ille tonum Romanus avet clarum diapente,
> Ille canit, ferit ille gravem quartam diatesron:

eran palace, where he was entertained, he rode not a humble ass, but a noble white horse, richly caparisoned: he had a crown on his head; the King of Naples held the bridle on one side, his son, the King of Hungary, on the other. The nobility of Rome, the Orsinis, the Colonnas, the Savellis, the Stefaneschi, the Annibaldi, who had not only welcomed him to Rome, but conferred on him the Senatorial dignity, followed in a body: the procession could hardly force its way through the masses of the kneeling people. In the midst, a furious hurricane burst over the city, and extinguished every lamp and torch in the church. A darker omen followed: a riot broke out among the populace, in which forty lives were lost. The day after, the Pope dined in public in the Lateran; the two Kings waited behind his chair. Before his coronation, Boniface took a solemn oath of fidelity to St. Peter and to the Church, to maintain the great mysteries of the faith, the decrees of the eight General Councils, the ritual and Order of the Church, not to alienate the possessions of the Church, and to restore discipline. This oath was unusual (at least in its length), it was attested by a notary, and laid up in the Pontifical Archives.[1]

Immediately after the consecration, a Manifesto proclaimed to Christendom the voluntary abdication of

> Lubricus in vocem nescit consistere pernix
> Italus, ipse notas refricans, ceu nubila guttas.
> At flatu melior vox Gallica lege morosum
> Præcinit, et guerble * geminans retinacula puncti
> Instar habet dure percussi incudibus æris."
>
> *Cardin. St. George.*

[1] Pagi and others have shown that the profession of faith attached to this oath cannot be genuine. Qu.? forged when Boniface was afterwards accused of heresy?

* Wirbel, *Germ.*; warble, *Engl.*

Cœlestine, on account of his acknowledged inexperience, incapacity, ignorance of secular affairs, love of devout solitude; and the elevation of Boniface, who had been compelled to accept the throne. But serious and dangerous doubts were still entertained, or might be made the specious pretext of rebellion against the authority of the Pope. Did the omnipotence of the Pope extend to the resignation of the office? His Bull, empowering himself to abdicate, and his abdication, were without precedent, and contrary to some canonical principles. Already, if not openly uttered, might be heard by the quick and jealous ears of Boniface some murmurs even among his Cardinals. No one knew better the versatility of Rome and of her nobles. Boniface was not the man to allow advantage to his adversaries, and adversaries he knew well that he had, and would have more, and those more formidable, if they should gain possession of the person of Cœlestine, and use his name for their own anarchical purposes. Cœlestine had abandoned the pomp and authority, he could not shake off the dangers Cœlestine V. and troubles, the jealousies and apprehensions which belonged to his former state. The solitude, in which he hoped to live and die in peace, was closely watched; he was agitated by no groundless fears, probably by intimations, that it might be necessary to invite him to Rome. Once he escaped, and hid himself among some other hermits in a wood. But he could not elude the emissaries of Boniface. He received a more alarming warning of his danger, and fled to the sea-coast, in order to take refuge in the untrodden forests of Dalmatia. His little vessel was cast back by contrary winds; he was seized by the Governor of Iapygia, in

the district of the Capitanata. He was sent, according to the order of Boniface, to Anagni. All along the road, for above one hundred and fifty miles, the people, deeply impressed with the sanctity of Cœlestine, crowded around him with perilous homage. They plucked the hairs of the ass on which he rode, and cut off pieces of his garments to keep as relics. They watched him at night till he went to rest; they were ready by thousands in the early morning to see him set forth upon his journey. Some of the more zealous entreated him to resume the Pontificate. The humility of Cœlestine did not forsake him for an instant; everywhere he protested that his resignation was voluntary. He was brought into the presence of Boniface. Like the meanest son of the Church, he fell down at the feet of the Pope; his only prayer, a prayer urged with tears, was that he might be permitted to return to his desert hermitage. Boniface addressed him in severe language.

Imprisonment.

He was committed to safe custody in the castle of Fumone, watched day and night by soldiers, like a prisoner of state. His treatment is described as more or less harsh, according as the writer is more or less favorable to Boniface.[1] By one account, his cell was so narrow that he had not room to move; where his feet stood when he celebrated mass by day, there his head reposed at night. He obtained with difficulty permission for two of his brethren to be with him; but so unwholesome was the place, that they were obliged to resign their charitable office. According to another statement, the narrowness of his cell was his own choice: he was permitted to indulge in

[1] Ptolem. Luc., Stefaneschi. Vit. Celest. apud Bollandistas, with other Lives.

this meritorious misery; his brethren were allowed free access to him; he suffered no insult, but was treated with the utmost humanity and respect. Death released him before long from his spontaneous or enforced wretchedness. He was seized with a fever, generated perhaps by the unhealthy confinement, accustomed as he had been to the free mountain air. He died, May 19, 1296, was buried with ostentatious publi- Death.
city, that the world might know that Boniface now reigned without rival, in the church of Ferentino.

The Cardinal Thomas, his own Cardinal, and Theodoric, the Pope's Chamberlain, conducted the ceremonial, to which all the prelates and clergy in the neighborhood were summoned.[1] Countless miracles were told of his death: a golden cross appeared to the soldiers shining above the door of his cell: his soul was seen by a faithful disciple visibly ascending to heaven. His body became the cause of a fierce quarrel, and of a pious crime. It was stolen from the grave at Ferentino, and carried to Aquila. An insurrection of the people of Ferentino was hardly quelled by the Bishop; on the assurance, after the visitation of the tomb, that the heart of the Saint had been fortunately left behind, they consented to abandon their design of vengeance. Immediately on the death of Boniface the canonization of Cœlestine was urgently demanded, especially by the enemies of that Pope. It Canonization.
was granted by Clement V. The monks of A.D. 1313
the Cœlestinian brotherhood (self-incorporated, self-organized) grew and flourished; they built convents in many parts of Italy, even in France. But the memory of the Pope, who had disdained and thrown aside the

[1] Supplementum Vit. S. Celestin. apud Bollandistas.

Papal diadem, dwelt with no less veneration among the Fraticelli, the only true followers, as they averred, and in one respect justly averred, of St. Francis. The Cœlestinians were not, strictly speaking, Franciscans; they were a separate Order; owed their foundation, as they said, to the sainted Pope, but held the same opinions, sprang from the same class, seem at length to have merged into and mingled with the lower and more fanatic of the Minorites. Of them, and of the place assigned to Cœlestine in the visions of the Abbot Joachim, the Book of the Eternal Gospel, and in all the prophecies spread abroad by these wild sects, more hereafter.

Boniface surveyed Christendom with the haughty glance of a master, but not altogether with the cool and penetrating wisdom of a statesman. Noble visions of universal pacification, of new crusades, of that glorious but impracticable scheme of uniting Europe in one vast confederacy against Saracenic sway, swept before his thoughts. To a mind like his, which held it to be sacrilege or impiety to recede from any claim once made by the See of Rome and acknowledged by the ignorance, interests, or weakness of the temporal sovereign, the Papacy was a perilous height on which the steadiest head might become dizzy and lose its self-command. From Naples to Scotland the Papal supremacy was in possession of full, established, and acknowledged power, which took cognizance of the moral acts of sovereigns, their private life, their justice, humanity, respect for the rights of their subjects. It was thus absolutely illimitable. Besides this, the Popes held an actual feudal suzerainty over some of the smaller kingdoms, admitted by their kings in times of weakness, or

in order to legalize the usurpation of the throne by some new dynasty. For this power they could cite precedent, more or less venerable, recognized, uncontested; and precedent was universally held the great foundation of such tenure. It was an axiom of the Papal policy that rights, superiorities, sovereignties, once claimed by the Pope, belonged to the Pope: he claimed Corsica and Sardinia, partly as islands, partly as said to have formed a portion of the domains of the Countess Matilda, and then granted Corsica and Sardinia as his own inalienable, incontestable property. Not only Naples and Sicily, Arragon, Portugal, Hungary, Bohemia, Scotland, England — it was averred, though the indignant nation still repudiated, or but reluctantly acknowledged, the submission of John, and, still while it paid irregularly, murmured against the tribute — had been ceded as fiefs, or were claimed as owing that kind of allegiance. Over the Empire the Pope still asserted the privilege of the Pope's at least ratifying the election, of deposing the Emperor who might invade or violate the rights of the Roman See, rights indefinite and interpreted by his sole authority, against which lay no appeal. Even in France the ruling dynasty was liable to be reminded that the throne had been conferred by Pope Zacharias on Pepin the father of Charlemagne; so too on the Papal sanction rested its later transferrence to the House of Capet. Throughout Christendom the Pope had a kingdom of his own within every kingdom. The clergy, possessing a vast portion, in some countries more than half the land and wealth, and of unbounded influence, owed to him their first allegiance. They were assessable and to be taxed only for him or by his authority; and,

though occasionally refractory, occasionally more true to their national descent and their national pride than to their sacerdotal interests, and sometimes standing strongly on their separate hierarchical independence, yet as they held their independence of the civil power, their immunities from taxation, their distinct sacred character, chiefly from the Pope, and looked to his spiritual arms for their security and protection, they were everywhere his subjects in the first instance. And besides the clergy, and compelling the clergy themselves to more unlimited Papal obedience, the monastic orders, more especially the Friars, were his great standing army, his garrison throughout the Christian world.

Boniface as Papal agent and as Cardinal.

Boniface had visited many countries in Europe. It is asserted that in his youth he studied law in Paris, and even that he had been canon in that church.[1] He had accompanied the Cardinal Ottobuoni to England, when sent by Alexander IV. to offer the crown of Sicily to the Prince Edmund. He had been joined in a mission with Matteo, Cardinal of Acqua Sparta, to adjust the conflicting claims of Charles of Anjou and Sicily, and of Rodolph, King of the Romans, to the inheritance of Provence. The treaty, which he drew, placed the Pope in the high office of arbiter in temporal as in spiritual matters. In any dispute as to the fulfilment or interpretation of the treaty the two Kings submitted themselves absolutely to the judgment of the Pope.[2] For his success in this

[1] Du Boulay, Hist. Univers. Paris. Tosti, Storia di Bonifazio VIII. to p. 31. He was canon also of Anagni, of Todi, of Lyons, of St. Peter in Rome. He was also Apostolic Notary.

[2] Raynald. sub ann. 1280.

legation Gaetani had been rewarded with the Cardinalate. Gaetani had been employed to dissuade Charles of Anjou from his duel at Bordeaux with the King of Arragon. He had sat in Rome in a commission upon the ecclesiastical affairs of Portugal. The student of law in the University of Paris returned to that city as Papal Legate (with the Cardinal of Parma) from Nicolas IV. They had the difficult commission to demand the refunding the tenths raised by Philip the Bold for a Crusade to the Holy Land, from his son Philip the Fair. He had thus experience of the stern rapacity of Philip the Fair, his defiance of all authority, even that of the Pope, in affairs of money. He had to allay the other most intense and dominant passion of the same Philip the Fair, hatred and jealousy of Edward I., King of England. On the first question he presided in a synod held in the church of St. Genevieve, a synod which ended in nothing. On the second point Philip was equally impracticable; he coldly repelled the advice which would reconcile him with his detested rival. The same Legates at Tarascon had been in- Feb. 18, 1291.
structed to arrange the treaty between France, Charles of Naples, and Alfonso of Arragon. The peace had been settled, but broken off by the death of King Alfonso.

But in all his travels and his intercourse with these sovereigns, Boniface had not discerned, or his haughty hierarchical spirit had refused to see, the revolution which had been slowly working throughout Christendom: in France the growth of the royal power; in England the aspirations after religious as well as civil freedom; the advance of the Universities; the rise of the civil lawyers, who were to meet the clergy on their

own ground, and wrest from them the supremacy, or at least to confront them on equal terms in the field of jurisprudence — a lettered order, bound together by as strong a corporate spirit, and often hostile to the ecclesiastical canonists. Boniface had not discovered that the Papal power had reached, had passed its zenith; that his attempt to raise it even higher, to exhibit it in a more naked and undisguised form than had been dared by Gregory VII. or Innocent III., would shake it to its base.

Boniface and Charles of Naples.

Boniface was bound by gratitude to Charles, King of Naples, claimant of Sicily, perhaps by a plighted or understood covenant during his election. His first act was one of haughty leniency: he granted a remission of any forfeiture of the fief of Naples which might have been incurred by his father, Charles of Anjou, or by Charles himself, for not having fulfilled the conditions of his vassalage. If either should have become liable, not merely to forfeiture, but to excommunication, as having violated any one of the covenants imposed by his liege lord the Church, had neglected or refused to pay the stipulated tribute, and thereby incurred deprivation, the Pope condescended to grant absolution on the condition of full satisfaction to the Church.[1] On the sudden death of Charles of Hungary, during the absence of King Charles of Naples, the Pope acted at once as Liege Lord of Hungary, appointed his Legate Landulph, and afterwards, yielding to the petitions of the people, the Queen Maria as Regent of the realm.

The interests of the Papal See, no less than his alliance with Charles of Naples, bound Pope Boniface to

[1] Bull. apud Raynaldum.

reconcile, if possible, the conflicting pretensions of the Houses of Anjou and Arragon. The Arragonese, notwithstanding the reiterated grants of the kingdom of Sicily to the Angevine, notwithstanding the most solemn excommunications, and the most strenuous warfare of the combined Papal and Angevine armies, had still obstinately maintained their title by descent, election of the people, actual possession. The throne of Sicily had successively passed down the whole line of brothers, from Peter to Alfonso, from Alfonso to James, from James it had devolved, in fact, if not by any regular grant or title, through assent or connivance, on the more active and ambitious Frederick.

During the reign of the more peaceful James a treaty had been agreed to. Two marriages, to which Pope Celestine removed the canonical impediments, ratified the peace. James of Arragon was espoused to Blanche, the daughter of Charles; Robert, son of Charles, to Iolante, the sister of James.[1] Throughout this whole transaction the Pope (now Boniface) assumed, and it should seem without protest, the power to grant the kingdoms of Arragon and Valencia. In the surrender of those kingdoms by Charles of Valois, he insisted on the full recognition that he had held them by grant of the Pope. They were regranted to James of Arragon, who on this tenure did not scruple to accept, as the successor of his brother Alfonso, the hereditary dominions of his house. All who presumed to impede or to disturb this peace were solemnly excommunicated at Anagni on St. John the Baptist's day. June 24, 1295.

But the younger branches of the house of Arragon had not been so easily overawed by the terrors of the

[1] Briefs in Raynaldus, 1294.

Church to abandon the rich inheritance of Sicily, nor was Sicily, yet reeking with the blood shed at the Vespers, prepared to submit to the vengeance of the house of Anjou. The deep, inextinguishable hatred of the French was in the hearts of all orders; it was nursed by the remembrance of their merciless oppressions; the satisfaction of revenge once glutted, and the fear that the revolt, the Vesper massacre, and the years of war, would be even more terribly atoned for. Boniface knew the bold and ambitious character of Frederick, the younger son of the house of Arragon. He had a splendid lure for him — no less than the Empire of Constantinople. The Pope invited him to a conference. Frederick appeared on the coast of Italy with a powerful and well-appointed fleet, accompanied by John of Procida and the great Admiral Roger Loria, at Velletri. The Pope offered him the hand of Catherine Courtenay, the daughter of Philip, titular Latin Emperor of the East: all the powers of the West were to confederate and place her, with her young and valiant husband, on the Byzantine throne. To her likewise he had written, under the magnificent title of Empress of Constantinople, in a tone of parental persuasion and spiritual authority, urging her to give her hand to the brave Prince of Arragon.[1] By so doing she would show herself a worthy descendant of her grandfather Baldwin and her father Philip, a dutiful daughter of the Church; she would not merely gain the glorious crown of her ancestors, but restore the erring and schismatical Greeks to their obedience to the Holy See.[2]

[1] Nicol. Special. ii. 21. Compare Amari, p. 363, ch. xiv.

[2] Brief of the Pope to Catherine of Courtenay, Raynald. sub ann. 1296 (27th June).

A treaty was formed on the following terms. Charles of Valois fully surrendered his empty title to Arragon, and acquired a title (as empty it proved) to the throne of Corsica and Sardinia, with large subsidies in money. James of Arragon had the full recognition of his right to the throne of Arragon, which he already possessed, peace, and the shame of having abandoned his brother and the claim of the house of Arragon to the throne of Sicily. The Pope secured, as he fondly hoped throughout, the lasting gratitude of Charles of Valois, the glory of having commanded peace, and the vain hope that he had deluded Frederick to surrender the actual possession of the throne of Sicily for a visionary empire in the East, which the Pope assumed the power, not of granting, but of having bestowed with the hand of the heiress to that barren title, Catherine of Courtenay. "A princess without a foot of land must not wed a prince without a foot of land; she was to bring her imperial dowry."[1]

But the youthful Prince Frederick of Arragon was not so easily tempted by the astute Pontiff. He required time for consideration, and returned with his fleet to Sicily. Nor was James of Arragon so absolutely in earnest, nor so determined on the surrender of his hereditary claims on Sicily. In public he dared not own the treaty. Envoys were sent from Palermo to demand whether he had actually ceded the island to the Pope and the King of Naples. King James was forced to acknowledge that he had done so. On the publication of his answer, there was a cry in the streets of Palermo, "What sorrow is like unto our sorrow?" But in secret, it was said, King James had more than

[1] Brief of Pope Boniface, Raynald. 1296, c. 9.

suggested resistance. He was asked, "How, then, shall Prince Frederick act?" "He is a soldier, and knows his duty; ye, too, know your duty." John of Calamandra was sent by the Pope to Messina to offer a blank parchment to the Sicilians, on which they were to inscribe whatever exemptions, immunities, or securities, might tempt the nation to acknowledge the treaty. A noble, Peter de Ansalo, drew his sword, "It is by the sword, not by parchments, that Sicily will win peace." The Papal Envoy left the island with all the haste of terror.[1]

March 21, 1296. Frederick was crowned in the Cathedral of Palermo, on Easter Day, with the acclamation of all Sicily, determined to resist to the utmost the abhorred dominion of the French. He sailed instantly with a powerful fleet, subjected Reggio and the country around, and threatened the whole kingdom of Naples. On Ascension Day the Pope condemned Frederick and the Sicilians by a bull, couched, if possible, in more than ordinarily terrific phrases. He heaped up charges of perfidy, usurpation, impiety, contempt of God and of his Church; he annulled absolutely and entirely the election of Frederick as King of Sicily; he threatened with excommunication, with the extremest spiritual and temporal penalties, all who should not instantly abandon his cause; he forbade all who owned spiritual allegiance to Rome to enter into treaty with him; and he revoked all indulgences, privileges, or immunities, granted at any time to the kingdom of Sicily, more especially all granted to those concerned in the consecration or rather execration of the usurping King. The Sicilians, strong in their patriotism and their hatred

[1] Montaner, Nic. Special. ii. 22.

of the French dominion, despised these idle fulminations. Charles must prepare for war, or rather the Pope in the name of Charles. But the resources of Naples were altogether exhausted; King Charles had paid a large sum to James of Arragon for the renunciation of his rights, and borrowed more of the Pope. Boniface was at once rapacious and liberal. He put off the day for the discharge of the first debt, and furnished five thousand ounces of gold. Charles was empowered to tax the Church property in his realm for this pious war, waged to maintain the rights of the Church.

The war of Sicily continued almost to the close of the Pontificate of Boniface VIII. King James of Arragon was summoned by the inflexible Pope to assist in wresting the kingdom from his brother; he received the title of standard-bearer of the Church. James obeyed with enforced but ostentatious obsequiousness. Yet he was suspected, perhaps not without reason, of a traitorous reluctance to conquer.[1] The war dragged on, aggressive on the side of Frederick against Naples, rather than endangering Sicily. Roger de Loria, affronted by an untimely suspicion of perfidy, A.D. 1297. yielded to the temptation of the principality over two barren islands on the coast of Africa, conquered from the Moors. The revolted Sicilian Admiral July 4, 1299. inflicted a terrible discomfiture on the fleet of his former sovereign, Frederick. But in the same year Frederick revenged himself by the total defeat of the army of Charles of Naples on the plains of Formicaria, and

1 "Quod si sacer Princeps Ecclesiæ ipsum ad hæc per edicta verenda prorsus impellat, se licet invitum, Dei magis quam hominum offensam metuentem, necesse quidem esse favorabiliter obsequi. Cupiebat enim fratris ruinam, sed ut omnis objectio legitimâ causâ vestiretur, compelli voluit." —Ferret. Vicentin. apud Muratori, S. R. T. xi. p. 959.

the capture of his son Philip of Tarento. In the next year another naval victory raised still higher the fame of Roger Loria, who seemed to carry with him, whichever cause he espoused, the dominion of the sea. But the invasion of Sicily was baffled by the prudence and Fabian policy of King Frederick. The Pope, at length weary of the expenditure, suspecting the lukewarm aid of James of Arragon, and not yet in open breach with Philip King of France, summoned Philip's brother, Charles of Valois, whose successes in Flanders had obtained for him the fame of a great general, to aid the final conquest of Sicily. Perhaps he meditated the transferrence of the crown of Naples and Sicily from the feeble descendants of the house of Anjou to the more powerful Charles of Valois. The summons to Charles of Valois was, as the invitation to French princes by the Pope to take part in Italian affairs has ever been, fatal to the liberties and welfare of Italy, ruinous to the Popes themselves. He did but crush the liberties of Florence, and left the excommunicated Frederick on the throne of Sicily.[1] "He came," says the historian, "to bring peace to Florence, and brought war; to wage war against Sicily, and concluded an ignominious peace." His invasion of Sicily with an overwhelming force only made more obstinate the resistance of the Sicilians: they met him not in the field; they allowed him to

A.D. 1302.

Affairs of Sicily.

[1] "Tempo veggio non molto doppo anchoi
Che tragge un altro Carlo fuor di Francia,
Per far meglio conoscer se e' i suoi;
Senz' arme n' esca solo; e con la lancia
Con la quel giostra Giuda; e quella punta
Si, che a Fiorenza fa scoppiar la panciâ."
*Purgat.* xx. 70.

wear away his army in vain successes.[1] Boniface heard before his death that a treaty of peace had been sealed, leaving Frederick in peaceable possession of the whole island for his lifetime, under the title of King of Trinacria. The only price which he paid was the acceptance as his wife of a daughter of the house of Anjou. Frederick of Arragon, notwithstanding the terms of the treaty, by which on his death the crown of Sicily was to revert to the King of Naples, handed it quietly down to his own posterity. But we must return hereafter to Charles of Valois.

Boniface aspired to be the pacificator of Italy, but it was not by a lofty superiority to the passions of the times, by tempering the ferocity of the conflicting factions, and with a stern but impartial justice repressing Guelf and Ghibelline; it was rather by avowedly proclaiming himself the head of the Guelfic interest, seizing the opportunity of the feebleness of the Empire to crush all the Imperialist faction, and to annul all the Imperial rights in Italy. Anagni had been a Ghibelline city; the Gaetani a Ghibelline family. But in Boniface the Churchman had long struggled triumphantly against the Ghibelline; the Papacy wrought him at once into a determined Guelf. Even before his pontificate he had connected himself with the Orsini, the enemies of his enemies, the Colonnas. The Ghibellines spread stories about Pope Boniface; true or false, naked or exaggerated truth, they found ready credence. The Ghibellines were masters, through the Orsis and Spinolas, of Genoa; the Archbishop Stephen Porchetto was of that family. In the solemn service of the Church, when the Pope strews ashes on the heads of

Boniface a Guelf.

[1] The war may be read fully and well told in the last chapter of Amari.

all, to admonish them of the nothingness of man, instead of the usual words, Boniface broke out, "Ghibelline, remember that thou art dust, and with all other Ghibellines to dust thou shalt return." [1]

The Colonnas centred in themselves everything which could keep alive the well-grounded fear, the jealousy, the vindictiveness of the Pope, as well as justify his desire of order, of law, and of peace. They had Ghibellinism, power, wealth, lawlessness, ill-concealed doubts of his title to the Papacy, no doubt ambition to transfer the Papacy to themselves. Under Nicolas IV. they had ruled supreme over the Pope; under Gaetani, would they endure to be nothing? All the Papacy could give or add to their vast possessions, titles, ranks, were theirs, or had been theirs but a few years ago. They had long been the great Ghibelline house. In Rome, still more in the Romagna, they had fortresses held to be impregnable — Palestrina, Nepi, Zagaruola, Colonna; and these gave them, if not the absolute command of the region, the power of plundering and tyrannizing with impunity. Nor was that power under any constraint for respect of sacred things, of humanity, or of justice. They might become what the Counts and Nobles of former centuries had been, masters of the Papal territories, of the Papacy itself.

The Colonnas were strong, as has been seen, even in the conclave, in which sat two Cardinals of that house. The death of Cœlestine had not removed all doubt as to the validity of the election of Boniface. No one knew better than Boniface how the Colonnas had been

[1] This, according to Muratori, if ever said, must have been said to Archbishop Porchetto, who succeeded Jacob a Voragine (author of the Legenda Aurea). — Muratori, S. R. I. ix. Note on Jacob a Voragine, p. 10.

deceived into giving their favorable suffrages, how deeply, if silently, they already repented of their weakness; how ready they would be to fall back on the illegality of the whole affair. There can be little question that they were watching the opportunity of revolt as eagerly as Boniface that of crushing the detested house of Colonna. It concerned his own security not less than that of the Papacy: the uncontested sovereignty of the Pope over his own dominions; the permanent rescue of the throne of St. Peter from the tyranny of a fierce and unscrupulous host of bandit chieftains, and from Ghibellines at the gates of Rome, and even in Rome.[1]

The Colonnas were so ill-advised, or so unable to restrain each other, as to give a plausible reason, and more than one reason, for the Pope to break out in just it seemed, if implacable, resentment. The Colonna, who held the city of Palestrina, surprised and carried off on the road to Anagni a rich caravan of furniture belonging to the Pope. The crime of one was the crime of all. But heavier charges were not wanting which involved the whole house. They were accused of conspiracy, as doubtless they had conspired in their wishes if not in overt acts, with Frederick of Arragon and the Sicilians. It was said that they had openly received in Palestrina Francis Crescentio and Nicolas Pazzi, citizens of Rome, envoys from Frederick of Arragon.[2] There is a dark indication that

[1] Compare Raynaldus, sub ann. 1297, p. 233.

[2] Muratori doubts this (p. 256); it is not brought forward as a specific charge by the Pope, but for this the Pope might have his reasons. It is asserted by Villani, viii. 21; Ptolem. Lucen. in Annal. Chronicon Foroliviens. S. H. T. xxii. Tosti has rather ostentatiously brought forward a new cause of hostility. Cardinal James Colonna was trustee for his three

already France was tampering in the opposition to Boniface.[1]

Papal Bull against the Colonnas.

A Bull came forth denouncing the whole family, their ancestors, as well as the present race, with indiscriminate condemnation, but concentring all the penalty on the two Cardinals.[2] "Having taken into consideration the wicked acts of the Colonnas in former times, their present manifest relapse into their hereditary guiltiness, and our just fears of their former misdeeds, it is clear as daylight that this odious house of Colonna, cruel to its subjects, troublesome to its neighbors, the enemy of the Roman Republic, rebellious against the Holy Roman Church, the disturber of the public peace in the city and in the territory of Rome, impatient of equals, ungrateful for benefits, stranger to humility, and possessed by madness, having neither fear nor respect for man, and an insatiable lust to throw the city and the whole world into confusion, has endeavored (here follow the specific charges) to instigate our dear sons James of Arragon and the noble youth Frederick to rebellion." The Pope then avows that he had summoned the Colonnas to surrender their castles of Palestrina, Colonna, and Zagaruola, into his hands. Their refusal to obey this imperious demand was at once the proof and the aggravation of their disloyalty. "Believing, then," he proceeds, "the rank of Cardinal held by these stubborn and intractable men to be a scandal to the faithful, we

brothers, and robbed them of their property. They appealed to the Pope. From Patrini, Memorie Penestrine. Rome, 1795.

[1] See note p. 226.

[2] The Bull in Raynaldus, A. D. 1297.

have determined, after trying those milder measures (the demand of the unconditional surrender of their castles), in the strength of the power of the Most High, to subdue the pride of the aforesaid James and Peter, to crush their arrogance, to cast them forth as diseased sheep from the fold, to depose them forever from their high station." He goes on to deprive them of all their ecclesiastical rank and revenues, to declare them excommunicate, and to threaten with the severest censures of the Church all who should thenceforth treat them as Cardinals, or in any way befriend their cause. Such partisans were to be considered in heresy, schism, and rebellion, to lose all ecclesiastical rank, dignity, or bishopric, and to forfeit their estates. The descendants of one branch were declared incapable, to the fourth generation, of entering into holy orders. Such was the attainder for their spiritual treason.

Reply of the Colonnas.

The Colonnas had offered, on the mediation of the Senator and the Commonalty of Rome, to submit themselves in the fullest manner to the Pope.[1] But the Pope would be satisfied with nothing less than the surrender of all their great castles. Therefore, when they could no longer avoid it, they accepted the defiance to internecine war. They answered by a proclamation of great length, hardly inferior in violence, more desperately daring than that

[1] The senators and commonalty of Rome had persuaded the Colonnas to this course. "Suaserunt, induxerunt quod ad pedes nostros reverenter venirent, nostra et ipsius Romanæ Ecclesiæ absolute ac liberè mandata facturi: ad quæ præfati schismatici et rebelles ipsis ambasciatoribus responderunt, se venturos ad pedes nostros ac nostra et præfatæ Ecclesiæ mandata facturos." — Epist. Bonifac. ad Pandect. Savelli, Orvieto, 29th Sept.

of the Pope. They repudiated altogether the right of Boniface to the Pontificate; they denied the power of Cœlestine to resign. They accused Boniface of obtaining the abdication of Cœlestine by fraudulent means, by conditions and secret understandings, by stratagems and machinations;[1] they appealed to a General Council, that significant menace, in later times of such fearful power. This long argumentative declaration of the Colonna Cardinals was promulgated in all quarters, affixed to the doors of churches, and placed on the very altar of St. Peter. But the Colonnas stood alone; none other of the Conclave joined them; no popular tumult broke out on their side. Their allies, and allies they doubtless had, were beyond the Faro; within the Alps, Ghibellinism was overawed, and abandoned its champions, notwithstanding their purple, to the unresisted Pontiff. Boniface proceeded to pass his public sentence against his contumacious spiritual vassals. The sentence was a concentration of all the maledictory language of ecclesiastical wrath. No instrument, after a trial for capital treason,

Papal sentence. Dec. 1297.

[1] These words are remarkable: — "Quod in renuntiatione ipsius multæ fraudes et doli, conditiones et intendimenta, et *machinamenta*, et tales et talia intervenisse *multipliciter asseruntur*, quod esto, quod posset fieri renuntiatio, de quo merito dubitatur, ipsam vitiarent et redderent illegitimam, inefficacem, et nullam." — Apud Raynald. sub ann. 1297, No. 34. But the most remarkable fact regarding this document is that it was attested in the Castle of Longhezza *by five dignitaries of the Church of France*, the Provost of Rheims, the Archdeacon of Rouen, three canons of Chartres, of Evreux, and of Senlis; and by three Franciscan friars, of whom one was *the famous poet Jacopone da Todi*, afterwards persecuted by Boniface. This is of great importance. The quarrel with Philip the Fair had already begun in the year before; the Bull "Clericis Laicos" had been issued; and here is a confederacy of the Colonnas, the agents of the King of France, and the Cœlestinian Franciscans. It bears date May 10, 1297. — Dupuy, Preuves du Différend.

in any period, was drawn with more careful and vindictive particularity. It was not content with treating the appeal as heretical, blasphemous, and schismatical, but as an act of insanity. The Pope had an unanswerable argument against their denial of the validity of his election, their undisturbed, unprotesting allegiance during three years, their recognition of the Pope by assisting him in all his papal functions. The Bull denounced their audacity in presuming, after their deposition, to assume the names and to wear the dress and insignia of Cardinals. The penalty was not merely perpetual degradation, but excommunication in its severest form; the absolute confiscation of the entire estates, not only of the Cardinals, but of the whole Colonna family. It included, by name, John di San Vito, and Otho, the son of John, the brother of the Cardinal James and the father of Cardinal Peter, Agapeto, Stephen, and James Sciarra, sons of the same John, with all their kindred and relatives, and their descendants forever. It absolutely incapacitated them from holding rank, office, function, or property. All towns, castles, or places which harbored any of their persons fell under interdict; and the faithful were commanded to deliver them up wherever they might be found.

This proscription, this determination to extinguish one of the most ancient and powerful families of Italy, with the degradation of two Cardinals, was an act of vigor and severity beyond all precedent. Nor was it a loud and furious but idle menace. Boniface had not miscalculated his strength. The Orsini lent all their forces to humble the rival Colonnas, and a Crusade was proclaimed, a Crusade against two Cardinals of

the Church, a Crusade at the gates of Rome.[1] The same indulgences were granted to those who should take up arms against the Cardinals and their family which were offered to those who warred on the unbelievers in the Holy Land. The Cardinal of Porto, Matthew Acquasparta, Bishop of St. Sabina, commanded the army of the Pope in this sacred war. Stronghold after stronghold was stormed; castle after castle fell.[2] Palestrina alone held out with intrepid obstinacy. Almost the whole Colonna house sought their last refuge in the walls of this redoubted fortress, which defied the siege, and wearied out the assailing forces. Guido di Montefeltro, a famous Ghibelline chieftain, had led a life of bloody and remorseless warfare, in which he was even more distinguished by craft than by valor. He had treated with contemptuous defiance all the papal censures which rebuked and would avenge his discomfiture of many papal generals and the depression of the Guelfs. In an access of devotion, now grown old, he had taken the habit and the vows of St. Francis, divorced his wife, given up his wealth, obtained remission of his sins, first from Cœlestine, afterwards from Boniface, and was living in quiet in a convent at Ancona.[3] He was summoned from his

Jan. to Sept. 1298.

[1] Raynaldus, sub ann. 1298. Dante puts these words in the mouth of Guido di Montefeltro: —

> "Lo principe di nuovi Pharisei,
> Havendo guerra presso a Laterano,
> E non con Saracin nè con Giudei;
> Che ciascuno suo nimico era Christiano;
> E nessun era stato a vincer Acri,
> Ne mercatante in terra di Soldano."
>
> *Inferno*, c. xxvii.

[2] Ptolem. Lucen. p. 1219.

[3] Tosti, the apologetic biographer of Boniface VIII., endeavors to raise some chronological difficulties, which amount to this, that Palestrina sur

cell on his allegiance to the Pope, and with plenary absolution for his broken vows, commanded to inspect the walls, and give his counsel on the best means of reducing the stubborn citadel. The old soldier surveyed the impregnable defences, and then, requiring still further absolution for any crime of which he might be guilty, uttered his memorable oracle, "Promise largely; keep little of your promises."[1] The large promises were made; the Colonnas opened their gates; within the prescribed three days appeared the two Cardinals, with others of the house, Agapeto and Sciarra, not on horseback, but more humbly, on foot, before the Pope at Rieti. They were received with outward blandness, and admitted to absolution. They afterwards averred[2] that they had been tempted to surrender with the understanding that the Papal banners were to be displayed on the walls of Palestrina; but that the Papal honor once satisfied, perhaps the fortifications dismantled, the city was to be restored to its lords. Not such was the design of Boniface. He determined to make the rebellious city an example of righteous pontifical rigor. He first condemned it to be no longer the seat of a Bishop, then commanded, as elder Rome her rival Carthage, that it should be utterly razed to the ground, passed over by the plough, and

Surrender of Palestrina.

rendered in the month of September, and that Guido di Montefeltro died at Assisi (it might be suddenly, he was an old worn-out man) on the 25d or 29th of that month.

[1] "Lunga promessa, con attender corto." — Inferno, xx. Comment. di Benvenuto da Imola (apud Murator.), Ferret. Vicent. Pi..mus (ibid.). These are Ghibelline writers; this alone throws suspicion on their authority. But Dante writes as of a notorious fact. Tosti's argument, which infers from the Colonna's act of humiliation, of which he adduces good evidence, that the surrender was unconditional, is more remarkable for its zeal than its logic.

[2] In the proceedings before Clement V. apud Dupuy.

sown with salt, so as never again to be the habitation of man.[1] A new city, to be called the Papal city, was to be built in the neighborhood.

The Colonnas found that they had nothing to hope, much to fear from the Pope, who was thus destroying, as it were, the lair of these wild beasts, whom he might seem determined to extirpate, rather than permit to resume any fragment of their dangerous power. Though themselves depressed, humbled, they were still formidable by their connections. The Pope accused them, justly it might be, such desperate men, of meditating new schemes of revolt. The Annibaleschi, their relatives, a powerful family, had raised or threatened to raise the Maremma. Boniface seized John of Ceccano of that house, cast him into prison, and confiscated all his lands. The Colonnas fled; some found refuge in Sicily; Stephen was received with honor in France. The Cardinals retired into obscurity. In France, too, after having been taken by corsairs, arrived Sciarra Colonna, hereafter to wreak the terrible vengeance of his house upon the implacable Pope.

Flight of the Colonnas.

Throughout Italy Boniface had assumed the same imperious dictatorship. His aim, the suppression of the interminable wars which arrayed city against city, order against order, family against family, was not unbecoming his holy office; but it was in the tone of a master that he commanded the world to peace, a tone which provoked resistance. It was not by persuasive influence, which might lull the conflicting passions of men, and enlighten them as to their real in-

Italy.

[1] "Ipsamque aratro subjici et veteris instar Carthaginis Africanæ, ac salem in eum et fecimus et mandavimus seminari, ut nec rem, nec nomen, nec titulum haberet civitatis." — See the edict in Raynaldus.

terests. Nor was his arbitration so serenely superior to the disturbing impulse of Guelfic and Papal ambition as to be accepted as an impartial award. The depression of Ghibellinism, not Christian peace, might seem his ultimate aim.

Italy, however, was but a narrow part of the great spiritual realm over which Boniface aspired to maintain an authority surpassing, at least in the plain boldness of its pretensions, that of his most lofty predecessors. Boniface did not abandon the principle upon which the Popes had originally assumed the right of interposing in the quarrels of kings, their paramount duty to obey his summons as soldiers of the Cross, and to confederate for the reconquest of the Holy Land. But this object had shrunk into the background; even among the religious, the crusading passion, by being diverted to less holy purposes, was wellnigh extinguished; it had begun even to revolt more than stir popular feeling. But Boniface rather rested his mandates on the universal, and, as he declared, the unlimited supremacy of the Roman See.

The great antagonistic power which had so long wrestled with the Papacy had indeed fallen into comparative insignificance. The Empire, under Adolph of Nassau (though acknowledged as King of the Romans he had not yet received the Imperial crown), had sunk from a formidable rival into an object of disdainful protection to the Pope.

The Empire. Adolph of Nassau

On the death of Rodolph of Hapsburg the Princes of Germany dreaded the perpetuation of the Empire in that house, which had united to its Swabian possessions the great inheritance of Austria. Albert of Austria, the son of Rodolph, was feared and hated;

A.D. 1291.

feared for his unmeasured ambition, extensive dominions, and the stern determination with which he had put down the continual insurrections in Austria and Styria; hated for his haughty and overbearing manners, and the undisguised despotism of his character. Wenzel, King of Bohemia, Albert, Elector of Saxony, Otho the Long, Margrave of Brandenburg, were drawn together by their common apprehensions and jealousy of the Austrian. The ecclesiastical Electors were equally averse to an hereditary Emperor, and to one of commanding power, ability, and resolution. But it was not easy to find a rival to oppose to the redoubted Albert, who reckoned almost in careless security on
May, 1292. the succession to the Empire, and had already seized the regalia in the Castle of Trefels. Siegfried, Archbishop of Cologne, suggested the name of Adolph of Nassau, a prince with no qualification but intrepid valor and the fame of some military skill, but with neither wealth, territory, nor influence. Gerhard, the subtle Archbishop of Mentz, seized the opportunity of making an Emperor who should not merely be the vassal of the Church of Rome, but even of the Church in Germany. It was said that he threatened severally each elector that, if he refused his vote for Adolph, the Archbishop would bring forward that Prince who would be most obnoxious to each one of them. Adolph of Nassau was chosen King of the Romans, but he was too poor to defray the cost of his own coronation: the magistrates of Frankfort opposed a tax which the Archbishop threatened to extort from the Jews of that city. The Archbishop of Mentz raised 20,000 marks
June 24, 1292. of silver on the lands of his See; and so the coronation of Adolph took place at Aix-la-

Chapelle. But there was no disinterestedness in this act of the Archbishop. The elevation of Adolph of Nassau, if it did not begin, was the first flagrant example of the purchase of the Imperial crown by the sacrifice of its rights. The capitulations[1] show the times. The King of the Romans was to compel the burghers of Mentz to pay a fine of 6000 marks of silver, imposed upon them by the Emperor Rodolph, for some act of disobedience to their Prelate; he was neither in act nor in counsel to aid the burghers against that Prelate; never to take Ulric of Hanau or Master Henry of Klingenberg into his counsels, or to show them any favor, but always to espouse the cause of the Archbishop and of the Church against these troublesome neighbors; he was to grant to the Archbishop certain villages and districts, with the privilege of a free city; to grant certain privileges and possessions to certain relatives of the Archbishop; to protect him by his royal favor against the Duke of Brunswick, and all his enemies; to grant the toll at Boppard on the Rhine in perpetuity to the Church of Mentz; to pay all the debts due from the Archbishop to the Court of Rome, and to hold the Archbishop harmless from all processes in respect of such debts; to repay all charges incurred on account of his coronation; to grant to the Archbishop the Imperial cities of Muhlhausen and Nordhausen, and to compel the burghers to take the oath of fealty to him. Nor was this all. Among the further stipulations, the Emperor was to make over the Jews of Mentz (the Jews of the Empire were now the men of the Emperor) to the Archbishop; this superiority had been usurped by the

Terms exacted by the Archbishop of Mentz July 1.

[1] Wurdtwein. Diplom. Moguntiaca, i. 28.

burghers of Mentz. The Emperor was not to intermeddle with causes which belonged to the spiritual Courts; not to allow them to be brought before temporal tribunals; to leave the Archbishop and his clergy, and also all his suffragan bishops, in full possession of their immunities and rights, castles, fortresses, and goods. One article alone concerned the whole princedom of the Empire. No prince was to be summoned to the Imperial presence without the notice of fifteen weeks, prescribed by ancient usage. The other ecclesiastical electors were not quite so grasping in their demands: Cologne and Treves were content with the cession of certain towns and possessions. Adolph submitted to all these terms, which, if he had the will, he had hardly the power to fulfil.[1]

The Emperor, who was thus subservient to the Archbishop of Mentz, was not likely to offer any dangerous resistance to the pretensions of the Pope; and to him Pope Boniface issued his mandates and his inhibitions as to a subject. Adolph might at first have held the balance between the conflicting Kings of France and England; his inclinations or his necessi-
A.D. 1294. ties drove him into the party of England. He sent a cartel of defiance to the King of France, to which King Philip rejoined, if not insultingly, with the language of an equal. But the subtle as well as haughty Philip revenged himself on the hostile Empire by taking more serious advantage of its weakness. The last wreck of the kingdom of Arles, Provence, became part of the kingdom of France: the old county of Burgundy, Franche Comté, by skilful negotiations,

[1] Compare throughout Schmidt, Geschichte der Deutschen, viii. p. 115, *et seq.*

was severed from the Empire.[1] These hostile measures, and the subsidies of England, were irresistible to the indigent yet warlike Adolph. He declared himself the ally of Edward; and when Boniface sent two Cardinals to command France and England to make peace, at the same time the Bishops of Reggio and Sienna had instructions to warn the Emperor, under the terror of ecclesiastical censures, not to presume to interfere in the quarrel. The Pope's remonstrance was a bitter insult: "Becomes it so great and powerful a Prince to serve as a common soldier for hire in the armies of England?"[2] But English gold outweighed Apostolic censure and scorn. In the campaign in Flanders the Emperor Adolph had 2000 knights in arms on the side and in the pay of England. The rapid successes, however, of the King of France enabled Adolph at once to fulfil his engagements with England without much risk to his subsidiary troops. The Emperor was included in the peace to which the two monarchs were reduced under the arbitration of Boniface.[3] A.D. 1295.

The reign of Adolph of Nassau was not long. Boniface may have contributed unintentionally to its early and fatal close by exacting the payment of the debt due from Gerhard of Mentz to the See of Rome, which Adolph was under covenant to discharge, but wanted the will or the power, or both. He would not apply the subsidies of England to this object. There was deep and sullen discontent throughout Germany.

At the coronation of Wenzel as King of Bohemia,

1 Leibnitz, Cod. G. Diplom. x. No. 18, p. 32.

2 Apud Raynald. 1295, No. 45.

3 The documents may be read in Raynaldus and in Rymer, sub annis. Schmidt, Geschichte der Deutschen, viii. p. 130, *et seq.*

Gerhard of Mentz performed the solemn office; thirty-
June 2, 1297. eight Princes of the Empire were present. Albert of Austria was lavish of his wealth and of his promises.[1] Gerhard was to receive 15,000 marks of silver. Count Hageloch was sent to Rome to purchase the assent of the Pope to the deposition of Adolph, and a new election to the Empire. Boniface refused all hearing to the offer. But Albert of Austria trusted to himself, his own arms, and to the League, which now embraced almost all the temporal and ecclesiastical Princes, the Elector of Saxony, the young Margrave of Brandenburg, Herman the Tall, the Ambassadors of Bohemia and Cologne. Adolph was declared deposed; Albert of Austria elected King of the Romans. The crimes alleged against Adolph were that he had plundered churches, debauched maidens, received pay from his inferior the King of England. He was also accused of having broken the seals of letters, administered justice for bribes, neither maintained the peace of the Empire, nor the security of the public roads. Thrice was he summoned to answer, and then condemned as contumacious. The one great quality of Adolph of Nassau, his personal bravery, was his ruin; he hastened to meet his rival in battle near Worms, plunged fiercely into the fray, and was slain.

The crime of Adolph's death (for a crime it was
July 2. 1298. declared, an act of rebellion, treason, and murder, against the anointed head of the Empire) placed Albert of Austria at the mercy of the Pope. The sentence of excommunication was passed, which none but the Pope could annul, and which, suspended over the head of the King elect of the Romans, made

[1] Schmidt, p. 137.

him dependent, to a certain degree, on the Pope, for the validity of his unratified election, the security of his unconfirmed throne. And so affairs stood till the last fatal quarrel of Boniface with the King of France made the alliance of the Emperor not merely of high advantage, but almost of necessity. His sins suddenly disappeared. The perjured usurper of the Empire, the murderer of his blameless predecessor, became without difficulty the legitimate King of the Romans, the uncontested Sovereign of the Holy Roman Empire.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### BONIFACE VIII. ENGLAND AND FRANCE.

If the Empire had sunk to impotence, almost to contempt, the kingdoms of France and England were rising towards the dawn of their future greatness. Each too had begun to develop itself towards that state which it fully attained only after some centuries, England that of a balanced constitutional realm, France that of an absolute monarchy. In England the kingly power was growing into strength in the hands of the able and vigorous Edward I.; but around it were rising likewise those free institutions which were hereafter to limit and to strengthen the royal authority. The national representation began to assume a more regular and extended form; the Parliaments were more frequent; the boroughs were confirmed in their right of choosing representatives; the commons were taking their place as at once an acknowledged and an influential Estate of the realm; the King had been compelled more than once, though reluctantly and evasively, to renew the great charters.[1] The law became more distinct and authoritative, but it was not the Roman law, but the old common law descended from the Saxon times, and guaranteed by the charters wrested from the Norman

England. Development of Constitution.

[1] Throughout Hallam, Middle Ages, ii. 160, 166.

kings. It grew up beside the canon law of the clergy, each rather avoiding the other's ground, than rigidly defining its own province. Edward was called the Justinian of England, but it was not by enacting a new code, but as framing statutes which embodied some of the principles of the common law of the kingdom. The clergy were still a separate caste, ruled by their own law, amenable almost exclusively to their own superiors; but they had gradually receded or been quietly repelled from their coördinate administration of the affairs and the justice of the realm. They were one Estate, but in the civil wars they had been divided: some were for the King, some boldly and freely sided with the Barons; and the Barons had become a great distinct aristocracy, whom the King was disposed to balance, not by the clergy, but by the commons. The King's justices had long begun to supersede the mingled court composed of the bishops and the barons: some bishops sat as barons, not as bishops. The civil courts were still wresting some privilege or power from the ecclesiastical. The clergy contended obstinately, but not always successfully, for exclusive jurisdiction in all causes relating to Church property, or property to which the Church advanced a claim, as to tithes. There was a slow, persevering determination, notwithstanding the triumph of Becket, to bring the clergy accused of civil offences under the judgment of the King's courts, thus infringing or rather abrogating the sole cognizance of the Church over Churchmen.[1] It was enacted that the clerk might be arraigned in the King's court, and not surrendered to the ordinary till the full inquest in the matter of accusation had been

[1] See the whole course of this silent change in Hallam, ii. pp. 20–23.

carried out. On that the whole estate, real and personal, of the felon clerk might be seized. The ordinary thus became either the mere executioner, according to the Church's milder form of punishment, of a sentence passed by the civil court, or became obnoxious to the charge of protecting, or unjustly acquitting a convicted felon. If, while the property was thus boldly escheated, there was still some reverence for the sacred person of the "anointed of the Lord,"[1] even archbishops will be seen, before two reigns are passed, bowing their necks to the block (for treason), without any severe shock to public feeling, or any potent remonstrance from the hierarchy. On the other hand, the singular usage, the benefit of clergy, by expanding that benefit over other classes, tended to mitigate the rigor of the penal law, with but rare infringements of substantial justice.[2]

France. In France the royal power had grown up, checked by no great league of the feudal aristocracy, limited by no charter. The strong and remorseless rule of Philip Augustus, the popular virtues of Saint Louis, had lent lustre, and so brought power to the throne, which in England had been degraded by the tyrannical and pusillanimous John, and enfeebled by the long, inglorious reign of Henry III. In France the power of the clergy might have been a sufficient, as it was almost the only organized counterpoise to the kingly prerogative; but there had gradually risen, chiefly in the Universities, a new power, that of the

[1] The alleged Scriptural groundwork of this immunity, "Touch not mine anointed, and do my prophets no harm" (Ps. cv. 15), was enshrined in the Decretals as an eternal, irrepealable axiom.

[2] On benefit of clergy read the note in Sergeant Stephens's Blackstone, v. iv. p. 466.

Lawyers: they had begun to attain that ascendency in the Parliaments which grew into absolute dominion over those assemblies. But the law which these men expounded was not like the common law of England, the growth of the forests of Germany, the old free Teutonic usages of the Franks, but the Roman imperial law, of which the Sovereign was the fountain and supreme head. The clergy had allowed this important study to escape out of their exclusive possession. It had been widely cultivated at Bologna, Paris, Auxerre, and other universities. The clergy had retired to their own stronghold of the canon law, while they seemed not aware of the dangerous rivals which were rising up against them. The Lawyers became thus, as it were, a new estate: they lent themselves, partly in opposition to the clergy, partly from the tendency of the Roman law, to the assertion and extension of the royal prerogative. The hierarchy found, almost suddenly, instead of a cowering superstitious people, awed by their superior learning, trembling at the fulminations of their authority, a grave intellectual aristocracy, equal to themselves in profound erudition, resting on ancient written authority, appealing to the vast body of the unabrogated civil law, of which they were perfect masters, opposing to the canons of the Church canons at least of greater antiquity. The King was to the lawyers what Cæsar had been to the Roman Empire, what the Pope was to the Churchmen. Cæsar was undisputed lord in his own realm, as Christ in his. The Pandects, it has been said, were the gospel of the lawyers.[1]

The Lawyers.

[1] Compare Sismondi, Hist. des Français, vii. 6, 10, and the eloquent but as usual rather overwrought passage in Michelet.

Edward and Philip the Fair before the accession of Boniface VIII.

On the thrones of these two kingdoms, France and England, sat two kings with some resemblance, yet with some marked oppugnancy in their characters. Edward I. and Philip the Fair were both men of unmeasured ambition, strong determination of will, with much of the ferocity and the craft of barbarism; neither of them scrupulous of bloodshed to attain his ends, neither disdainful of dark and crooked policy. There was more frank force in Edward; he was by nature and habit a warlike prince; the irresistible temptation of the crown of Scotland alone betrayed him into ungenerous and fraudulent proceedings. In Philip the Fair the gallantry of the French temperament broke out on rare occasions: his first Flemish campaigns were conducted with bravery and skill, but Philip ever preferred the subtle negotiation, the slow and wily encroachment; till his enemies were, if not in his power, at least at great disadvantage, he did not venture on the usurpation or invasion. In the slow systematic pursuit of his object he was utterly without scruple, without remorse. He was not so much cruel as altogether obtuse to human suffering, if necessary to the prosecution of his schemes; not so much rapacious as, finding money indispensable to his aggrandizement, seeking money by means of which he hardly seemed to discern the injustice or the folly. Never was man or monarch so intensely selfish as Philip the Fair: his own power was his ultimate scope; he extended so enormously the royal prerogative, the influence of France, because he was King of France. His rapacity, which persecuted the Templars, his vindictiveness, which warred on Boniface after death as through life, was this selfishness in other forms.

Edward of England was considerably the older of the two Kings. As Prince of Wales he had shown great ability and vigor in the suppression of the Barons' wars; he had rescued the endangered throne. He had been engaged in the Crusades; his was the last gleam of romantic valor and enterprise in the Holy Land, even if the fine story of his wife Eleanora sucking the poison from his wound was the poetry of a later time. On his return from the East he heard of his father's death; his journey through Sicily and Italy was the triumphant procession of a champion of the Church; the great cities vied with each other in the magnificence of his reception. He had obtained satisfaction for the barbarous and sacrilegious murder of his kinsman, Henry of Almain, son of Richard of Cornwall, in the cathedral of Viterbo during the elevation of the Host, by Guy de Montfort with his brother Simon. The murderer (Simon had died) had been subjected to the most rigorous and humiliating penance.[1]

Since his accession Edward had deliberately adhered to his great aim, the consolidation of the whole Nov. 1271. British islands under his sovereignty, to the comparative neglect of his continental possessions. He aspired to be the King of Great Britain rather than the vassal rival of France. He had subdued Wales; he had established his suzerainty over Scotland; he had awarded the throne of Scotland to John Baliol, whom he was

[1] The documents relating to this strange murder are most of them in Rymer and in the MS., B. M. See especially letter of Gregory X., Nov. 29, 1273. Guy sought to be admitted to this Pope's presence at Florence; he with his accomplices followed the Pope two miles out of the city, without shoes, without clothes, except their shirts and breeches. Guy threw himself at the Pope's feet, wept and howled, "alt et bas sine tenore." On the subsequent fate of Guy of Montfort see Dr. Lingard, vol. iii. p. 186.

almost goading to rebellion, in order to find a pretext for the subjugation of that kingdom. Edward, in the early part of his reign, was on the best terms with the clergy: he respected them, and they respected him. The clergy under Henry III. would have ruled the superstitious King with unbounded authority had they not been involved in silent stubborn resistance to the See of Rome. Henry, as has been seen, heaped on them wealth and honors; but he offered no opposition to, he shared in, their immoderate taxation by Rome; he did not resist the possession of some of the richest benefices and bishoprics by foreigners. If his fear of the clergy was strong, his fear of the Pope was stronger; he was only prevented from being the slave of his own ecclesiastics because he preferred the remote and no less onerous servitude to Rome.[1] But this quarrel of the English clergy with Rome was somewhat reconciled: the short lives of the later Popes, the vacancy in the See, the brief Papacy of Cœlestine, had relaxed, to some extent, the demands of tenths and subsidies. Edward therefore found the hierarchy ready to support him in his plans of insular conquest. John Peckham, Archbishop of Canterbury, accompanied him to Wales, and pronounced an excommunication against the rebellious princes: no voice was raised against the cruel and ignominious executions with which Edward secured and sullied his conquest.[2] Against the massacre of the bards, perhaps esteemed by the English clergy mere barbarians, if not heathens, there was no remonstrance. Among the hundred and four judges

[1] We must not forget his difficulties about Prince Edmund's claim to Sicily.

[2] Collier, i. p. 484.

appointed to examine into the claims of the competitors for the Scottish throne, Edward named twenty-four. Of these were four bishops, two deans, one archdeacon, and some other clergy. The Scots named eight bishops and several abbots. Edward's great financial measure, the remorseless plunder and cruel expatriation of the Jews, was beheld by the clergy as a noble act of Christian vigor. Among the cancelled debts were vast numbers of theirs; among the plunder no inconsiderable portion had been Church property, pawned or sold by necessitous or irreligious ecclesiastics. The great wealth obtained for the instant by the King might stave off, they would fondly hope, for some time, all demands on the Church.[1]

If Edward of England meditated the reduction of the whole British islands under one monarchy, and had pursued this end since his accession with unswerving determination, Philip the Fair coveted with no less eager ambition the continental territories of England. He too aspired to be King of all France, not mere feudal sovereign over almost independent vassals, but actual ruling monarch. He had succeeded in incorporating the wreck of the kingdom of Arles with his own realm. He had laid the train for the annexation of Burgundy: his son was affianced to the daughter and heiress of Otho V. Edward, however, had given no cause for aggression; he had performed with scrupulous punctiliousness all the acts of homage and fealty which the King of France could command for the land of Gas

[1] Hist. of Jews, iii. 352, 354. The documents may be read in Anglia Judaica. Tovey says (p. 244) whole rolls of patents relating to their estates are still remaining in the Tower. Have we not any Jewish antiquaries to explore this mine?

cony, Guienne, and the other hereditary possessions of the Kings of England.

There had been peace between France and England for the unusual period of thirty-five years, but already misunderstanding and jealousies had begun. Peace between two such Kings, in such relation to each other, in such an age, could hardly be permanent. The successes of Edward in his own realm stimulated rather than appalled the unscrupulous ambition of Philip. An accidental quarrel among the mariners of the two nations was the signal for the explosion of these smouldering hostilities. The quarrel led to piratical warfare, waged with the utmost cruelty along the whole British Channel and the western coast of France. The King of France was only too ready to demand satisfaction. Edward of England, though reluctant to engage in continental warfare, could not abandon his own subjects; yet so absorbed was Edward in his own affairs that he became the victim of the grossest artifice. The first offenders in the quarrel had been sailors of Edward's port of Bayonne. It was indispensable for the honor of France that they should suffer condign punishment. Guienne must be surrendered for a time to the Suzerain, the King of France, that he might exercise his unresisted jurisdiction over the criminals. Philip was permitted to march into Guienne, and to occupy with force some of the strongest castles. On the demand of restitution he laughed to scorn the deluded Edward; negotiations, remonstrances, were equally unavailing. The affront was too flagrant and humiliating, the loss too precious; war seemed inevitable. Edward, by his heralds, renounced his allegiance; he would no longer be the man, the

Long peace. 1259 to 1294.

vassal, of a King who violated all treaties sworn to by their common ancestors. But the Barons and the Churchmen of England were now averse to foreign wars: their subsidies, their aids, their musters, were slow, reluctant, almost refused. Each Sovereign strengthened himself with foreign allies: Edward, as has been said, subsidized the Emperor Adolph of Nassau, and entered into a league with the Counts of Flanders and of Bar, who were prepared to raise the standard of revolt against their Suzerain, the King of France. Philip entered into hardly less dangerous correspondence with the opponents of Edward's power in Scotland.[1]

So stood affairs between the kingdoms of France and England at the accession of Boniface VIII. Accession of Boniface. Dec. 1294. Philip had now overrun the whole of Gascony, and Edward had renounced all allegiance, and declared that he would hold his Aquitanian possessions without fealty to the King of France; but the Seneschal of Gascony had been defeated and was a prisoner.[2] Duke John of Brabant had risen in rebellion against the King of France; he had been compelled to humiliating submission by Charles of Valois. Almost the first act of Boniface was to command peace. Berard, Cardinal Bishop of Alba, and Simon, Cardinal Bishop of Palestrina, were sent as Legates, armed with the power of releasing from all oaths or obligations which might stand in the way of pacification, and of inflicting ecclesiastical censures, without appeal, upon all, of whatsoever degree, rank, or condition, who should

1 Documents in Rymer, sub ann. 1294. Walsingham, 61. Hume, Edward I.

2 Jordanus apud Raynald. Matt. Westmonast. sub ann.

rebel against their authority.[1] The Cardinals crossed to England; they were received in a full Parliament at Westminster. The King of England ordered his brother Edmund and John de Lacy to explain the causes of the war, his grievances and insults endured from the King of France. The Cardinals peremptorily insisted on peace. Edward replied that he could not make peace without the concurrence of his ally the King of the Romans. The Cardinals urged a truce; this Edward rejected with equal determination. They endeavored to prevent the sailing of Edward's fleet, already assembled in the ports of the island. Edward steadily refused even that concession. But Boniface was not so to be silenced; he declared all existing treaties of alliance null and void, and peremptorily enjoined a truce from St. John Baptist's day until the same festival in the ensuing year.[2] To Edward he wrote expressing his surprise and grief that he, who in his youth had waged only holy wars against unbelievers, should fall off in his mature age into a disturber of the peace of Christendom, and feel no compunction at the slaughter of Christians by each other. He wrote, as has been told, in more haughty and almost contemptuous language to the King of the Romans; he reproached him for serving as a base mercenary of the King of England: the King of the Romans, if disobedient, could have no hope or claim to the Imperial Crown; obedient, he might merit not only the praise of man, but the favor and patronage of the Apostolic See. The Archbishop of Mentz was commanded to give no aid whatever to the King of the

June 24, 1295, to 1296.

[1] Instructions in Raynald. sub ann. 1295.

[2] Raynald. sub ann. 1296.

Romans in this unholy war; on Adolph too was imperatively urged the truce for a year.[1]

The Cardinal Legates, Alba and Palestrina, discouraged by their reception in England, did not venture to appear before the more haughty and irascible Philip of France with the Pope's imperious mandate; they assumed that the truce for a year, enjoined by the Pope, would find obsequious observance. Boniface did not think fit to rebuke their judicious prudence; but of his own supreme power ordered that on the expiration of the first year the truce should be continued for two years longer.[2]

The blessings of peace, the league of all Christian princes against the Infidel, might be the remote and splendid end which Boniface either had or thought he had in view in his confident assertion of his inhibitory powers, and his right of interposing in the quarrels of Christian princes. But there was one immediate and pressing evil which could not well escape his sagacity. Such wars could no longer be carried on without the taxation of the clergy. Not merely was the Pope the supreme guardian of this inestimable immunity, freedom from civil assessments, but it was impossible that the clergy either could or would endure the double burdens imposed on them by their own Sovereigns and by the See of Rome. All the subjects of the Roman See, as they owed, if not exclusive, yet superior allegiance to the Pope, so their vast possessions must be tributary to him alone,

Taxation of the clergy.

Inevitable results of war.

[1] Letters apud Raynald. 1295. The Nuncios in Germany, the Bishops of Reggio and Sienna, had full powers to release from all oaths and treaties. See above, p. 235.

[2] The Bull in Raynaldus (1296, No. 19), addressed to Adolph, King of the Romans.

at least his permission must be obtained for contributions to secular purposes. Wars, even if conducted on the perfect feudal principle (each Lord, at the summons of the Crown, levying, arming, bringing into the field, and maintaining his vassals at his own cost), were necessarily conducted with much and growing expense for munitions of war, military engines, commissariat however imperfect, vessels for freight, if in foreign lands. But the principle of feudalism had been weakened; war ceased to be the one noble, the one not ignominious calling, the duty and privilege of the aristocracy at the head of their retainers. No sooner had agriculture, commerce, manufactures, become respectable and lucrative; no sooner must armies be raised and retained on service, even in part, by regular pay, than the cost of keeping such armies on foot began to augment beyond all proportion. The ecclesiastics who held Knights' Fees were bound to furnish their quota of vassals; they did often furnish them with tolerable regularity; they had even appeared often, and still appeared, at the head of their contingent; yet there must have been more difficulty, more frequent evasion, more dispute as to liability of service, as the land of the realm fell more and more into the hands of the clergy. Though the great Statute of Mortmain, enacted by successive Kings, the first bold limitary law to the all-absorbing acquisition of land by the clergy, may have been at first more directly aimed at other losses sustained by the Crown, when estates were held by ecclesiastic or monastic bodies, such as reliefs upon succession, upon alienation, upon wardships and marriages, which could not arise out of lands held by perpetual corporations and corporations perpetuated

Statute of Mortmain.

by ecclesiastical descent; yet among the objects sought by that Statute must have been that the Crown should be less dependent on ecclesiastical retainers in time of war.

This Mortmain Statute,[1] of which the principle was established by the Great Charter, only applied to religious houses. The second great Charter of Henry III. comprehended the whole Hierarchy, Bishops, Chapters, and Beneficiaries. The Statute of Edward endeavored to strike at the root of the evil, and prohibited the receiving land in mortmain, whether by gift, bequest, or any other mode; the penalty was the forfeiture of the land to the Lord, in default of the Lord to the King. But the law, or the interpretation of the law, was still in the hands or at the command of the clergy, who were the only learned body in the realm. Ingenious devices were framed, fictitious titles to the original fief, fraudulent or collusive acknowledgments, refusal or neglect to plead on the part of the tenant, and so recoveries of the land by the Church, as originally and indefeasibly its own; afterwards grants to feoffees in perpetuity, or for long terms of years, for the use of religious houses or ecclesiastics. It required two later Statutes, that of Westminster under Edward I. (in his eighteenth year), finally that of Richard II. (in his fifteenth year), before the skill and ingenuity of this hierarchical invasion of property was finally baffled, and an end put to the all-absorbing aggression of the Church on the land of England.[2]

The Popes themselves had, to a certain extent, given the authority and the precedent in the direct taxation of the clergy for purposes of war; but these were for

[1] 7th Edward I. Compare Hallam, ii. p. 24. [2] Blackstone, ii. ch. 18

holy wars. Sovereigns, themselves engaged in crusades, or who allowed crusades to be preached and troops raised and armed in their dominions for that sacred object, occasionally received grants of twentieths, tenths, or more, on the ecclesiastical revenues for this religious use. In many instances the Sovereigns, following the examples, as was believed, of the Popes themselves, had raised the money under this pretext and applied it to their own more profane purposes, and thus had learned to look on ecclesiastical property as by no means so sacred, to hold the violation of its peculiar exemptions very far from the impious sacrilege which it had been asserted and believed to be in more superstitious times. But all subsidies, which in latter years had begun to be granted in England, at least throughout the reign of Henry III., had been held to be free gifts, voted by the clergy themselves in their own special Synods or Convocations. Now, however, these voluntary subsidies, suggested by the King's friends among the clergy, but liable to absolute refusal, had grown into imperative exactions. Edward, as his necessities became more urgent, from his conquests, his intrigues, his now open invasion of Scotland, and the impending war with France, could not, if he hoped for success, and was not disposed from any overweening terror of the spiritual power, to permit one third or one half[1] (if we are to believe some statements), at all events a very large portion of the realm, to withhold its contribution to the public service. The wealth of the clergy, the facility with which, if he once got over his religious fear and scruples, such taxes could be

[1] See the passage in Turner's Hist. of England, v. p. 166. This subject will be discussed hereafter.

levied; the natural desire of forestalling the demands of Rome, which so fatally, according to the economic views of the time, drained the land of a large portion of its wealth; perhaps his own mistaken policy in expelling the Jews, and so inflicting at once a heavy blow on the trade of the country, and depriving him of a wealthy class whom he might have plundered in a more slow and productive manner without remorse, resistance, or remonstrance; all conspired to urge the King on his course. Certainly, whatever his motives, his wants, or his designs, Edward had already asserted in various ways his right to tax the clergy in the boldest manner, had raised the tax to an unprecedented amount, and showed that he would hesitate at no means to enforce his demands. He had obtained from Pope Nicolas IV. (about 1291) a grant of the tenth of the whole ecclesiastical property, under the pretext of an expedition to the Holy Land, a pretext which the Pope would more easily admit from a Prince who had already displayed his zeal and valor in a Crusade, and of which Edward himself, after the subjugation of Wales and Scotland and the security of his French dominions, might remotely contemplate the fulfilment. This grant was assessed on a new valuation,[1] enforced on oath, and which probably raised to a great amount the value of the Church property, and so increased the demands of the King, and aggravated the burdens of the clergy.[2]

[1] This valuation was maintained, as that on which all ecclesiastical property was assessed, till the time of Henry VIII. It was published in 1802 by the Record Commission, folio.

[2] In the MS., B. M., sub ann. 1278, vol. xiii., is an account of the "Societas" of the Ricardi of Florence, for tenths collected in England. The total sum (the details of each diocese are given, but some, as Canterbury and London, do not appear) is 11,035*l.*, xiv. solidi, 3 denarii. The bankers un-

By another more arbitrary act, before his war in Guienne, Edward had appointed Commissioners to make inquisition into the treasuries of all the religious houses and chapters in the realm. Not only were these religious houses in possession of considerable accumulations of wealth, but they were the only banks of deposit in which others could lay up their riches in security. All these sums were enrolled in the Exchequer, and, under the specious name of loans, carried off for the King's use.

But with the King's necessities, the King's demands A.D. 1294. grew in urgency, frequency, imperiousness. It was during the brief Pontificate of Cœlestine V., when Robert of Winchelsea, the Archbishop of Canterbury, was at Rome to receive his pall from the hands of the Pope, that the King in a Parliament at Westminster demanded of the clergy a subsidy of half of their annual revenue. The clergy were confounded; they entreated permission to retire and consult on the grave question. William Montfort, Dean of St. Paul's, was chosen to persuade the King to desist from, or at least to reduce his demand to some less exorbitant July. amount. The Dean had hardly begun his

dertake to deliver the same in London or any place, "ultra et citra mare." They take upon themselves all risks of pillage, theft, violence, fire, or shipwreck. Whence their profits does not appear. "E io Rainieri sopra-dito con la mia mano abo inscrito quie di sotto, e messo lo mio sugello, con quelo dela compagnia." Other signatures follow. In a later account, after the valuation of Nicolas IV., dated Aug. 30, vol. xv., the whole property, with the exception of the goods of the Bishops of Winchester and Lincoln, and Christ Church, Canterbury, is set at 204,143*l.* 19*s.* 2*d.* et oboli; the tenth, 20,404*l.* 19*s.* 2*d.* et oboli. Winton and Lincoln, 3977*l.* 15*s.* 7*d.* &c.; tenth, 397*l.* 15*s.* 6*d.* 10 oboli. Christ Church, 355*l.* 9*s.* 2*d.*; tenth, 35*l.* 10*s.* 11*d.* Special tax on pluralities, 73*l.* 19*s.* 11*d.* 1. Total collected, 20,855*l.* 7*s* 3*d.* In another place, the Dean of St. Paul's, as treasurer (vol. xiii. p. 110), accounts for the sum of 3135*l.* 7*s* 3*d.* 1, arrears for three years.

speech, when he fell dead at the feet of the King. Edward was unmoved; he might perhaps turn the natural argument of the clergy on themselves, and treat the death of Montfort as a judgment of God upon a refractory subject. He sent Sir John Havering to the Prelates, who were still shut up in the royal palace at Westminster. The Knight was to proclaim that whoever opposed the King's will was to come forth and discover himself; and that the King would at once proceed against him as a disturber of the public peace. The spirit of Becket prevailed not among the Prelates; no one would venture to put to the test the stern and determined Edward. They submitted with ungracious reluctance, in hopes no doubt that their Primate would soon appear among them; and that he, braced, as it were, by the air of Rome, would bear the brunt of opposition to the King.[1]

If the necessities of Edward drove him to these strong measures against the clergy of England, the French hierarchy had still more to dread from the insatiable rapacity and wants of Philip the Fair. That rapacity, the remorseless oppression of the whole people by the despotic monarch, and his loss of their loyal affection, was now so notorious that the Pope, in one of his letters to the King, speaks of it as an admitted fact.[2] Philip had as yet been engaged in no expensive wars; his court might indulge in some coarse pomp and luxury; yet trade might have flourished, even arts and manufactures might have been intro-

[1] Compare Collier, Ecc. Hist. i. p. 493, folio edit.

[2] "Ipsi quidem subditi adeo sunt diversis oneribus aggravati, quod eorum ad te solita et subjecta multum putatur infriguisse devotio, et quanto amplius aggravantur, tanto potius in posterum refrigescat." — Ad. Philip Reg. Dupuy, p. 16.

duced from Flanders and Italy, but for the stern and exterminating measures of his rude finance. His coffers were always filling, never full; and he knew no way of raising a revenue but by direct and cruel extortion, exercised by himself, or by his farmers of the taxes under his seal and authority. Two Italian bankers, the brothers Biccio and Musciatto dei Francesi, possessed his entire confidence, and were armed with his unlimited powers. But the taxes wrung from the tenants of the crown, from the peasants to whom they left not the seed for the future harvest, were soon exhausted, and of course diminished with every year of intolerable burden: other sources of wealth must be discovered.

The Jews. The Jews were the first; their strange obstinacy in money-making made them his perpetual victims. Philip might seem to feed them up by his favor to become a richer sacrifice:[1] he sold to particular persons acts of security; he exacted large sums as though he would protect them in fair trade from their communities. At length after some years of this plundering and pacifying, came the fatal blow, their expulsion from the realm with every aggravation of cruelty, the seizure and confiscation of their property.[2] What is A.D. 1306. more strange, the persecuted and exiled Jews were in five years rich and numerous enough to tempt a second expulsion, a second confiscation.

But in France the Jews had formidable commercial rivals in the Italian bankers. Philip respected wealthy Christians no more than wealthy misbelievers. The May 1, 1291. whole of these peaceful and opulent men

[1] In 1288 he forbade the arbitrary imprisonment of the Jews at the desire of any monk. This seems to have been a common practice.

[2] Hist. of Jews, iii. p. 319.

were seized and imprisoned on the charge of violating the laws against usury; and to warn them from that unchristian practice, they were mercifully threatened with the severest tortures, to be escaped only on the payment of enormous mulcts.[1] Some resisted; but the jailers had their orders to urge upon the weary prisoners the inflexible determination of the King. Most of them yielded; but they fled the inhospitable realm; and if they left behind much of their actual wealth, they carried with them their enterprise and industry.[2] The Francesis, Philip's odious financiers, derived a double advantage from their departure, the plunder of their riches and the monopoly of all the internal trade, which had been carried on by their exiled countrymen, with the sole liberty no doubt of violating with impunity the awful laws against usury.

Philip even had strength and daring to plunder his Nobles; under the pretext of a sumptuary law, which limited the possession of such pompous indulgences to those few who possessed more than six thousand livres tournois[3] of annual revenue, he demanded the surrender of all their gold and silver plate, it was averred, only for safe custody; but that which reached the royal treasury only came out in the shape of stamped coin. This stamped coin was greatly inferior, in weight and from its alloy, to the current money. The King could not deny or dissemble the iniquity of this transaction; he excused it from the urgent necessities of the kingdom; promised that the treasury would

The nobles.

1 Villani, vii. c. 146.

2 Villani, (vii. 146). The commercial Florentine sees the ruin of France in this ill usage of the Italian bankers. "Onde fu molto ripreso, e d' allora innanzi lo reame di Francia sempre andò abbassando."

3 Equal, it is calculated, to 72,000 francs, probably much more.

reimburse the loss; that the royal exchequer would receive the coin at its nominal value; and even promised to pledge the royal domains as security. But Philip's promises in affairs of money were but specious evasions.[1]

The clergy. As an order, the clergy of France had not been subjected to any direct or special taxation under the name of voluntary subsidy; but Philip had shown on many occasions no pious respect for the goods of the Church; he had long retained the estates of vacant bishoprics. Their time could not but come. Philip at the beginning of his reign had struck a fatal blow against the clergy, of which the clergy itself, not then ruled by Boniface, perhaps hardly discerned the bearings even on the future inevitable question of their taxation by the state. He banished the clergy from the whole administration of the law: expelled them from the courts, from that time forth to be the special and undisputed domain of their rivals and future foes, the civil lawyers. An Ordinance commanded all dukes, counts, barons, archbishops, bishops, abbots, chapters, who had jurisdiction, to commit the exercise of that jurisdiction to bailiffs, provosts, and assessors, not ecclesiastics. The pretext was specious, that if such men abused their power, they could be punished for the abuse. It was also forbidden to all chapters and monasteries to employ an ecclesiastic as proctor. Another Ordinance deprived the clergy of the right of being elected as provost, mayor, sheriff (échevin), or municipal councillor. Bishops could only sit in the Royal Parliament by permission of the President.[2]

[1] Ordonnances des Rois, May, 1295.

[2] Ordonnances des Rois, 1287–1289.

Still up to this time the clergy had not been subjected to the common assessments. The first taxation, which bore the odious name of the maltôte (the ill assessed and ill levied), respected them.[1] It had fallen chiefly, if not exclusively, on the traders. But whether emboldened by the success of his rival Edward in England, or knowing that, if Edward wielded the wealth of the English clergy, he must wield that of France, in the now extraordinary impost the impartial assessment comprehended ecclesiastics as well as the laity. Taxation of clergy.

Boniface VIII., with all his ability and sagacity, was possessed even to infatuation with the conviction of the unlimited, irresistible power of the Papacy. He determined, once for all, on the broadest, boldest, most uncontestable ground to bring to issue this inevitable question; to sever the property of the Church from all secular obligations; to declare himself the one exclusive trustee of all the lands, goods, and properties, held throughout Christendom by the clergy, by monastic bodies, even by the universities: and that, without his consent, no aid, benevolence, grant, or subsidy could be raised on their estates or possessions by any temporal sovereign in the world. Such is the full and distinct sense of the famous Bull issued by Boniface at the commencement of the second year of his Pontificate. "The laity, such is the witness of all antiquity, have been ever hostile to the clergy: recent experience sadly confirms this truth. They are ignorant that over ecclesiastical persons, over ecclesiastical property, they have no power whatever. But they have dared to exact both from the secular and the The Bull "Clericis Laicos."

[1] Sub ann. 1292.

regular clergy a twentieth, a tenth, half of their revenue,[1] and applied the money to their own secular uses. Some base and time-serving prelates have been so dastardly as to submit to these wicked exactions." The prohibition of the Pope was as particular and explicit as could be framed in words: "On no title, on no plea, under no name, was any tax to be levied on any property of the church, without the distinct permission of the Pope. Every layman of whatever rank, emperor, king, prince, duke, or their officers, who received such money, was at once and absolutely under excommunication; they could only be absolved, under competent authority, at the hour of death. Every ecclesiastic who submitted to such taxation was at once deposed, and incapable of holding any benefice. The universities which should so offend were under interdict." [2]

England. A.D. 1296.

But the Kings of France and England were not so easily appalled into acquiescence in a claim which either smote their exchequer with barrenness, or reduced them to dependence not only on their own subjects, but also on the Pope. It gave to the Pontiff of Rome the ultimate judgment on war and peace between nations. Edward had gone too far; he had derived too much advantage from the subsidies of the clergy to abandon that fruitful source of revenue. The year after the levy of one half of the income of the clergy, a Parliament met at St. Edmondsbury. The laity granted a subsidy; the clergy,

Parliament at Bury.

[1] This seems aimed directly at Edward I. It was believed in England that the bull was obtained by the influence of the English primate, Robert of Winchelsea, then at Rome.

[2] The bull Clericis Laicos, apud Dupuy, Preuves, p. 14. In Raynaldus, sub ann. 1296, January, and Rymer, ii. 706.

pleading their inability, as drained by the payment of the last year, or emboldened by the presence of the Primate Robert of Winchelsea, refused all further grant. The King allowed time for deliberation, but in the mean time with significant precaution ordered locks to be placed on all their barns, and that they should be sealed with the King's seal. The Archbishop at once commanded the Bull of Pope Boniface to be read publicly in all the cathedral churches of the realm: but the barns did not fly open at the bidding of the great enchanter. The Primate summoned a provincial Synod or Convocation of the clergy, to meet in St. Paul's, London. The King sent an order warning the Synod against making any constitution which might infringe on his prerogative, or which might turn to "the disadvantage of us, our ministers, or any of our faithful subjects."[1] The majority of the Synod peremptorily refused all grant or concession. Upon this King Edward took the bold yet tenable ground, that those who would not contribute to the maintenance of the temporal power should not enjoy its protection; if they refused the obligation, they must abandon the rights of subjects. The whole clergy of the realm were declared by the Chief Justice on the Bench to be in a state of outlawry: they had no resort to the King's justice. Nor was this an idle menace. Officers were ordered to seize the best horses both of the secular and regular clergy: if they sought redress, the lawyers were forbidden to plead on their behalf; the King's courts were closed against them. They were now in a perilous and perplexing condition; they must either resist the King or the Pope. They felt the

Council at St. Paul's.

[1] Spelman, Concilia, sub ann.

King's hand; the demand took the form not merely of a subsidy, but of a fine for the contumacious resistance of the King's authority. Yet the terrible anathemas of the Pope's Bull had hardly died away in their cathedrals. There was division among themselves. A great part of the clergy leaned towards the more prudent course, and empowered the Archbishop of York, the Bishops of Durham, Salisbury, and Ely to endeavor to effect a compromise. A fifth part of their revenue from estates and goods was set apart in some sanctuary or privileged place, to be drawn forth when required by the necessities of the Church or the kingdom. The Papal prohibition was thus, it was thought, eluded: the King, remaining judge of the necessity, cared not, provided he obtained the money.[1] The Primate, as though the shrine of Thomas à Becket spoke warning and encouragement (he knew, too, what Pope was on the throne), refused all submission, but he stood alone, and alone bore the penalty. His whole estate was seized to the King's use. The Archbishop had but the barren consolation of declaring the rest of the clergy to have incurred the Papal sentence of excommunication. He left the Synod with a solemn admonition to the other Prelates and clergy lest they should imperil their souls by criminal concession. On the other hand, the preaching Friars of the Order of St. Dominic, usually the unscrupulous assertors of the Papal power, appeared in St. Paul's, and offered publicly to maintain the doctrine, that in time of war it was lawful for the clergy to contribute to the necessities of the sovereign. Notwith-

They yield.

Archbishop resists.

[1] Hemingford, 107, 108. Brady, Appendix, 19, 23. Westminster, ad ann. 1296. Collier, i. 491, &c.

standing the Papal prohibition, the clergy at length yielded, and granted a fourth of their revenue. The Archbishop alone stood firm; but his lands were in the hands of the King's officers; himself an exile from the court. He retired with a single chaplain to a country parsonage, discharged the humble duties of a priest, and lived on the alms of his flock. Lincoln alone followed his conscientious example; Becket and Grostete had met together. But Lincoln had generously officious friends, who bought the King's pardon.

The war had now broken out; the King was about to leave the realm, and to embark for Flanders. The King departs. It had been dangerous, if Edward should encounter any of the accidents of war, or be compelled to protracted absence, to leave his young son in the midst of a hostile clergy, and a people imbittered by heavy exactions. Edward restored his barony to the Archbishop, and summoned him to attend a Parliament at Westminster; the Archbishop stood by the side of the young Prince of Wales. The prudent King condescended to an apologetic tone: he lamented that the aggressions of his enemies in France and Scotland had compelled him reluctantly to lay these onerous burdens on his subjects. He was about to expose his life to the chances of war; if God should bless his arms with success, he promised to restore to his people the taxes which he had levied: if he should fall, he commended his young son and heir to their loyal love.[1] The whole assembly was moved; the Archbishop melted into tears. Yet these soft emotions by no means blinded them to the advantage, offered by the occasion, of wresting from the King some further security for their liberties.

[1] Westminster, sub ann. 1297. Hemingford. Knighton.

The two charters, the Great Charter, and that of the Forests, were confirmed, and with them more specific guarantees obtained. All judgments given by the King's justices or ministers of the crown, contrary to the provisions of the charters, were declared null and void.[1] The King commanded that the charters under his seal should be sent to all the cathedral churches in the realm, to be there kept and read in the hearing of the people twice every year. The Archbishops and Prelates at each reading were to declare all who violated these great national statutes by word, deed, or counsel, under actual sentence of excommunication. The Archbishops were to compel by distraint or otherwise the suffragan Prelates who should be remiss in the reiteration of the grave anathemas.[2]

Thus the clergy of England, abandoning their own ground of ecclesiastical immunities, took shelter under the liberties of the realm. Of these liberties they constituted themselves the guardians; and so shrouded their own exemptions under the general right, now acknowledged, that the subject could not be taxed without his own consent. The Archbishop during the next year published an excommunication in which the rights of the clergy and of the people were blended with consummate skill. It condemned the King's officers who had seized the goods and imprisoned the persons of the clergy (perhaps for the arrears of the subsidy), and at

[1] The Acts in Rymer.

[2] The civil lawyers, as Sir Edward Coke, maintain that the clergy here acted under the authority and command of the temporal power. High Churchmen, like Collier, insist that the bishops were consenting to the measure; that it was according to the decrees of several provincial councils; that the penalties on refractory prelates were left to the spiritual authority of the archbishops. Compare Collier, i. p. 494.

the same time all who should have violated the charter. It reasserted the immunity of all the King's subjects from taxation to which they had not given their assent. He thus obeyed the royal mandate, aimed a blow at the royal power, and asserted the special exemptions of the clergy.[1]

The famous Bull was received in France by the more violent and haughty Philip with still greater indignation; it struck at once at his pride, his power, and his cupidity. Philip, in his imperious taxation, had been embarrassed by none of the slow forms, the semblance at least of voluntary grant, to the observance of which the Great Charter, and now usage, had bound the King of England; and which, joined with their own peculiar exemptions, made it necessary that the contributions of the clergy should be voted as an aid, benevolence, or subsidy. Philip, of his sole will, had imposed the tax for the second time (the first was a hundredth of actual property, now a fiftieth), which passed under the detested name of maltôte: the harshness and extortion of his officers, who levied this charge, increased its unpopularity. At first it had been demanded of the merchants, then of all citizens, last of the clergy. But if the wrath of Philip was more vehement, his revenge was more cool and deliberate; it was a retaliation which bore the appearance of moderation, but struck the Popedom deep in the most vital and sensitive part. If the clergy might not be taxed for the exigencies of France, nor might in any way be tributary to the King, France would no longer be tributary to the Pope. From all the kingdoms of Western Christen- Bull in France.

[1] Westm. sub ann. 1298. Collier, i. p. 495. Spelman, Concilia.

dom vast wealth was constantly flowing to Rome; every great promotion had to pay its fees, no cause could be evoked to Rome without large expenditure in Rome: no pilgrim visited the Eternal City unladen with precious gifts and offerings: the Pope claimed and not seldom had exercised the power of assessing the clergy, not merely for ordinary purposes, but for extraordinary exigencies which concerned the safety or the grandeur of the Pontificate. Philip issued an Ordinance,[1] prohibiting in the most rigid and precise terms the exportation of gold or silver, either in ingots or in plate, of precious stones, of provisions, arms, horses, or munitions of war, of any article, indeed, of current value, without special permission sealed and delivered by the crown.[2]

Thus, at one blow, Rome was deprived of all her supplies from France. The other Edict, which prohibited foreign trading in the land, proscribed the agents, the bankers, who transmitted in other ways the Papal revenues to Rome. Boniface had gone too far: but it was neither in his character, his station, nor in the interest of the hierarchy, to retract. Yet, he was still true to the old Guelfic policy, close alliance with France. He had espoused the cause of the French

[1] This edict, passed by the King in Parliament, had been preceded and was accompanied by another, prohibiting the entrance of all foreign merchants into the realm, under the strange plea that the internal trade of the country was carried on with sufficient activity by the natives of France. So well indeed had Philip been served by his agents in Rome, that these prohibitory edicts almost, if not quite, anticipated the formal publication of the Papal bull in France.

[2] The edict, Aug. 17, 1296. Sismondi has mistaken the republication of the bull Clericis Laicos, Aug. 18, in France, for the original promulgation in January (Hist. des Français, viii. 516). Raynaldus and Dupuy place it in January. It was known in England early in the year. The Pope refers to it in his answer, as the cause of the King's hostile ordinance.

house of Anjou in Naples with ardor. As Pope, he no doubt contemplated with admiration that model of a Christian King, whom he was called upon by the almost adoring voice of Christendom to canonize, Saint Louis. The Empire, though now abased, might rally again, and resume its hostility; the Colonnas were not yet crushed; Ghibellinism not absolutely under his feet. He had, indeed, under the lofty character which he assumed of arbiter of the world, as the Supreme Pontiff, to whom lay resort against all Christian vassals as well as Sovereigns, received the appeal of the Count of Flanders against his liege Lord, Philip of France. Philip, jealous of the design of the Count of Flanders to marry his daughter to the heir of England, had summoned the Count and Countess with their daughter to Paris. They had been treacherously seized; the Count and Countess had escaped, or had been dismissed, but the daughter was kept as a hostage in the power of Philip, who bred her up with his own family. The Count of Flanders complained to the Pope of this injustice. The Pope had sent his Legate, the Bishop of Meaux, to demand her liberation. The only answer was a lofty rebuke to the Pope for presuming to intermeddle with temporal affairs beyond his jurisdiction.[1]

Under these conflicting circumstances, Boniface issued his second Manifesto. Never was promulgated by the Papal court a Bull at once so inflexibly imperious, yet so bland; so disguising the haughtiness, the arrogance of a master, under the smooth and gentle language of a parent: so manifestly anxious to conciliate, yet so almost contemptuously offensive. Crimination, expostulation, menace, flattery, explanation bordering

[1] Compare Dupuy and Baillet.

on apology, almost on concession, display the Pope the proudest of mankind, yet for a moment conscious that he is addressing a monarch as proud as himself; determined to assert to the uttermost his immeasurable superiority, and yet modifying, tempering his demands: as the head of the Guelfs, reluctant to alienate the protector of the Guelfic interest. And he is still the head of the great Sacerdotal caste, determined to maintain that caste in its inviolable sanctity and power, and to yield up no letter of the pretensions of his haughtiest ancestors. All the acts of Kings, as moral acts, were under the immediate, indefeasible jurisdiction of the Pope. "The Church, by the ineffable love of her spouse, Christ, has received the dowry of many precious gifts, especially that great gift of liberty. Who shall presume against God and the Lord to infringe her liberty, and not be beaten down by the hammer of supreme power to dust and ashes? My son! turn not away thine ears from the voice of thy father; his parental language flows from the tenderness of his heart, though with some of the bitterness of past injuries." The Pope throws the whole blame on the King's evil counsellors. "Let him not permit them to change the throne of his glory into a seat of pestilence." "The King's Ordinance to forbid foreigners all traffic in the land, is not less impolitic than unjust. His subjects are oppressed with intolerable burdens; already their alienated loyalty has begun to decay, it will soon be altogether estranged; it is a grievous loss for a King to forfeit the love of his subjects." The Pope will not believe that the general prohibition against all persons quitting the realm, or exporting money or goods, can be intended to apply to ecclesiastics; this would be

The Bull. Sept. 1296.

worse than impolitic, it would be insane. "Neither thou nor any secular prince hast the power to do this: by the very prohibition is incurred a sentence of excommunication." The Pope reminds the King of the intense anxiety with which he has devoted long days and sleepless nights to his interests; how he has labored to preserve peace, sent his Cardinals to mediate. "Is this the return for the inestimable favors shown by the Church to you and your ancestors?" From the appeal to Philip's gratitude he passes to an appeal to Philip's fears. "Lift up your eyes and look around: the powerful Kings of the Romans, of England, of Spain are in league against you. Is this a time to add the Holy See to your enemies? Let not your insolent counsellors drive you to this fatal precipice! Call to mind the goodness of the Holy See, which you may thus compel to abandon you without succor. Call to mind the canonization of your ancestor, Louis, whose miracles the Holy See has examined with assiduous care. Instead of securing, like him, her love, deserve not her indignation. What is the cause of all this? Our Constitution in defence of ecclesiastical liberty? That Constitution asserted only the principles maintained by Popes and Councils; it added the awful penalties of excommunication, because men are more affected by the dread of punishment than by the love of virtue: nor did we by that Constitution precisely ordain that the Prelates and clergy were not to contribute to the necessities of the King; but we declared that this was not to be done without our special permission, bearing in mind the insupportable exactions sometimes wrung from ecclesiastics by the King's officers under his authority. Not only do all divine and human laws, even

judgments, attest the abuse of such authority, but the authority itself is absolutely interdicted; and this we have intimated for the perpetual memory of the truth. If you object that such permission has been petitioned for from the Holy See, and the petition has not been granted," if the realm were in danger, urgent and admitted, the Pope pledged himself to permit not only the levying of taxes, "but the crosses of gold and silver, even the consecrated vessels and furniture of the churches should be sacrificed before a kingdom, so dear to the Apostolic See, should be exposed to peril." "The Constitution did not absolutely prohibit the King from exercising his rights over ecclesiastics who held fiefs of the crown, according to the laws and usages of the realm; but for himself, Boniface was prepared to lay down all, even his life, in defence of the liberties and immunities of the Church against all usurpers whatsoever." He charged the whole guilt of the war on the King of France; it arose from his unjust occupation of Burgundy, an undoubted fief of the Empire, and of Gascony, the inheritance of Edward of England, as Duke of Guienne. On the evils of war he enlarged: peril to the souls of men, the slaughter, the bottomless gulf of expenditure, the damage, arising from the usurpations suggested by his evil counsellors. Those wrongs against the Kings of the Romans and of England were sins, therefore, undoubtedly under the jurisdiction of the Pope;[1] in such aggressions the Pope had full power of judgment. It was shameful for Philip to refuse the mediation, which had been accepted by the King of the Romans and the King of

[1] "Dumque in eos super iis *peccare* te asserunt de hoc judicium ad Sedem eandem non est dubium pertinere."

England. The Pope would not proceed at once to the last extremity; he would first attempt the ways of remonstrance and gentleness; and for this end he had sent the Bishop of Viviers to explain more fully his determination.[1]

The King of France promulgated an answer, full, not too long, but in language well considered, and of singular force and strength. This document showed the progress of the human mind, and manifestly divulged the new power, that of the civil lawyers, whose style and phrases appear throughout. It began with the bold historic assertion, not only of the superior antiquity of the temporal to the spiritual power in Europe; but that before there were ecclesiastics in the world the Kings of France had the supreme guardianship of the realm, with full authority to enact all such ordinances as might be for the public weal. "The King, therefore, had prohibited the exportation of arms, provisions, and other things which might be turned to the advantage of his enemies." But this prohibition was not absolute (he turned the Pope's evasions on the Pope), "it required for such exportation the special license of the King. Such license would not have been refused to ecclesiastics, if they were sure that what they exported was their own property, and could not be applied to the damage of the realm." The King glanced with covert sarcasm at the partiality of the Pope. "That other most dear son of the Church (the King of England) had been allowed to seize the goods of the clergy, to imprison the clergy, and yet no excommunication had been pronounced against him." The proclamation proceeded daringly to grapple with

Answer of the King.

[1] The document in Dupuy, &c.

the vital question. It denied the right of the clergy to the exclusive appellation of "the Church." The laity were as much members of Christ's mystical body as the clergy. The clergy had no special liberty; this was an usurpation on the common rights of all the faithful. The liberty which Christ had obtained belonged to the layman as well as to the ecclesiastic. "Did Christ die and rise again for the clergy alone?" There were, indeed, peculiar liberties, according to the Statutes of the Roman Pontiffs, but these had been granted or permitted by the Roman Emperors. "Such liberties, so granted or permitted, cannot take away the rights of Kings to provide, with the advice of their Parliament, all things necessary for the defence of the realm, according to the eternal rule: Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's. All alike, clerks and laymen, nobles and subjects, are bound to the common defence. Such charges are not to be called exactions, extortions, burdens. They are subsidies to the Sovereign for the general protection. The property of the Church in time of war is exposed to more than ordinary dangers. To refuse to contribute to the exigencies of the war, is to refuse due payment to your protectors."

"What wise and intelligent man is not in utter amazement when he hears the Vicar of Christ prohibiting and fulminating his anathema against contributions for the defence of the realm, according to a fair equal rate, for the defence of the clergy themselves? They may give to stage-players; they have full and unbounded license to lavish any expenditure, to the neglect of their churches, on their dress, their horses, their assemblies, their banquets, and all other secular pomps and pleasures. What sane men would forbid,

under the sentence of anathema, that the clergy, crammed, fattened, swollen by the devotion of Princes, should assist the same Princes by aids and subsidies against the persecutions of their foes? Have they not the discernment to see that this inhibition, this refusal is little less than high-treason, condemned by the laws of God and man? It is aiding and abetting the King's enemies, it is treachery to the defenders of the common weal. We, like our forefathers, have ever paid due reverence to God, to his Catholic Church, and his ministers, but we fear not the unjust and immeasurable threats of men." He proceeds to justify the war. "The King of England had refused allegiance for his fiefs held of the crown of France. Ample satisfaction, and fair terms of peace, had been offered to the King of the Romans." The county of Burgundy the King of France held by right of conquest in open war, after defiance and proclamation of hostilities by the King of the Romans himself. "We therefore ought no longer to be provoked by insults, but, as dutiful sons of the Church, to be looked upon with favor, and consoled in our dangers and distresses." [1]

The Pope thought it not prudent to contest these broad and bold principles of temporal supremacy; he was now involved in the internecine Feb. 7, 1297. strife with the Colonnas. An address in a milder tone, in which protestations of regard and esteem predominated over the few lingering words of menace, declared that a more harsh, strict, and rigorous meaning than he had designed had been attributed by the malignity and cunning of evil counsellors to the Papal Bull. The Cardinal Legates, however, were commanded to

[1] Document in Dupuy.

raise all moneys due to the Pope; and if the King's officers should interfere with their transmission, they were without hesitation or delay to pronounce sentence of excommunication against those officers.[1] The Pope found himself deserted in France by his natural allies. In the Gallican Church, either national pride triumphed over the hierarchical spirit, or the clergy feared the King more than the Pope. The Archbishop of Rheims, with nothing of the stubborn boldness of Becket, or even the passive courage of Robert of Winchelsea, sent a strong though humble address to the Pope, expressing profound gratitude for his care of the ecclesiastical liberties, but acknowledging their obligations both as feudatories of the King and as subjects, and their duty, in self-defence, to contribute to the public service: they deprecated the Pope's proceedings as disturbing the peace which happily prevailed between the Church of France and the King and Parliament of France.[2]

Conduct of the French clergy.

For once the haughty Boniface listened to the admonitions of prudence. The King of France, by suspending for a time the operations of his hostile ordinance, gave the Pope an opportunity of withdrawing with less loss of dignity from his dangerous position. Another Bull appeared. "The author," it declared, "of every law is the sole interpreter of that law;" and the interpretation which it now pleased Pope Boniface to give to his famous Bull, virtually abrogated it as regarded the kingdom of France. The King had full right to command the service of all his feudatories, whether holding secular or ecclesiastical fiefs: aids, benevolences, or loans might be granted,

Prudence of Boniface.

[1] Dupuy, Feb. 3.

[2] Dupuy, p. 26.

provided there was no exaction, only a friendly and gentle requisition from the King's courts. If the realm was in danger, equal taxes might be assessed on all alike; it was left to the conscience of the King, if of full age, during the King's nonage to the prelates, princes, dukes, and counts of the realm, to decide when the state was in danger.[1]

The successes of Philip the Fair in negotiation as well as in war, no doubt, if they did not awe the Pope, showed the danger as well as the impolicy of alienating the old true ally of the Popedom, now rising to increased power and influence. For his dictatorial injunctions to make peace had been utterly disregarded by all parties; the truce, which he had ordered for two years, had not been observed for as many months. The war. 1297, 1298.

It was a powerful league which had been organized by the lavish subsidies of England. It comprehended the King of the Romans, Guy Dampierre, Count of Flanders, who hoped to compel the King of France to release his daughter, the Count of Bar, the Duke of Brabant, the Counts of Hainault and Gueldres, the Bishops of Liège and Utrecht, the Archbishop of Cologne. The Counts of Auxerre, Montbelliard, and other nobles of that province engaged, on the receipt of thirty thousand livres, to make a revolt in Burgundy. The more remote Counts of Savoy and Grandson were pledged to encourage and maintain this revolt. So utterly and almost contumeliously were the pacific views of the Pope disregarded in all quarters. But in the mean time Philip had won over the Duke of Bretagne from the English league. In all parts his subsi-

[1] Apud Dupuy, p. 39.

dies counteracted those of England; subsidies on both sides largely drawn from the ecclesiastical revenues. He had entered Flanders. Charles of Valois had inflicted a severe defeat on the rebels, so the Flemings in the army of the Count Dampierre were called. The rich manufacturing cities, indignant at former attempts of their liege Lord, the Count of Flanders, to infringe their privileges, opened their gates to Philip as their Suzerain. The Count in vain attempted to retrace his steps; they would not trust him, and were at least indifferent to their change of masters.

Edward had at length disembarked to the relief of his overwhelmed ally.[1] But the forces of the King of England were unequal to the contest. The war in defence of his foreign dominions had been unpopular in England. The English nobles, become more inflexibly insular in their feelings, had more than once refused to follow their monarch for the defence or reconquest of Gascony. In small numbers and with reluctance they had accompanied him to the Flemish shores. Edward's own military skill and vigor seemed to have deserted him: he was forced to abandon Bruges, which opened its gates to the conqueror. Ghent was hardly safe.[2]

These unusual efforts had exhausted the resources of both kingdoms. The means of prosecuting the war could only be wrung by force from murmuring and refractory subjects, the clergy as well as the laity. There was a limit not only to the endurance, but to the possibility of raising new taxes; and that limit had been reached both in England and France.

[1] He embarked at Winchelsea, Aug. 22: landed at Sluys, 1297. Rymer.

[2] The war in the English and French historians; plainly and briefly in Rapin.

At the close of the year the Kings consented to a short truce. News from England, during the A.D. 1297. suspension of arms, disconcerted the plans of Edward for the reorganization in greater strength and activity of his wide-spread league. All Scotland was in revolt. Wallace, from a wild adventurer, at the head of a loose band of moss-troopers, had assumed, in a Parliament at Perth, the title of guardian of the realm and general of the armies of Scotland. Warenne, Earl of Surrey, Edward's Lieutenant, had been reduced to act on the defensive. The Scots were ravaging Cumberland and Westmoreland.

Boniface found these two haughty monarchs, who had so short a time before contemptuously spurned his mediation, one of them, if not imploring, making direct overtures in the most submissive terms for his interposition; the other accepting it with undisguised satisfaction. Edward despatched his ambassadors to Rome, the Archbishop of Dublin, the Bishop of Durham, the Count of Savoy, Sir Otho Grandison, Sir Hugh de Vere (the Bishop of Winchester was then at Rome), to request the arbitration of his Holiness.[1] The King of France was not averse to peace. He had gained fame, territory, power, and vengeance against some of his more dangerous and disaffected vassals. The Pope had already, by abrogating or mitigating his obnoxious Bull as regarded France, by the solemn act of the canonization of St. Louis, shown his disposition to return to the old Papal policy, close alliance with France. Philip acceded to the arbitration not of the Pope (for both monarchs endeavored to save their honor and the independence of their realms, and to Boniface arbiter.

[1] New Rymer, p. 808. See the Submissio Specialis, p. 809.

preclude a dangerous precedent), but of Boniface in his private character.[1] Benedetto Gaetani was the appointed arbiter. This subtile distinction Boniface was wise enough to permit and to despise: the world saw the two great Kings at his feet, awaiting his award, and in that award the full virtual recognition of the Papal arbitration. The contested territories could be sequestered, as they were for a time, only into the hands of the Pope's officers, not those of Benedetto Gaetani.

The treaty. The extraordinary despatch with which this important treaty was framed, the equity of its provisions, the unreserved if on one side angry and reluctant assent of the contending parties,[2] could not but raise the general opinion of the Papal authority. Erelong the King of France had acquiesced in the decree.[3] The treaty seemed to aim at the establishment of lasting peace between the two rival powers by a double marriage between the houses, that of Edward himself with Margaret the sister, of the younger Edward with Isabella, daughter of the King of France.[4]

[1] As regards France, this condition may appear the subtile and provident invention of the lawyers. They would not admit, even in terms, that superiority which the See of Rome grounded on precedents as feudal lord of England, Scotland, Sicily, Arragon, Hungary; nor even that more vague superiority over the King of Germany, as King of the Romans and claimant of the empire.

[2] The agreement was signed at Rome, June 14, 1298. The instrument in Rymer is dated June 27. The tone of the King of England is far more submissive than that of the King of France. Compare the two documents in Rymer. The nobles of Burgundy, the allies of Edward, Montbelliard, D'Arlay, Montfaucon, sent ambassadors to represent them in the treaty. The Count of Flanders and Edward's other continental allies acceded to the arbitration of Benedetto Gaetani.

[3] See p. 301.

[4] The Pope annulled all the engagements, obligations, and oaths entered into by Edward to marry his son to the daughter of the Count of Flanders —Rymer, p. 188.

But so completely was the Pope inseparable from Benedetto Gaetani, that the penalty imposed, in case either monarch should not fulfil the terms of these marriage-contracts, was an interdict to be laid on their territories. Restitution was to be made on either side of all lands, vessels, merchandise, or goods, still subsisting; compensation according to the same arbitration for those destroyed or damaged during the war. Edward was to receive back, if not wholly, in great part, his fiefs in France, on condition of homage and fealty to his liege Lord; and the Pope became security against his future rebellion. In the mean time till the boundaries could be settled, and all questions of jurisdiction brought to issue, those territories were to be surrendered to the Pope's officers, to be held by the Pope until the final termination of all differences. The arbitration of Benedetto Gaetani was pronounced in full Synod at Rome in the presence of the Cardinals, the Apostolic Notaries, and all the functionaries of the Papal Court. According to the terms of the arbitration, the Bishop of Vicenza took possession in the Pope's name of the province of Guienne.

This was not the only quarrel in which the Pope was invited to take the part of arbiter. The insurgent Scots had recourse to the protection of the Papal See against the tyrannous usurpation of Edward. Their claim to this protection rested not on the general function and duty of the Head of the Christian Church to interpose his good offices in defence of the oppressed, for the maintenance of justice, and the preservation of Christian peace. They appealed to the Pope as their acknowledged liege Lord. Scotland, they said, was a fief of the Church of Rome, and had a right to de-

mand aid against the invader not only of their liberties, but of the Pope's rights. The origin of this claim is obscure, but it was not now heard for the first time. Nor did it seem to rest on the vague and general pretensions of the Pope to the sovereignty over all islands.[1]

Already, before this appeal had been publicly received at Rome, Boniface, in the character which he assumed of Pacificator of Christendom, and on the strength of the treaty concluded under his arbitration between France and England, had admonished King Edward not to prosecute the war against the Scots. Edward took no notice of this admonition. His first campaign at the head of the knighthood of England had ended with the total defeat of Wallace, who became again a wandering and almost solitary adventurer. But though he could vanquish, the King of England could not keep possession of the poor territory: and at the close of the campaign most of his forces dispersed and returned to their English homes. A new government had been formed. William Lamberton, Bishop of St. Andrew's, Robert Bruce, and John Comyn proclaimed themselves a Regency in the name of John Baliol, who, though in an English prison, was still held to be the rightful sovereign. Edward's marriage with Margaret of France, the time necessary to reorganize his army, the refusal of the English barons to invade Scotland during the winter, gave the Regency so much leisure to recover their strength, that they ventured to

[1] Compare Lingard's note, vol. iii. c. 3, in which he clearly shows that it had been asserted on more than one occasion. In the MS., B. M. appears this singular ground for the title: "Præterea nosse potest Regia Celsitudo, qualiter regnum ipsum per beati Andreæ Apostoli venerandas reliquias, non sine superni Dei dono, acquisitum et conversum extitit ad fidei Catholicæ unitatem." — Vol. xiv. p. 53, June 27, 1299.

lay siege to the castle of Stirling. But their main hope was in the intervention of the Pope: and the Pope appeared to take up their cause with a vigor, as it were, flushed by the recent submission of Edward. June 27, 1299. His Bull addressed to the King of England spoke almost the words of the Ambassador of Scotland. It declared that the kingdom of Scotland had belonged in full right to the Church of Rome: that it neither was nor ever had been a fief of the King of England, or of his ancestors. It discussed and disdainfully threw aside all the pretensions of feudal suzerainty adduced by the King of England. It commanded him instantly to release the Bishop of Glasgow, the Bishop of Sodor, and other Scottish ecclesiastics whom he kept in prison; to surrender the castles, and still more the monasteries and religious houses, which he presumed to hold to their damage, in some places to their utter ruin, in the realm of Scotland: to send his Ambassadors within six months to Rome to receive the Pope's determination on all differences between himself and the kingdom of Scotland.

Edward was compelled for a time to dissemble his indignation at this imperious summons. The Bull, to insure its service upon the King, had been committed to Winchelsea, Archbishop of Canterbury. The Primate was commanded, in virtue of his obedience to the Pope, without delay to present this mandate to the King, and use all his authority to induce the King to immediate and unreserved compliance.[1]

[1] There is great difficulty about the dates in this affair. The bull and the letter to Winchelsea are dated June, 1299. The Parliament of Lincoln was summoned Sept. 27, 1300; met in 1301. Lingard supposes that the bull, which was only delivered by Winchelsea to the King in Aug. 1300, had been withheld by some *unaccountable* delay from reaching Winchelsea

At this time all civil and religious affairs were suspended; all thoughts swallowed up, by the great religious movement which, at the close of the century, began in Italy and rapidly drew all Western Christendom within its whirlpool, a vast peaceful Crusade, to Rome not to Jerusalem, by which the spiritual advantages of that remote and armed and perilous pilgrimage were to be attained at much less cost, exertion, and danger. To the calm and philosophic mind the termination of a centenary period in the history of man is an epoch which cannot be contemplated without awe and seriousness; in those ages awe and seriousness were inseparable from profound, if passionate and unreasoning religion. It is impossible to determine whether a skilful impulse from Rome and from the clergy first kindled this access of fervent devotion. At this period, when Christendom was either seized or inspired with this paroxysm of faith, Palestine was irrevocably lost: the unbelievers were in undisturbed possession of the sepulchre of Christ. But the tombs of the Apostles, of Peter and of Paul, next to that of the Redeemer, the most sacred, and hallowed by their venerable and unquestioned relics, were accessible to all the West. The plenary Indulgences, which had been so lavishly bestowed in the early period of the Crusades, and might, even in the decay of the Crusading passion, be obtained by the desperate and worldly-weary votary, were not now coveted with less ardor.

till towards June 1300. We might perhaps suppose that the jubilee, in its preparations, and in the necessary arrangements, absorbed all the time of the Roman court, and altogether preoccupying the public mind, superseded all other business. But, from the haughty tone and almost menace of the Papal letters to Winchelsea (MS., B. M.), there seems to have been some timid reluctance or delay on the part of the primate.

Would the Church withhold on more easy terms those precious and consolatory privileges for which the world was content to pay by such prodigal oblations, and which were thus the source of inexhaustible power and wealth to the clergy? Christendom was now almost at peace; the Pope's treaty had been respected by France and England, and by their respective allies. Germany reposed under the doubtful supremacy of Albert of Austria. The north of Italy was in outward at least and unwonted peace: the industrious and flourishing republics, the commercial and maritime cities were overflowing with riches, and ready with their lavish tribute.

Already on the first of January of the great centenary year, even before, on the Nativity (1299), the Churches of Rome, it might seem, from a natural, spontaneous, unsuggested, and therefore heaven-inspired thought (the movement was the stronger because no one knew how and where it began), were thronged with thousands supplicating, almost imperiously demanding, what they had been taught or believed to be the customary Indulgences of the season. The most humbly-religious Pope might have rejoiced at that august spectacle of Christendom thus crowding to offer its homage on the tombs of the Apostles, acknowledging Rome as the religious centre of the world, and coming under the personal benediction of the Roman Pontiff. The venerable image of the successor of St. Peter, thus planted in the hearts of so many, who would return home not passive slaves only but ardent assertors of the Papal supremacy, not subjects only but worshippers; the tribute lavished upon the altars — these might be but secondary considerations.

Ambition, pride, and avarice might stand rebuked before nobler, more holy sentiments. Which predominated in the heart of Boniface VIII., shall history, written by human hand, presume to say? If both or either intruded on his serene contemplation of this triumph of the religious element in man, was it the more high and generous, or the more low and sordid? was it haughtiness or rapacity? Assuredly the sagacity of Boniface could not refuse to discern the immediate, and to foresee the remoter consequences of this ceremony: he could not close his eyes on the myriads at his feet: he could not refuse to hear the amount of the treasures which loaded the altars.

The court of Rome, in its solemn respect for precedent, affected to require the sanction of ancient usage for the institution of the Holy year. The Mosaic Law offered its Jubilee, the tradition of the secular games at Rome might lurk to this time at least among the learned, very probably in the habits and customs of the people. The Church had never disdained, rather had avowed, the policy of turning to her own good ends the old Pagan usages. Grave inquiry was instituted. The Cardinal Stefaneschi, the poet-historian, was employed to search the archives: the College of Cardinals were duly consulted. At length the Pope himself ascended the pulpit in St. Peter's. The church was splendidly hung with rich tapestries; it was crowded with eager votaries. After his sermon the Pope unThe Bull. folded the Bull, which proclaimed the welcome Indulgences, sealed with the pontifical seal. The Bull was immediately promulgated; it asserted the ancient usage of Indulgences to all who should make pilgrimage to the tomb of the "Chief of the Apostles."

The Pope, in his solicitude for the souls of men, by his plenary power, gave to all who during the year should visit once a day the Churches of the Apostles, the Romans for thirty days, strangers for fifteen, and should have repented and confessed, full absolution of all their sins.

All Europe was in a frenzy of religious zeal. Throughout the year the roads in the remotest parts of Germany, Hungary, Britain, were crowded with pilgrims of all ages, of both sexes. A Savoyard above one hundred years old determined to see the tombs of the Apostles before he died. There were at times two hundred thousand strangers at Rome. During the year (no doubt the calculations were loose and vague) the city was visited by millions of pilgrims. At one time, so vast was the press both within and without the walls, that openings were broken for ingress and egress. Many people were trampled down, and perished by suffocation. The Papal authorities had taken the wisest and most effective measures against famine for such accumulating multitudes. It was a year of abundant harvest; the territories of Rome and Naples furnished large supplies. Lodgings were exorbitantly dear, forage scarce; but the ordinary food of man, bread, meat, wine, and fish, was sold in great plenty and at moderate prices. The oblations were beyond calculation. It is reported by an eye-witness that two priests stood with rakes in their hands sweeping the uncounted gold and silver from the altars. Nor was this tribute, like offerings or subsidies for Crusades, to be devoted to special uses, the accoutrements, provisions, freight of armies. It was entirely at the free and irresponsible disposal of the Pope. Christen- Pilgrims.

dom of its own accord was heaping at the Pope's feet this extraordinary custom:[1] and receiving back the gift of pardon and everlasting life.

But from this great act of amnesty to the whole of Christendom were sternly excluded the enemies of Boniface — the rebels, as they were proclaimed, against the See of Rome — Frederick of Arragon and the Sicilians, the Colonnas, and all who harbored them.

[1] Stefaneschi. Villani, Istorie Fiorent. viii. 36. Ventura. After all, this mode of collecting does not, with the explanation of the Cardinal-poet, necessarily imply a contribution so very enormous. The text of Stefaneschi is unfortunately imperfect. He seems to say that the usual annual offerings on the tombs of the Apostles amounted to 30,000 florins; this year to 50,000 more, chiefly in small coins of all countries. Many were too poor to make any offering. The Cardinal contrasts the conduct of these humble votaries with that of the kings, who, unlike the Three of old, so munificent at the feet of the infant Jesus, were parsimonious in their offerings to Jesus at the right hand of the Father. "Instead of this, they seize the tithes of the churches bestowed by their generous ancestors, whose glory becomes their shame." Villani, himself a pilgrim (did the rich Florentines pay handsomely?), notes the vast wealth gained by the Romans as well as by the Church; according to his strong expression, almost all Christendom went. Villani drew his historic inspiration from his pilgrimage. His admiration of the great and ancient monuments of Rome, recorded by Virgil, Sallust, Lucan, Titus Livius, Valerius, and Orosius, led him, an unworthy disciple, to attempt to write history in their style. Villani is far from Livy, or even Sallust; but he might hold his own before Valerius and Orosius.

# CHAPTER IX.

## BONIFACE VIII. HIS FALL.

Boniface at the height of his power.

THIS centenary year, illustrated by the splendid festival of the Jubilee, and this homage and tribute paid by several millions of worshippers to the representative of St. Peter, was the zenith of the fame and power of Boniface VIII., perhaps of the Roman Pontificate. So far his immeasurable pretensions, if they had encountered resistance, had suffered no humiliating rebuke. Christendom might seem, by its submission, as if conspiring to intoxicate all his ruling passions, to tempt his ambition, to swell his pride, to glut his rapacity. The Colonnas, his redoubted enemies, were crushed; they were exiles in distant lands; it might seem superfluous hatred to confer on them the distinction of exclusion from the benefits of the Jubilee. Sicily, he might hope, would not long continue her unfilial rebellion. Roger Loria, now on the Angevine side, had gained one of his famous victories over the Arragonese fleet. Already Boniface had determined in his mind that great, though eventually fatal scheme by which Charles of Valois, who in the plains of Flanders had gained distinguished repute in arms, should descend the Alps as the soldier of the Pope, and terminate at once the obstinate war. Sicily reduced, Charles of Valois, married to the heiress of

the Latin Emperor Baldwin, was to win back the imperial throne of Constantinople to the dominion of the West, and to its spiritual allegiance under the Roman See. Boniface had interposed to regulate the succession to the crown of Hungary: Hungary had received a king at his bidding.[1] The King of the Romans, Albert of Austria, was under his ban as a rebel, and even as the murderer, so he was denounced, of his sovereign, Adolph of Nassau. Absolution for these crimes could only be given by the Pope himself, and Albert would doubtless purchase at any price that spiritual pardon without which his throne trembled under him. The two mighty Kings of France and England, who once spurned, had now been reduced to accept his mediation. He held, as arbiter, the province of Guienne. Scotland, to escape English rule, had declared herself a fief of the Apostolic See. Edward had not yet ventured to treat with scorn the strange demand of implicit submission, in all differences between himself and the Scots, to the Papal judgment. The embers of that fatal controversy between the King of France and Boniface, which were hereafter to blaze out into such ruinous conflagration, were smouldering unregarded, and to all seeming entirely extinguished. Philip, the brother of Charles of Valois, might appear the dearest and most obedient son of the Church.

But even at this time, in the depths and on the heights of the Christian world, influences were at work not only about to become fatal to the worldly grandeur of Boniface and to his life, but to his fame to the latest ages. Boniface was hated with a sincerity and intensity of hatred which, if it darkened, cannot be rejected

[1] Mailath, Geschichte der Magyaren, ii. p. 5, *et seq.*

as a witness against his vices, his overweening arrogance, his treachery, his avidity.

The Franciscans throughout Christendom, more especially in Italy, had the strongest hold on the popular mind. Their brotherhood was vigorous enough not to be weakened by the great internal schism which had begun to manifest itself from their foundation.[1] But to both the factions in this powerful order, up to near this time among the vehement and passionate teachers of the humblest submission to the Papacy, the present Pontiff was equally odious. In all lands the Franciscans were followed and embarrassed by the insoluble, interminable question, the possession of property, a question hereafter to be even more fiercely agitated. How could the Franciscans not yield to the temptation of the wealth which, as formerly with other Orders, the devotion of mankind now cast at their feet? The inveterate feeling of the possibility of propitiating the Deity by munificent gifts, of atoning for a life of violence and guilt by the lavish donation or bequest, made it difficult for those who held dominion over men's minds as spiritual counsellors, to refuse to accept as stewards, to be the receivers, as it were, for God, of those oblations, ever more frequent and splendid according to the depth and energy of the religious impressions which they had awakened. From stewards to become owners; from dispensers or trustees, and sometimes venders of lands or goods bequeathed to pious uses, in order to distribute the proceeds among the poor or on religious edifices, to be the lords, and so, as they might fondly delude themselves, the more pru-

[1] See back the succession of Generals, Elias, Crescentius, John of Parma, Bonaventura, p. 72.

dent and economic managers of such estates, was but an easy and unperceived transition. Hence, if not from more sordid causes, in defiance of the vow of absolute poverty, the primal law of the society, the Franciscans now vied in wealth with the older and less rigorous orders.[1] Mendicancy, their vital principle, had long ceased to be content with the scanty boon of hard fare and coarse clothing; it grasped at lands and the cost at least of splendid buildings. But the stern and inflexible statute of the order stood in their way; the Pope alone could annul that primary disqualification to hold lands and other property. To abrogate this inconvenient rule, to enlarge the narrow vow, had now become the aim of the most powerful, and, because most powerful, most wealthy Minorites. But Boniface was inexorable. On the Franciscans of England he practised a most unworthy fraud; and, bound together as the Order was throughout Christendom, such an act would produce its effect throughout the whole republic of the Minorites. The crafty avarice of the Pope was too much for the simple avarice of the Order. They offered to deposit forty thousand ducats with certain bankers, as the price of the Papal permission to hold lands. The Pope appeared to listen favorably till the money was in the bankers' hands. He then discovered that the concession was in direct opposition to the fundamental laws of the Order, and to the will of the seraphic Francis; but as they could not hold property, the property in the bankers' hands could not be theirs. He absolved the bankers from their obligation to repay the Franciscans, and seized for his

[1] Westminster says that it was rumored that the Statute of Mortmain was chiefly aimed at restraining the avidity of the Franciscans. — v. p. 495.

proper use the unowned treasures. It was a bold and desperate measure, even in a Pope, a Pope with the power and authority of Boniface, to estrange the loyalty of the Minorites, dispersed, but in strict union, throughout the world, and now in command not merely of the popular mind, but of the profoundest theology of the age.

But if the higher Franciscans might thus be disposed to taunt the rapacity of Boniface, which had baffled their own, and throughout the Order might prevail a brooding and unavowed hostility to the intractable Pontiff; it was worse among the lower Franciscans, who had begun to draw off into a separate and inimical community. These were already under dark suspicions of heresy, and of belief in prophecies (hereafter to be more fully shown [1]), no less hostile to the whole hierarchical system than the tenets of the Albigensians, or of the followers of Peter Waldo. To them Boniface was, if not the Antichrist, hardly less an object of devout abhorrence. To the Fraticelli, Cœlestine was ever the model Pope. The Cœlestinians had either blended with the Fraticelli, or were bound to them by the closest sympathies. With them, Boniface was still an usurper who disgraced the throne which he had obtained through lawless craft and violence, by the maintenance of an iniquitous, unchristian system, a system implacably irreconcilable with Apostolic poverty, and therefore with Apostolic faith. The Fraticelli, or Cœlestinians, as has been seen, had their poet; and perhaps the rude rhymes of Jacopone da Todi, to the tunes and in the rhythm of much of the popular hymnology,

[1] We must await the pontificate of John XXII. for the full development of their tenets.

sounded more powerfully in the ears of men, stirred with no less fire the hearts of his simpler hearers, than in later days the sublime terzains of Dante. Jacopone da Todi was a lawyer, of a gay and jovial life. His wife, of exquisite beauty and of noble birth, was deeply religious. During a solemn festival in the church, she fell on the pavement from a scaffold. Jacopone rushed to loosen her dress; the dying woman struggled with more than feminine modesty; she was found swathed in the coarsest sackcloth. Jacopone at once renounced the world, and became a Franciscan tertiary; in the rigor of his asceticism, in the sternness of his opinions, a true brother of the most extreme of the Fraticelli. We have heard Jacopone admonish Cœlestine: his rude verse was no less bold against Boniface.[1]

Boniface pursued the Fraticelli, whose dangerous doctrines his well-informed sagacity could not but follow out to their inevitable conclusions;[2] even if they had not yet announced that coming reign of the Holy Spirit, which was to supersede and sweep away all the hierarchy. He could hardly be ignorant of their menacing prophecies. He cut off at once this rebellious branch from the body of the faithful, and denounced them as obstinate irreclaimable heretics.[3] Jacopone,

[1] A poem has disappeared from the later editions: —

"O Papa Bonifazio
Molto hai giocato al mondo,
Penso che giocondo
Non te parria partire."

This is genuine Jacopone. Two stanzas, alluding to the scene at Anagni, seem of a more doubtful hand. — Note to the German translation of Ozanam on the Religious Poets of Italy, by Dr. Julius, p. 188.

[2] Compare Ferretus Vicentinus, end of second book, character of Boniface.

[3] On the Fraticelli, Raynaldus, p. 240. In the bull of Boniface against

not without cause (he had been the secretary in that league of the Colonnas and the ecclesiastics of France), became an object of persecution; that persecution, as usual, only gave him the honor and increasing influence of a martyr; his verses were hardly less bold, and were more endeared to the passions, and sunk deeper into the hearts of men.[1]

A Pope of a Ghibelline family, an apostate, as he was justly or unjustly thought, who had carried Guelfism to an unprecedented height of arrogance, and enforced its triumph with remorseless severity, centred of course on himself the detestation of all true Ghibellines. He had trampled down, but not exterminated, the Colonnas; their dispersion, if less dangerous to his power, was more dangerous to his fame. Wherever they went they spread the most hateful stories of his pride, perfidy, cruelty, avarice, so that even now we cannot discriminate darkened truth from baseless calumny. The greedy ears of the Ghibellines throughout Italy, of his enemies throughout Christendom, drank in and gave further currency to these sinister and rankling antipathies.

But the measure by which Boniface hoped almost to exterminate Ghibellinism, by placing on the throne of Naples a powerful monarch, instead of the feeble representative of the old Angevine line, thus wresting Sicily forever from the house of Arragon, and so putting an

them, he is extremely indignant at their apostasy. They averred "quod tempore interdicti melius quam alio tempore sit eisdem, et quod propter excommunicationem cibus non minus sapidus sit temporalis, nec minus bene dormiunt propterea." — p. 242.

[1] There is to my ear a bitter and insulting tone in the two satires written from his prison, in which he seems to supplicate, and at the same time to treat the Papal absolution as indifferent to one so full as he was of hatred of himself and love of Christ. — Satire xvii. xix.

end to the war, was most disastrous to his peace and to his fame. The invitation of Charles of Valois to be the soldier, protector, ally of the Pope, ended in revolting half Italy, while it had not the slightest effect in mitigating the subsequent fatal collision with France. Had Charles of Valois never trampled on the liberties of Florence, Dante might never have fallen off to Ghibellinism, he might have been silent of the fate of Boniface in hell. Hardly had Charles of Valois descended into Italy, when Boniface could not disguise to himself that he had introduced a master instead of a vassal. The haughty Frenchman paid as little respect, in his inordinate ambition, to the counsels, admonitions, remonstrances of the Pope, as to the liberties of the Italian people, or the laws of justice, humanity, or good faith. The summary of Charles of Valois' expedition into Italy, the expedition of the lieutenant and peacemaker of the Pope, was contained in that sarcastic sentence alluded to above, "He came to establish peace in Tuscany, and left war; he went to Sicily to wage war, and made a disgraceful peace." Through Charles of Valois the Pope became an object of execration in Florence, of mistrust and hatred throughout Italy; the anathematized Frederick obtained full possession of Sicily for his life, and as much longer as his descendants could hold it.[1] It were perhaps hard to determine which of the two brothers shook the power, and made the name of Boniface more odious to mankind, his friend and ally Charles of Valois, or his foe Philip the Fair.

Charles of Valois.

The arrogant interposition of the Pope in the affairs of Scotland was rejected, not only by the

England

[1] See before, p. 221.

King but by the English nation. The Parliament met at Lincoln. There assembled one hundred and four of the greatest barons of the realm, among the first, Bohun, Earl of Hereford, and Bigod, Earl of Norfolk,[1] whose bold opposition had compelled the King to sign the two charters, with additional securities for the protection of the subject against the power of the Crown; they had joined with the Archbishop to resist the exactions of the King. The Universities sent their most distinguished doctors of civil law; the monasteries had been ordered to furnish all documents which could throw light on the controversy. The answer to the Pope's Bull, agreed on after some discussion, was signed by all the Nobles. It expressed the amazement of the Lords in Parliament at the unheard-of pretensions advanced in the Papal Bull, asserted the immemorial supremacy of the King of England over the King of Scotland in the times of the Britons and of the Saxons. Scotland had never paid feudal allegiance to the Church. The King of England is in no way accountable or amenable to the jurisdiction of the Pope for his rights over the kingdom of Scotland; he must not permit those rights to be called in question. It would be a disinheritance of the crown of England and of the royal dignity, a subversion of the state of England, if the King should appear by his proctors or ambassadors to plead on those rights in the Court of Rome; an infringement of the ancient liberties, customs, and laws of the realm, "to

Parliament of Lincoln. A.D. 1301.

[1] It was Bigod who refused to attend the King as Earl Marshal to Flanders. "By the everlasting God," said Edward, "Sir Earl, you shall go or hang." "By the everlasting God," answered Bigod, "I will neither go nor hang."

the maintenance of which we are bound by a solemn oath, and which by God's grace we will maintain to the utmost of our power, and with our whole strength. We neither permit, nor will we permit (we have neither the will nor the power to do so) our Lord the King, even if he should so design to comply, or attempt compliance, with demands so unprecedented, so unlawful, so prejudicial, so unheard of. Wherefore we humbly and earnestly beseech your Holiness to leave our King, a true Catholic, and devotedly attached to the Church of Rome, in peaceful and undisturbed possession of all his rights, liberties, customs, and laws."[1]

King Edward, however, to quiet the conscience of the Pope, not, as he distinctly declared, as submitting to his judgment, condescended to make a full and elaborate statement of his title to the homage of Scotland, in a document which seemed to presume on the ignorance or credulity of his Holiness as to the history of England and of the world, with boldness only equalled by the counter-statements of the Scottish Regency. It is a singular illustration of the state of human knowledge when poetry and history are one, when the mythic and historic have the same authority even as to grave legal claims, and questions affecting the destinies of nations.

Claims of England.

The origin of the King of England's supremacy over Scotland mounts almost to immemorial antiquity. Brute, the Trojan, in the days of Eli and Samuel, conquered the island of Albion from the Giants. He divided it among his three sons, Locrine, Albanact, and Camber. Albanact was slain in

[1] Rymer, dated Feb. 12, 1301.

battle by a foreign invader, Humber. Locrine avenged his death, slew the usurper, who was drowned in the river which took his name, and subjected the realm of Albanact (Scotland) to that of Britain. Of the two sons of Dunwallo, King of Britain, Belinus and Brennus, Belinus received the kingdom of Britain, Brennus that of Scotland, under his brother, according to the Trojan law of primogeniture. King Arthur bestowed the kingdom of Scotland on Angusil, who bore Arthur's sword before him in sign of fealty. So, throughout the Saxon race, almost every famous King, from Athelstan to Edward the Confessor, had either appointed Kings of Scotland or received homage from them. The Normans exercised the same supremacy, from William the Conqueror to King Edward's father, Henry III. The King dauntlessly relates acts of submission and fealty from all the Scottish Kings. He concludes this long and labored manifesto with the assertion of his full, absolute, indefeasible title to the kingdom of Scotland, as well in right of property, as of possession; and that he will neither do any act, nor give any security, which will in the least derogate from that right and that possession.

The Pope received this extraordinary statement with consummate solemnity. He handed it over to Baldred Basset, the Envoy of the Scottish Regency. In due time appeared the answer, which, with the same grave unsuspiciousness, meets the King on his own ground. The Scots had their legend, which for this purpose becomes equally authentic history. They deny not Brute or his conquest; but they hold their independent descent from Scota, the daughter of Pharaoh, King of Egypt, who sojourned at Athens and

Answer of the Scots.

subdued Ireland. Her sons conquered Scotland from the degenerate race of Brute. The Saxon supremacy, if there were such supremacy, is no precedent for Edward, a descendant of Norman kings. No act of homage was ever performed to them by any King of Scotland, but by William the Lion, and that for lands held within the kingdom of England. They assert the absolute jurisdiction of the court of Rome. Edward, did he not mistrust his cause, could not decline that just and infallible tribunal. Scotland is, and ever has been, an allodial fief, an inalienable possession of the Church of Rome. It was contained in the universal grant of Constantine the Emperor, of all islands in the ocean to the successors of St. Peter.[1]

Quarrel with France.

But these more remote controversies were now to be drowned in the din of that absorbing strife, on which Christendom gazed in silent amazement, the quarrel between the Pope and the King of France. Boniface must descend from his tranquil eminence, as dictator of peace, as arbiter between contending Kings, to a long furious altercation of royal Edicts and Papal Bulls, in which, if not all respect for the Roman See, at least for himself was thrown aside; in which, if not his life, his power and his personal liberty were openly menaced; in which on his side he threatened to excommunicate, to depose by some powerful league the greatest monarch in Europe, and was himself summoned to appear before a General Council to answer for the most monstrous crimes. The strife closed with his seizure in his own palace, and in his hastened death.

As this strife with France became more violent, the

[1] Rymer. On the Scotch plea compare Fordun, Scoti Chronicon.

King of England, whom each party would fear to offend, calmly pursued his plans of security and aggrandizement. The rights of the Roman See to the fief of Scotland quietly sunk into oblivion; the liberties of the oppressed Scots ceased to awaken the sympathies of their spiritual vindicator. The change in the views of the Pope was complete; his inactivity in the cause of the Scots grew into indirect support of the King of England. In an extant Bull he reproves the Archbishop of Glasgow and other Prelates of Scotland, for their obstinate maintenance of an unnatural rebellion: he treats them as acting unworthily of their holy calling, and threatens them with condign censure; those very Prelates for whose imprisonment he had condemned the King of England.[1]

The Pope and the King attended to their duty.

Nor was Philip less disposed to abandon the Scottish insurgents to their fate. After obtaining for them the short truce of Angers, he no longer interposed in their behalf. There might almost seem a tacit understanding between the Kings. Edward, in like manner, forgot his faithful ally the Count of Flanders, who was confined in a French prison as a rebellious vassal. He did not insist on his liberation, it does not appear that he even remonstrated against this humiliating wrong.

The quarrel between Boniface VIII. and Philip the Fair is one of the great epochs in the Papal history, the turning point after which, for a time at least, the Papacy sank with a swift and precipitate descent, and from which it never rose again to the same commanding height. It led rapidly, if not directly and immediately, to that debasing period which has been called

[1] Rymer.

the Babylonian captivity of the Popes in Avignon, during which they became not much more than the slaves of the Kings of France. It was the strife of the two proudest, hardest, and least conciliatory of men, in defence of the two most stubbornly irreconcilable principles which could be brought into collision, with everything to exasperate, nothing to avert, to break, or to mitigate the shock.

The causes which led more immediately to this disastrous discord seem petty and insignificant; but when two violent, ambitious, and unyielding men are opposed, each strenuous in the assertion of incompatible claims, small causes provoke and irritate the feud, more perhaps than some one great object of contest. The clergy of France had many grievances, complained of many usurpations on the part of Philip, his family, and his officers, which were duly brought before the Papal court. The Bishop of Laon had been suspended from his spiritual functions by the Pope; he was cited to Rome. The King sequestered and took possession of the lands and goods as of a vacant See. John, Cardinal of St. Cecilia, had devised certain estates which he held in France for the endowment of a college for poor clerks in Paris. Philip, it is not known on what plea, seized the lands, and refused to restore them, though admonished by the Pope. Robert of Artois, the King's brother, claimed against the Bishop part of the city of Cambray: he continued to hold it in defiance of the Papal censure. The Archbishop of Rheims complained that his estates, sequestered by the King for his own use during the vacancy of the See, had not been fully restored to the Archiepiscopate. The Archbishop of Narbonne was involved in two disputes, one with the

Viscount of that city, who claimed to hold his castle in Narbonne of the King, not of the Archbishop, who had received, as was asserted on the other hand, the homage and fealty of his father. A Council was held at Beziers on the subject: and an appeal made to Paris. The second feud related to the district of Maguelone, which the officers of St. Louis had usurped from the See of Narbonne: but on an appeal to Clement IV., it had been ceded back to the Church. The officers of Philip were again in possession of Maguelone. On this subject came a strong, but not intemperate remonstrance from the Pope, yet in which might be heard the first faint murmurs of the brooding storm. The Pope naturally set before the King the example of his pious and sainted grandsire Louis. That canonization is always represented as an act of condescending favor, not as a right extorted by the unquestioned virtues and acknowledged miracles of St. Louis; and as binding the kingdom of France, especially his descendants on the throne, in an irredeemable debt of gratitude to the Holy See. "The Pope cannot overlook such aggressions as those of the King on the rights of the Archbishop of Narbonne without incurring the blame of dumb dogs, who dare not bark;" he warns the King against the false prophets with honeyed lips, the evil counsellors, the extent of whose fatal influence he already, no doubt, dimly foresaw, the lawyers, on whom the King depended in all his acts, whether for the maintenance of his own rights, or the usurpation of those of others.

As yet there was no open breach. No doubt the recollection of the former feud rankled in the hearts of both. The unmeasured pretensions of the Pope in

the Bull which exempted the clergy altogether from taxation for the state had not been rescinded, only mitigated as regarded France. All these smaller vexatious acts of rapacity showed that the King was actuated by the same spirit, which would proceed to any extremity rather than yield this prerogative of his crown.

The dissatisfaction of Philip with the arbitration of Boniface between France and England; his indignation that the arbitrament, which had been referred to Benedetto Gaetani, not to Pope Boniface, had been published in the form of a Bull; the fury into which the King and the nobles were betrayed by the articles concerning the Count of Flanders, rest on no extant contemporary authority; yet are so particular and so characteristic that it is difficult to ascribe them to the invention of the French historians.[1] It is said that the Bull, which had been ostentatiously read before a great public assembly in the Vatican, was presented to the King of France by an English prelate, the Bishop of Durham, as Papal Legate for that purpose, as well as ambassador of England; that besides the articles of peace between France and England, it ordered the King to surrender to the Count of Flanders all the cities which he had taken during the war, to deliver up his daughter, who had been a prisoner in France during two years, and to allow the Count of Flanders to

[1] The Bull as published in Rymer contains no article relating to the Count of Flanders; it is entirely confined to the dispute between France and England, and the affairs of Gascony. That article, if there were such, must have been separate and distinct. The English ambassadors, according to another document (New Rymer), refused to enter into the negotiation without the consent of the Counts of Flanders and Bar. The two counts submitted, like the two kings, to the Papal arbitration.

marry her according to his own choice;[1] and also commanded Philip himself to take up the Cross for the Holy Land. The King could not restrain his wrath. Count Robert of Artois seized the insolent parchment: "Such dishonor shall never fall on the kingdom of France." He threw it into the fire.[2] Some trembled, some highly lauded this contempt of the Pope.

It is quite certain that Philip took a step of more decided disdain and hostility to the Pope, in entering into an open alliance and connection by marriage with the excommunicated Albert of Austria. The King of the Romans and the King of France met in great pomp between Toul and Vaucouleurs, on the confines of their kingdoms. Blanche, the sister of Philip, was solemnly espoused to Rodolph, son of Albert of Austria. This step implied more than mistrust, total disbelief in the promises held out by Pope Boniface to Charles of Valois, that not merely he should be placed, as the reward of his Italian conquests, on the throne of the Eastern Empire, but that the Pope would insure his succession to the Empire of the West, held to be vacant by the

[1] I have quoted above the bull annulling the marriage contract of young Edward of England with this princess, p. 279.

[2] Dupuy, Mezeray, and Velly relate all this without hesitation. Sismondi rejects it altogether. Dupuy refers to Villani, where there is not a word about it, and to the Flemish historian Ouderghest. "De Philippe le Bel, en la presence de plusieurs Princes du Royaulme, et entre autres de Robert Comte d'Artois, lequels apperçoivant d'une inusitée melancholie et tristesse que la dicte sentence avait causé au cœur d'icelluy, print les dictes bulles des mains de l'Archévêque (Rheims) lesquels il dechira et jecta au feu, disant que tel deshonneur n'aviendroit jamais à un Roi de France. Dont aucuns des Assistants le louërent grandement, les autres le blasmêrent." — Ouderghest, p. 222. It is singular that there is the same obscurity about the demand made, it is said, by the Bishop of Pamiers for the liberation of the Count of Flanders — one of the causes which exasperated Philip most violently against that prelate.

death of Adolph of Nassau. These magnificent hopes the Pope had not the power, Philip manifestly believed that he had not the will, to accomplish.[1] Albert of Austria was yet under the Papal ban as the murderer of his Sovereign. Boniface had exhorted the ecclesiastical electors to resist his usurpation, as he esteemed it, to the utmost. Neither the Archbishops of Mentz nor of Cologne were present at the meeting. Albert of Austria communicated this treaty of marriage with the royal house of France to the Pope; and no doubt hoped to advance at least the recognition of his title as King of the Romans. Boniface refused to admit the ambassadors of the vassal who had slain his lord, of a Prince who, without the Papal sanction, dared to assume the title of King of the Romans.[2]

Rumors about Boniface.

Rumors of more ostentatious contemptuousness were widely disseminated in Transalpine Christendom, and among the Ghibellines of Northern Italy. Boniface had appeared in warlike attire, and declared that himself, the successor of St. Peter, was the only Cæsar. During the Jubilee he had displayed himself alternately in the splendid habiliments of the Pope and those of the Emperor, with the crown on his head, the sceptre in his hand, and the Imperial sandals on his feet; he had two swords borne before him, and thus openly assumed the full temporal as well as spiritual supremacy over mankind. These reports, whether grounded on some misunderstanding of acts or words, or on the general haughty demeanor of the Pope, whether gross exaggeration or absolute invention, were

[1] Historia Australis, apud Freher, i. 417, sub ann. 1299. Leibnitz, Cod. Diplom. i. 25.

[2] Raynald. sub ann. 1300.

no doubt spread by the industrious vindictiveness of the Pontiff's enemies.[1] It was no augury of peace that some of the Colonnas were openly received at the court of France: Stephen, the nephew of the two Cardinals (they remained at Genoa), Sciarra, a name afterwards more fatal to the Pope, redeemed by the liberality of the King from the corsairs who had taken him on the high seas. It is far from improbable that from the Colonnas and their partisans, not only such statements as these had their source or their blacker coloring, but even darker and more heinous charges. These were all seized by the lawyers, Peter Flotte and William of Nogaret. Italian revenge, brooding over cruel and unforgiven injuries, degradation, impoverishment, exile; Ghibelline hatred, with the discomfiture of ecclesiastical ambition in the Churchmen, would be little scrupulous as to the weapons which it would employ. Boniface, if not the victim of his overweening arrogance, may have been the victim of his own violence and implacability.

The Colonnas.

The unfortunate, if not insulting, choice of his Legate at this peculiar crisis precipitated the rupture. Instead of one of the grave, smooth, distinguished, if inflexible, Cardinals of his own court, Boniface intrusted with this difficult mission a man turbulent, intriguing, odious to Philip; with notions of sacerdotal power as stern and unbending as his own; a subject of the King of France, yet in a part of the kingdom in which that subjection was recent and doubtful. Bernard Saisset had been Abbot of St. Antonine's in Pamiers, a city of Languedoc. The Counts of Foix had a joint jurisdiction with the Abbot

Saisset Bishop of Pamiers

[1] Of one thing only I am confident, that they are not later inventions

over that city and over the domains of the convent. But the house of Foix during the Albigensian war had lost all its power; these rights passed first to Simon de Montfort, then to the King of France. But the King of France, Philip the Hardy, had rewarded Roger Bernard, Count of Foix, for his services in the war of Catalonia, with the grant of all his rights over Pamiers, except the absolute suzerainty. The Abbots resisted the grant, and refused all accommodation. The King commanded the Viscount of Bigorre, who held the castle, to put it into the hands of the Count of Foix. The Abbot appealed to Rome. Roger Bernard was excommunicated; his lands placed under interdict. The Pope erected the city of Pamiers into a Bishopric; Bernard Saisset became Bishop, and condescended to receive a large sum from the Count of Foix, with a fixed rent on the estates. The Count of Foix did homage at the feet of the Bishop.

A.D. 1295, 1296.

Such was the man chosen by Boniface as Legate to the proud and irascible Philip the Fair. There is no record of the special object of his mission or of his instructions. It is said that he held the loftiest and most contemptuous language concerning the illimitable power of the Church over all temporal sovereigns; that his arrogant demeanor rendered his demands still more insulting; that he peremptorily insisted on the liberation of the Count of Flanders and his daughter. Philip, after the proclamation of his truce with England, had again sent a powerful army into Flanders: the Count was abandoned by the King of England, abandoned by his own subjects. Guy of Dampierre (we have before alluded to his fate) had been com-

pelled to surrender with his family, and was now a prisoner in France. Philip had the most deep-rooted hatred of the Count of Flanders, as a rebellious vassal, and as one whom he had cruelly injured. Some passion as profound as this, or his most sensitive pride, must have been galled by the Bishop of Pamiers, or even Philip the Fair would hardly have been goaded to measures of such vindictive violence. Philip was surrounded by his great lawyers, his Chancellor Peter Flotte, his confidential advisers, Enguerrand de Marigny, William de Plasian, and William of Nogaret, honest counsellors as far as the advancement of the royal power, the independence of the temporal on the spiritual sovereignty, and the administration of justice by learned and able men, according to fixed principles of law, instead of the wild and uncertain judgments of the petty feudal lords, lay or ecclesiastic; dangerous counsellors, as servile instruments of royal encroachment, oppression, and exaction; everywhere straining the law, the old Roman law, in favor of the kingly prerogative, beyond its proper despotism. Philip, by their advice, determined to arraign the Papal Legate, as a subject guilty at least of spoken treason. He allowed the Bishop to depart, but Saisset was followed May. 1301.
or preceded by a commission sent to Toulouse, the Archdeacon of Angers and the Vidame of Amiens, to collect secret information as to his conduct and language. So soon as the Legate Bishop arrived in his diocese, he found a formidable array of charges prepared against him. Twenty-four witnesses had been examined; the Counts of Foix and Comminges, the Bishops of Toulouse, Beziers, and Maguelone, the Abbot of St. Pepoul. He was accused of simony, of her-

esy, principally as regarded confession.[1] The Bishop would have fled at once to Rome; but this flight without the leave of the King or his metropolitan had incurred the forfeiture of his temporalities. He sent the Abbot of Mas d'Asil humbly to entreat permission to retire. But the King's commissioners were on the watch. The Vidame of Amiens stood by night at the gates of the Episcopal Palace, summoned the Bishop to appear before the King, searched all his chambers, set the royal seal on all his books, papers, money, plate, on his episcopal ornaments. It is even said that his domestics were put to the torture to obtain evidence against him. After some delay, the Prelate set out July, 1301. from Toulouse, accompanied by the captain of the cross-bowmen and his troop, the Seneschal of Toulouse, and two royal sergeants — ostensibly to do him honor; in fact, as a guard upon the prisoner.

The King was holding his Court-plenary, a Parlia- Oct. 24. ment of the whole realm, at Senlis. The Bishop appeared before him, as he sat surrounded by the princes, prelates, knights, and ecclesiastics. Peter Flotte, the Keeper of the Seals, rose and arraigned the Bishop as having uttered many contemptuous and treasonable words against the King's Majesty. He offered to substantiate these grave charges by unexceptionable witnesses. Then Bishop Bernard was accused of having repeated a prediction of Saint Louis, that in the third generation, under a weak prince, the kingdom of France would pass forever from his line into that of strangers; of having said that Philip was in every way unworthy of the crown; that

Charges against De Saisset.

[1] Dupuy, Preuves, p. 626. There may be read the depositions of the witnesses.

he was not of the pure race of Charlemagne, but of a bastard branch; that he was no true King, but a handsome image, who thought of nothing but being looked upon with admiration by the world; that he deserved no name but that of issuer of base money;[1] that his court was treacherous, corrupt, and unbelieving as himself; that he had grievously oppressed by tyranny and extortion all who spoke the language of Toulouse; that he had no authority over Pamiers, which was neither within the realm nor held of the kingdom of France. There were other charges of acts, not of words; secret overtures to England; attempts to alienate the loyalty of the Counts of Comminges, and to induce the province of Languedoc to revolt, and set up her old independent Counts.[2] The Chancellor concluded by addressing the metropolitan, the Archbishop of Narbonne, summoning him in the King's name to seize and secure the person thus accused by the King of leze majesté; if the Archbishop refused, the King must take his own course. The Archbishop was in the utmost consternation and difficulty. He dared not absolutely refuse obedience to the King. The life of the Bishop was threatened by some of the more lawless of the court. He was withdrawn, as if for protection; the King's guards slept in his chamber. The Archbishop remonstrated against this insult towards a spiritual person. The King demanded whether he would be answerable for the safe custody of the prisoner. The Archbishop was bound not only by awe, but by gratitude to the Pope. One of the causes of the quarrel between Boniface and the King was the zealous assertion of the Archbishop's rights to the Countship of

[1] Faux monnayeur.

[2] The charges are in Dupuy, p. 633, *et seq.*

Maguelone. He consulted the Archbishop of Auch and the other bishops. It was agreed that the Bishop of Senlis should make over for a certain time a portion of his territory to the Archbishop. Within that ceded territory the Bishop should be kept, but not in close custody; his own chamberlain alone was to sleep in his chamber, but the King might appoint a faithful knight to keep guard. He was to have his chaplains; permission to write to Rome, his letters being first examined; lest his diocese should suffer damage, his seal was to be locked up in a strong chest under two keys, of which he retained one.

King Philip could not commit this bold act of the seizure and imprisonment of a bishop, a Papal Nuncio, without communicating his proceedings to the Pope. This communication was made, either accompanied or followed by a solemn embassage. But if the Legate appointed by the Pope was the most obnoxious ecclesiastic whom he could have chosen, the chief ambassador designated by the King, who proceeded to Rome, and affronted the Pope by his dauntless language, was the Keeper of the Seals, Peter Flotte.[1] If the King and his counsellors had desired to show the malice and falsehood or gross exaggeration of the treasonable charges brought against the Bishop of Pamiers, they could not have done it more effectually than by the monstrous language which they accused him of having used against the Pope himself, the Pope, whom he represented as Legate or Nuncio at the court of France,

[1] After careful examination of the evidence, I think there is no doubt of this mission of Peter Flotte. It cannot be pure invention. See Matt. Westm. *in loc.* Walsingham. Spondanus, sub ann. 1301. Raynald. ibid. Baillet, Demelés, p. 113, &c.

the object of his devout reverence as a High Churchman, to whom he had applied for protection, at whose feet he sought for refuge. The Bishop of Pamiers (so averred the King of France in a public despatch) was not only, according to the usual charges against all delinquent prelates, guilty of heresy, simony, and unbelief; of having declared the sacrament of penance a human invention, fornication not forbidden to the clergy: in accumulation of these offences, he had called Boniface the Supreme Pontiff, in the hearing of many credible witnesses, the devil incarnate; he had asserted "that the Pope had impiously canonized St. Louis, who was in hell." "No wonder that this man had not hesitated to utter the foulest treasons against his temporal sovereign, when he had thus blasphemed against God and the Church." "All this the inquisitors had gathered from the attestations of bishops, abbots, and religious men, as well as counts, knights, and burghers." The King demanded the degradation and the condemnation of the Bishop by spiritual censures, and permission to make "a sacrifice to God by the hands of justice." Peter Flotte is declared, even in the presence of the Pope, to have maintained his unawed intrepidity. To the Pope's absolute assertion of his superiority over the secular power, the Chancellor replied with sarcastic significance, "Your power in temporal affairs is a power in word, that of the King my master in deed."

Such negotiations, with such a negotiator, were not likely to lead to peace. Bull after Bull came forth; several of the earlier ones bore the same date. The first was addressed to the King. It declared in the strongest terms that the temporal sover-

Papal Bulls. Dec. 3.

eign had no authority whatever over the person of an ecclesiastic. "The Pope had heard with deep sorrow that the King of France had caused the Bishop of Pamiers to be brought before him (Boniface trusted not against his will),[1] and had committed him to the custody of the Archbishop of Narbonne. The Pope exhorted, he commanded the King immediately to release the prelate, to permit him to proceed to Rome, and to restore all his goods and chattels. Unless he did this instantly, he would incur canonical censure for laying his profane and sacrilegious hands on a Dec. 4. 1302. bishop." A second Bull commanded the Archbishop of Narbonne to consider the Bishop as under the special protection of the Pope; to send him, with all the documents produced upon the trial, to Rome; and to inhibit all further proceedings of the King. A third Bull annulled the special suspension, as regarded France, of the famous Papal statute that clerks should make no payments whatever to the laity;[2] "the King was to learn that by his disobedient conduct he had forfeited all peculiar and distinctive favor from the Holy See." The fourth was even a stronger and more irrevocable act of hostility. This Bull was addressed to all the archbishops and prelates, to the cathedral chapters, and the doctors of the canon and the civil law. It cited them to appear in person, or by A. D. 1302. their representatives, at Rome on the 1st November of the ensuing year, to take counsel concerning all the excesses, crimes, acts of insolence, injury, or exaction, committed by the King of France or his officers against the churches, the secular and

[1] "Utinam non invitum." — Raynald. Ann. 1301. c. xxviii.
[2] Clericis Laicos.

regular clergy of his kingdom. This was to set himself at the head of a league or conspiracy of the whole clergy of France against their King, it was a levy in mass of the hierarchy in full revolt. The Pope had already condescendingly informed the King of his intention, and entreated him not to be disturbed by these proceedings, but to place full reliance on the equity and indulgence of the Supreme Pontiff.

So closed the first year of this century. Early in the following year was published, or at least widely bruited abroad, a Bull bearing the Pope's signature, brief, sharp, sententious. It had none of that grave solemnity, that unctuous ostentation of pious and paternal tenderness, that prodigality of Scriptural and sacred allusion, which usually sheathed the severest admonitions of the Holy See. "Boniface the Pope to the King of France. We would have you to know that you are subordinate in temporals as in spirituals. The collation to benefices and prebends in no wise belongs to you: if you have any guardianship of vacant benefices, it is only to receive the fruits for the successors. Whatever collations you have made, we declare null; whatever have been carried into effect, we revoke. All who believe not this are guilty of heresy." The Pope, in his subsequent Bulls, openly accuses certain persons of having issued false writings in his name; he intimates, if he does not directly charge Peter Flotte as guilty of the fraud. That this is the document, or one of the documents, thus disclaimed, there can be no doubt. Was it, then, a bold and groundless forgery, or a summary of the Pope's pretensions, stripped of all stately circumlocution, and presented in their odious and offen

The lesser Bull.

sive plainness, with a view to enable the world, or at least France, to judge on the points at issue? It might seem absolutely incredible that the Chancellor of France should have the audacity to promulgate writings in the name of the Pope altogether fictitious, which the Pope would instantly disown; did not the monstrous charges adduced against the Bishop of Pamiers, and afterwards in open court against the Pope himself, display an utter contempt for truth, a confidence in the credulity of mankind, at least as inconceivable in later times. Our doubts of the sheer invention are rather as to the impolicy than the mendacity of the act. The answer in the name of the King of France — and this answer, undoubtedly authentic, proves irrefragably the publication and wide dissemination of the Lesser Bull of the Pope — with its ostentation not only of discourteous but of vulgar contempt, obtained the same publicity. "Philip, by the grace of God King of France, to Boniface, who assumes to be the Chief Pontiff, little or no greeting.[1] Let your fatuity know, that in temporals we are subordinate to none. The collation to vacant benefices and prebends belongs to us by royal right; the fruits are ours. We will maintain all collations made and to be made by us, and their possessors. All who believe otherwise we hold to be fools and madmen." [2]

The more full and acknowledged Bull might indeed

[1] "Salutem modicam aut nullam."

[2] The weight of evidence that these two extraordinary documents were extant and published at the time seems to me irresistible. They were not contested for 300 years; they are adduced by most of the writers of the time; they are to be found in the Gloss on the Decretals of Boniface, published 40 years after by John Andrew of Bologna. See all the very curious deliberation of Peter de Bosco on this very Bull, published in Dupuy, Preuves, p. 45. It is called in general the Lesser Bull.

be almost fairly reduced to the coarse and rude summary of the Lesser.[1] It contained undeniably, under its veil of specious and moderate language, every one of those hardy and unmeasured doctrines. But the language is part of the spirit of such documents; the mitigating and explanatory phrase is not necessarily deceptive or hypocritical: though in truth each party was determined to misunderstand the other. Neither was prepared to follow out his doctrines to their legitimate conclusion; neither could acknowledge the impossibility of fixing the bounds of spiritual and of temporal authority. The Pope's notion of spiritual supremacy necessarily comprehended the whole range of human action: the King represented the Pope as claiming a feudal supremacy, as though he asserted the kingdom of France to be held of him. And this was the intelligible sovereignty which roused the indignation of feudal France, indignation justified by the actual claim of such sovereignty over other kingdoms. Each therefore stood on an impregnable theoretic ground; but each theory, when they attempted to carry it into practice, clashed with insurmountable difficulties.

The greater Bull, of which the authenticity is unquestioned, ran in these terms: — It began with the accustomed protestation of parental

Bull, Ausculta fili.

[1] Sismondi supposes that the Lesser Bull was framed by Peter Flotte, to be laid before the States-General, on account of the great length of the genuine Bull: that having so presented it, and seen its effect, he was unable and unwilling to withdraw it. But of the answers of the three Orders, two are extant, and in a very different tone from the brief one ascribed to the King. It seems to me rather to have been intended as an appeal to popular feeling than to that of a regular assembly. Such substitution is hardly conceivable in an assembly at which all the prelates and great abbots of the kingdom were present. Nor does this notion account for the King's reply.

tenderness, which demanded more than filial obedience, obedience to the Pope as to God. "Hearken, my most dear son, to the precepts of thy father; open the ears of thine heart to the instruction of thy master, the vicegerent of Him who is the one Master and Lord. Receive willingly, be careful to fulfil to the utmost, the admonitions of thy mother, the Church. Return to God with a contrite heart, from whom, by sloth or through evil counsels, thou hast departed, and devoutly conform to His decrees and ours." The Pope then shadows forth the plenary and tremendous power of Rome in the vague and awful words of the Old Testament. "See, I have this day set thee over the nations and over the kingdoms, to root out and to pull down, and to destroy and to overthrow, to build and to plant."[1] This was no new Papal phrase; it had been used with the same boldness of misappropriation by the Gregories and Innocents of old. It might mean only spiritual censures; it was softened off in the next clause into such meaning.[2] Yet it might also signify the annulling the subjects' oaths of allegiance, the overthrow by any means of the temporal throne, the transferrence of the crown from one head to another. This sentence, which in former times had been awful, was now presumptuous, offensive, odious. It was that which the King, at a later period, insisted most strenuously on erasing from the Bull. "Let no one persuade you that you are not subject to the Hierarch of the Celestial Hierarchy." The Bull proceeds to rebuke, in firm, but neither absolutely ungentle nor discourteous terms,

[1] Jeremiah, i. 10.

[2] "Ut gregem pascentes Dominicum . . . alligemus fracta, et reducamus abjecta, vinumque infundamus," &c.

the oppressions of the King over his subjects (the most galling sentences were those which alluded to his tampering with the coin. "his acts as money-changer"), not only the oppressions of Ecclesiastics, but of Peers, Counts, Barons, the Universities, and the people, all of whom the Pope thus takes under his protection. The King's right to the collation of benefices he denies in the most peremptory terms; he brands his presumption in bringing ecclesiastics under the temporal jurisdiction, his levying taxes on the clergy who did not hold fiefs of the Crown, "although no layman has any power whatever over an ecclesiastic:" he censures especially the King's usurpations on the church of Lyons, a church beyond the limits of his realm, and independent of his authority; his abuse of the custody of vacant bishopries. "The voice of the Pope was hoarse in remonstrating against these acts of iniquity, to which the King turned the ear of the deaf adder." Though the Pope would be justified in taking arms against the King, his bow and quiver (what bow and quiver he leaves in significant obscurity), he had determined to make this last appeal to Philip's conscience. He had summoned the clergy of France to Rome to take cognizance of all these things. He solemnly warned the King against the evil counsellors by whom he was environed; and concluded with the old and somewhat obsolete termination of all such addresses to Christian Kings, an admonition to consider the state of the Holy Land, the all-absorbing duty of recovering the sepulchre of Christ.

The King in all this grave, as it bore upon its face, paternal expostulation, saw only, or chose to see, or was permitted by his loyal counsellors, who by their

servile adulteration of his passions absolutely ruled his mind, to see only the few plain and arrogant demands concentred in the Lesser Bull, with the allusions to his oppressions and exactions, not less insulting from their truth. His conscience as a Christian was untouched by religious awe; his pride as a King provoked to fury. The Archdeacon of Narbonne, the bearer of the Papal Bull, was ignominiously refused admittance to the royal presence. In the midst of his court, more than ordinarily thronged with nobles, Philip solemnly declared that he would disinherit all his sons if they consented to hold the kingdom of France of any one but of God. Fifteen days after, the Bull of the Pope was publicly burned in Paris in the King's presence, and this act proclaimed throughout the city by the sound of the trumpet.[1] Paris knew no more of the ground of the quarrel, or of the Papal pretensions, than may have been communicated in the Lesser Bull; it heard in respectful silence, if not with acclamation, the King's defiance of the Pope, at which a century before it would have trembled and wailed, as inevitably to be followed by all the gloom, terror, spiritual privations of an Interdict.

Jan. 26, 1302.

All France seemed prepared to espouse the quarrel of the King. Philip, or Philip's counsellors, had such confidence in the state of the public mind, which themselves had so skilfully wrought up, as boldly to appeal to the whole nation. The States-General were summoned for the first time, not only the two orders, the Nobles and the Clergy, but the commonalty also, the burghers of the towns and cities, now rising into notice and wealth. The States-Gen-

States-General April 10, 1302.

[1] Dupuy, p. 59.

eral met in the church of Notre Dame at Paris. The Chancellor, Peter Flotte, submitted, and put his own construction on the several Bulls issued by the Pope on the 5th of December, which withdrew the privileges conceded by himself to the realm of France, summoned all the Bishops and Doctors of Theology and Law in France to Rome, as his subjects and spiritual vassals, and (this was the vital question) asserted that the King held the realm of France, not of God, but of the Pope. This feudal suzerainty, the only suzerainty the Nobles comprehended, and which was declared by the Chancellor to be claimed by the Pope, was hardly less odious to them than to the King. The clergy were embarrassed; some, no doubt, felt strongly the national pride of independence, though they owed unlimited allegiance to the Pope. They held, too, fiefs of the Crown; and the collation of benefices by the Crown secured them from that of which they were especially jealous, the intrusion of foreigners into the preferments which they esteemed their own right. There had been from the days of Hincmar of Rheims at least, a vague notion of some special and distinctive liberties belonging to the Gallican Church. The Commons, or the Third Estate, would hardly have been summoned by Philip and his subtle advisers, if their support to the royal cause had not been sure. The pride of their new political importance, their recognition as part of the nation, if not their intelligence, would maintain their loyalty to the crown, undisturbed by any superstitious veneration for the Hierarchy.

Each order drew up its separate address to the Papal Court; that of the ruder Nobles was in French, not to the Pope, but to the Cardi- Address of the Nobles to the Cardinals

nals; that of the clergy in Latin, to the Pope. These two are extant; the third, of the Commons, which would no doubt have been the most curious, is lost. The Nobles dwell on the long and immemorial and harmonious amity between the Church of Rome and the realm of France; that amity was disturbed by the extortionate and unbridled acts of him who now governed the Church. They, the Nobles and People of France, would never, under the worst extremities, endure the wicked and outrageous innovations of the Pope, his claim of the temporal subjection of the King and the kingdom to Rome, his summoning the prelates and ecclesiastical dignitaries of the realm for the redress of alleged grievances and oppressions before Boniface at Rome. "We, the people of France, neither desire nor will receive the redress of such grievances by his authority or his power, but only from that of our Lord the King." They vindicate the King's determination not to allow the wealth of the realm, especially arms, to be exported from France. They accuse the Pope of having usurped the collation of benefices, and of having bestowed them for money on unknown strangers. By this and his other exactions, the Church was so impoverished and discredited that the bishops could not find men of noble descent, of good birth, or of letters, to accept benefices. "These things, hateful to God and displeasing to good men, had never been seen, and were not expected to be seen, before the time of Antichrist." They call on the Cardinals to arrest the Pope in his dangerous courses, to chastise him for his excesses, "that Christendom may return to peace, and good Christians be able to devote themselves to the recovery of the Holy Land." This letter was signed

by Louis, Count of Evreux, the King's brother; by Robert, Count of Artois; by the Dukes of Burgundy, Bretagne, Lorraine; the Counts of Dreux, St. Pol, de la Marche, Boulogne, Comminges, Albemarle, Forez, Eu, Nevers, Auxerre, Perigord, Joigny, Valentinois, Poitiers, Montbeliard, Sancerre, even by the Flemish Counts of Hainault and Luxemburg, the Lords of Couci and Beaujeu, the Viscount of Narbonne, and some others.[1]

The address of the Prelates to the Pope was more respectful, if not, as usual, supplicatory. They too treat as dangerous novelties, now first expressed in the Papal Bulls, the assertion that the King holds his realm of the Pope, the right of the Pope to summon the subjects of the King, high ecclesiastics, to Rome, for the general redress of grievances, wrongs, and injuries committed by the King, his bailiffs or officers. They too urge the collation to benefices of persons unknown, strangers, and not above suspicion, who never reside on their benefices; the unpopularity and impoverishment of the Church; the constant drain on the wealth of the realm by direct exactions and perpetual appeals to Rome. The King had called on them and on the Barons of France to consult with him on the maintenance of the ancient liberties, honor, and state of the kingdom. The Barons had withdrawn, and determined to support the King. They too had retired, but had demanded longer delay, lest they should infringe on their obedience to the Pope. They had at length replied that they held themselves bound to the preservation of the person and of the authority of the King, the rights and liberties of the kingdom. But,

Address of the Clergy to the Pope

[1] Preuves, p. 61, 62.

as they were also under allegiance to the Pope, they had humbly craved permission to go to Rome to represent the whole case. To this the King and the Barons had answered by a stern refusal to permit them to quit the realm, on the penalty of the seizure and sequestration of all their lands and goods. "So great and imminent was the peril as to threaten an absolute dissolution of the Church and State; the clergy were so odious to the people that they avoided all intercourse with them; tongue could not tell the dangers to which they were exposed."[1]

Answer of the Cardinals.

The Cardinals replied to the Dukes, Counts, and Barons of France with dignity and moderation. They assured the Nobles of their earnest desire, and that of the Pope, to maintain the friendly relations between the Church of Rome and the kingdom of France. He was an enemy to man (designating clearly, but not naming the Chancellor) who had sowed the tares of discord. The Pope had never written to the King claiming the *temporal* sovereignty. The Archdeacon of Narbonne, as himself deposes, had not advanced such claim. The whole argument, therefore, of the Chancellor was built on sand. They insisted on the right of the Pope to hold Councils, and to summon to such Councils all the prelates of Christendom. In their turn they eluded the charge that this Council was to take cognizance of what were undeniably the temporal affairs of France. "If all the letters of the Pope had been laid before the Prelates and Barons, and their tenor explained by the Pope's Nuncio, they

[1] "Cum jam abhorreant laici et prorsus effugiant consortia clericorum, eos a suis omnino consiliis et allocutionibus abdicando . . . in grave periculum animarum et varia et diversa pericula." — Preuves, p. 70 *et seq.*

would have been found full of love and pious solicitude." They then dwell on the manifest favors of the Papal See to France. They deny that the Pope had appointed any foreign bishops, but to the sees of Bourges and of Arras. In all other cases he had nominated subjects of the realm, men known in the Court, familiar with the King, and of good repute.[1] The answer of the Cardinals to the Mayors, Sheriffs, Jurors of the cities and towns, was in the same grave tone, denying the claim of temporal sovereignty, and alleging the same acts.

The Pope, in his answer to the Prelates and Clergy, did not maintain the same decorous majesty. His wrath was excited by what he deemed the timorous apostasy of Churchmen from the cause of the Church. "Under the hypocritical veil of consolation, the beloved daughter, the Church of France, had heaped reproach on her spotless mother, the Church of Rome. The Prelates had stooped to be mendicants for the suffrages of the Parliament of Paris, and alleged the loss of their property, and the danger of their persons, if they should set out for Rome. That son of Belial, Peter Flotte, whose bodily sight was so feeble, who was stone-blind in soul, had been permitted, and others who thirsted for Christian blood had been permitted, to lead astray our dear son, Philip of France." "And to this ye listened, who ought to have poured scathing contempt upon them all. Ye did this from base timidity, from baser worldliness. But they labor in vain. He that sitteth in the north shall not long lift himself up against the Vicar of Christ Jesus, to whom there has not yet been a second: he shall fall

Answer of the Pope to the Bishops.

[1] June 26. Preuves, p. 63.

with all his followers. Do not they who deny the subjection of the temporal to the spiritual power assert the two principles?" [1] This was a subtle blow. Manicheism was the most hated heresy to all who knew, and all who did not know, its meaning.

June 25. Consistory at Rome.

At Rome, about the same time, was held a Consistory, in which the differences with France were submitted to solemn deliberation. Matthew Acqua Sparta, the Franciscan, Cardinal of Porto, as representing the sense of the Cardinals, delivered a

Speech of Cardinal of Porto.

long address, half sermon and half speech. He took for his text, from the epistle of the day before, the Feast of St. John the Baptist, the passage of Jeremiah concerning the universal power to pluck up, root out, destroy, and plant. He applied it directly to John the Baptist, by clear inference to the Pope. He lamented the difference with the King of France, which had arisen from so light a cause; asserted perfect harmony to exist between the Pope and the Sacred College. He declared the real letter sent by the Pope to have been full of gentleness and love; the false letter had neither been sent nor authorized by the Pope. "Had not the King of France a confessor? Did he not receive absolution? It is as partaking of sin that the Pope takes cognizance of all temporal acts." He appeals to the famous similitude of the two luminaries, of which the temporal power was the lesser; but he draws a distinction between the temporal power of the Pope and his right to carry it into execution. "The Vicar of Christ has unbounded jurisdiction, for he is even to judge the quick and the dead; but he is not competent to the use, he is not the execu-

[1] Preuves, p. 66.

tive of the temporal power, for 'the Lord said, put up thy sword (the temporal sword) into its scabbard.'"

The Pope followed the Cardinal of Porto in a more strange line of argument. His text was, "Whom God has joined together, let no man put asunder." This sentence, applied, he says, by God to our first parents, applies also to the Church and the Kings of France. On the first baptism of the King of France by St. Remigius, the Archbishop said, "Hold thee to the Church: so long as thou holdest to the Church, thou and thy kingdom shall prosper: so soon as thou departest from it, thou and thy kingdom shall perish. What gifts and blessings[1] does not the King of France receive from the Church! even at the present day, by our grants and dispensations, forty thousand livres. 'Let no man put asunder.' Who is the man? The word *man* is sometimes used for God, Christ, the Holy Spirit, sometimes for the devil. Here it means that diabolical man, that Antichrist, blind in bodily eyesight, more blind of soul, Peter Flotte. The satellites of that Ahitophel are Robert Count of Artois and the Count St. Pol. It is he that falsified our letter; it is he that made us say to the King that he held his realm of us. For forty years we have been trained in the science of law; we know that there are two powers; how could such a folly enter our head? We say, as our brother the Cardinal of Porto has said, that in nothing would we usurp the royal power; but the King cannot deny that he is subject to us in regard to his sins." The Pope then enters on the collation to benefices, on which point he is prepared, of his free grace, to make large but special concessions to the

Speech of the Pope.

[1] Fomenta.

King. After some expressions of regard, he reassumes the language of reproach and of menace. "But for us, the King would not have a foot in the stirrup. When the English, the Germans, all his more powerful vassals and neighbors, rose up against him in one league, to whom but to us did he owe his triumph? Our predecessors have deposed three kings of France. These things are written in their annals as in ours; and this King, guilty of so much more heinous offences, we could depose as we could discharge a groom,[1] though we should do it with sorrow. As for the citation of Bishops, we could call the whole world to our presence, weak and aged as we are. If they come not at our command, let them know that they are hereby deprived and deposed."

The Bull "Unam sanctam."

From this Consistory emanated a second Bull, which deliberately and fully defined the powers assumed by the Pope. It asserted the eternal unity of the Catholic Church under St. Peter and his successors. Whosoever, as the Greeks, denied that subordination, denied that themselves were of Christ. "There are two swords, the spiritual and the temporal: our Lord said not of these two swords, 'it is too much,' but 'it is enough.' Both are in the power of the Church: the one the spiritual, to be used *by* the Church, the other the material, *for* the Church; the former that of priests, the latter that of kings and soldiers, to be wielded at the command and by the sufferance of the priest.[2] One sword must be under the other, the temporal under the spiritual. . . . . The

[1] "Nos deponeremus Regem, sicut unum garcionem." See the whole speech in Raynald. sub ann.

[2] Ad nutum et patientiam sacerdotis.

spiritual instituted the temporal power, and judges whether that power is well exercised." The eternal verse of Jeremiah is adduced. "If the temporal power errs, it is judged by the spiritual. To deny this, is to assert, with the heretical Manicheans, two coequal principles. We therefore assert, define, and pronounce that it is necessary to salvation to believe that every human being is subject to the Pontiff of Rome." [1]

The insurrection in Flanders diverted the minds of men for some short time from this quarrel July 11, 1302. which appalled Christendom. The free and industrious Flemish manufacturing burghers found the rule of the King of France more intolerable than that of their former lords. Their victory at Courtrai, foretold by a comet, the most bloody and humiliating defeat which for years had been suffered by the arms of France, was not likely to soothe the haughty temper of Philip. The loftier Churchmen, in the death of Robert of Artois on that fatal field, saw the judgment of God on him, who was said to have trodden under foot the Pope's Bull of arbitration, whose seal was the first affixed to the remonstrance of the Nobles in the Parliament of Paris.[2] Among those that fell was a more dire enemy of the Pope, the Chancellor Peter Flotte.

Hence, perhaps, in the mean time attempts had been made to obtain the mediation of some of the greater vassals of the Crown, the Dukes of Bretagne and of Burgundy. The Pope had intimated that they would

[1] Porro subesse Romano Pontifici omni humanæ creaturæ declaramus, dicimus, et diffinimus omnino esse de necessitate fidei." — Preuves, p. 54.

[2] Continuat. Nangis, Bouquet, p. 585. Chroniques de St. Denys, p. 670. Villani (viii. 55) antedates the battle March 21. He is especially indignant that the nobles of France were defeated by base artisans, "tessefandoli e fulloni." This is curious in the mercantile Florentine.

be more fitting and acceptable ambassadors than the King's insolent legal counsellors. Those powerful and almost independent sovereigns had commissioned Hugh, a brother of the Order of Knights Templars, to express their earnest desire for the reconciliation of the King with the Pope. From Anagni the Cardinal of Porto wrote to the Duke of Bretagne, the Cardinals of San Pudenziana and St. Maria Nuova to the Duke of Burgundy, representing the insult offered to the Pope in publicly burning his Bull (an act which neither heretic, pagan, nor tyrant would have done), and the friendly and patient tone of the Pope's genuine letters. They explained the reason why the Pope could not write to one actually in a state of excommunication. They exhorted the princes to induce the King to humble himself before his spiritual father.

Sept. 5.

The Prelates of France had been summoned to appear in Rome at the beginning of November. It was to be seen how many would dare to defy the resentment of the King, and resolutely obey their spiritual sovereign. There were only four Archbishops, thirty-five Bishops, six of the great Abbots. Of these by far the larger number were the Bishops of Bretagne, Burgundy, and Languedoc. The Archbishop of Tours headed eight of his Breton suffragans; the Archbishop of Auch fifteen Provençals, including the Bishop of Pamiers. The Archbishop of Bordeaux was a subject of the King of England, as Duke of Aquitaine. The Archbishop of Bourges was one of the Italians promoted by the Pope; with him went one or two of his suffragans. Philip, it might seem, knew from what quarters he might expect this defection. The Seneschal of Toulouse received orders to publish

Prelates who go to Rome.

the royal prohibition to all Barons, Knights, Primates, Bishops, or Abbots against quitting the realm; or, if they should have quitted it, to command their instant return, on pain of corporal punishment and confiscation of all their temporal goods. These southern provinces he watched with peculiar jealousy, and, as if determined to shake the ecclesiastical dominion, he published an edict,[1] denouncing the cruelties and tyranny of the Inquisition, and of Fulk of St. George, the head of that awful tribunal. This arraignment, while it appeared to strike at the abuses, condemned the Office itself. "Complaints have reached us from all quarters, from Prelates and Barons, that Brother Fulk, the Inquisitor of heretical offences, has encouraged those errors and crimes which it is his function to extirpate. Under the pretext of law he has violated all law; under the semblance of piety, committed acts of the grossest impiety and inhumanity; under the plea of defending the Catholic faith, done deeds at which the minds of men revolt with horror. There is no bound to his exactions, oppressions, and charges against our faithful subjects. In defiance of the canonical rules, he begins his processes by arrest and torture, by torture new and unheard of. Those whom, according to his caprice, he accuses of having denied Christ or attacked the foundations of the faith, he compels by these tortures to make false admissions of guilt; if he cannot compel their inflexible innocence to confess guilt, he suborns false witnesses against them."[2] This was the Ordinance of the King who cruelly seized and tortured the Templars!

Philip condemns the Inquisition. Oct. 21.

[1] Ordonnances des Rois.

[2] Ordonnances des Rois, i. 340. Hist. de Languedoc. Preuves. No 54 p. 118.

The winter passed in vain overtures for reconciliation. Each sought to strengthen himself by new alliances Philip by concessions to his people, extorted partly by the unprosperous state of affairs in Flanders, and from the desire to make his personal quarrel with the Pope a national affair.[1] As the year advanced, Philip pressed the conclusion of the peace with England; it was ratified at Paris. Philip resigned Aquitaine on the due performance of homage by England. The Pope sud-
May 20, 1303. denly forgot all the crimes and contumacy of Albert of Austria. The murderer of his predecessor, against whom Boniface himself had excited the ecclesiastical electors to rebellion, became a devout and prudent son, who had humbly submitted, not to the judgment, but to the clemency of his father, and had offered to prove himself innocent of the misdeed imputed to him, and to undergo such penance as should be imposed upon him by the Holy See. The Pope wrote to the Princes of the Empire, commanding them to render their allegiance to Albert; and it suited the present policy of Albert to obtain the Empire on any terms.
July 17, 1303. At Nuremberg he promulgated a golden Bull, sealed with the Imperial seal, in which he acknowledged, in terms as full as ever had been extorted from the most humiliated of his predecessors, that the Roman Empire had been granted to Charlemagne by the Apostolic See; that though the King of the Romans was chosen by certain temporal and ecclesiastical Electors, the temporal sword derived all its authority from the oath of allegiance to the Pope. The protection of the Church was the first and paramount duty of the Emperor. He swore to guard the Pope against

[1] Sismondi, Hist. des Français, ix. p. 104.

any injury to life or limb; and though it was a customary phrase, yet it is curious that he swore also, as if the scene at Anagni might be foreseen distinctly, to guard from capture and imprisonment.[1] He swore too that the Pope's enemies should be his enemies, of whatever rank or dignity, Kings or Emperors. The eagerness with which Albert of Austria detached himself from the alliance of the King of France, though cemented by marriage, the profound humility of his language, was not calculated to diminish the haughty confidence of Boniface in the awe still inspired by the Papal power.[2] Boniface had the prudence to secure himself against the French interest in Italy: he consented at length to permit the King of Naples to rest content with the throne of that kingdom, and to acknowledge Frederick of Arragon as King of Trinacria. Charles of Valois had returned to France to assist his brother in the wars of Flanders.

Philip, on his side, was preparing certain popular acts, which were to be proclaimed at the same great assembly in the Louvre before which he had determined to appeal to his subjects against the encroachments of the Pope. Yet for a time he had been even more deeply wounded by his unavenged discomfiture by the Flemings, and he had not therefore altogether abandoned the thought of pacification with the Pope. It can hardly have been unauthorized by the King, that the Count of Alençon and the Bishop of Auxerre, one of the Prelates who had obeyed the citation to Rome,

[1] "Capi malâ captivitate." Compare Raynald. sub ann. 1303.

[2] Velly, Coxe, and others write confidently of the offer of the French crown to Albert; with Sismondi, I can discover no trace of this in the contemporary documents.

had held out hopes that the King was not averse to an amicable settlement. Accordingly John Le Moine, Cardinal of St. Marcellinus and St. Peter, a native of Picardy, appeared in the Court at Paris. But the mission of the Legate was not one of peace. Boniface must have miscalculated most grievously both the blow inflicted by the Flemings on the power of Philip, and the strength derived by himself from his Ghibelline alliance with the Emperor. The Legate was instructed first to summon those Prelates, the King's partisans, who had not made their appearance at Rome, to obey the Pope without delay, and hasten to the feet of his Holiness, under the penalty of immediate deposition. These Prelates were the Archbishops of Sens and Narbonne, the Bishops of Soissons, Beauvais, and Meaux, with the Abbot of St. Denis. The Archbishop of Rouen, the Bishops of Paris, Amiens, Langres, Poitiers, and Bayeux had alleged their age and infirmity. The Pope condescended to admit their excuse. So too were excused the Italian Bishop of Arras, who was of such tried loyalty to the Pope (was he employed in keeping up the correspondence of which Boniface was accused with the revolted Flemings?), and the Bishop and Chapter of Laon, on account of some heavy charges which they had borne.

The Papal Legate at Paris.

The Legate had twelve Articles which he was to offer to the King for his immediate and peremptory assent; articles of absolute and humiliating concession on his part, on that of the Pope of unyielding rigor, if not of insulting menace or more insulting clemency. I. The revocation of the King's inhibitory Edict against the ecclesiastics who had gone to Rome in obedience to the Papal citation, full satis-

Twelve Articles.

faction to all who had undergone penalties, the abrogation of all processes instituted against them in the King's Courts. II. The Pope asserted his inherent right to collate to all benefices; no layman could collate without authority from the Apostolic See. III. The Pope had full right to send Legates to any part of Christendom. IV. The administration and distribution of all ecclesiastical property and revenue is in the Pope alone, not in any other person, ecclesiastic or lay. The Pope has power, without asking the assent of any one, to lay on them any charge he may please. V. No King or Prince can seize the goods of any ecclesiastic, nor compel any ecclesiastic to appear in the King's Courts to answer to any personal actions or for any property not held as a fief of the Crown. VI. The King was to give satisfaction for his contumelious act in burning the Papal Bull to which were appended the images of the Apostles St. Peter and St. Paul. VII. The King is not to abuse what is called the Regale, the custody and guardianship of vacant benefices. VIII. The spiritual sword (judicature) is to be restored to the Prelates and other ecclesiastics. IX. The King is no longer to blind himself to the iniquity of the debasement of the coin, and the damage thus wrought on the Prelates, Barons, and Clergy of the realm. X. The King is to call to mind the misdeeds and excesses charged upon him in our private letters by our notary.[1] XI. The city of Lyons is entirely independent of the King of France. XII. The Pope, unless the King amended and corrected all these misdoings, would at once proceed against him spiritually and temporally.

[1] Litera Clausa. James the notary was, I presume, the Archdeacon of Narbonne.

The King's answer.

The King answered each separate Article; and his answers seem to imply some apprehension that his power was shaken, some disinclination to proceed to extremities. He stooped to evasion, perhaps more than evasion. I. The King denied that the inhibition to his subjects to quit the realm was aimed at the Prelates summoned to Rome. It was a general precautionary inhibition to prevent the exportation of the riches and produce of the realm during the war and the revolt of his Flemish vassals. II. The King demanded no more, with regard to the collation of benefices, than had been enjoyed by St. Louis and his other royal predecessors. III. The King had no wish to prohibit the reception of the Papal Legates, unless suspected persons and on just grounds. IV. The King had no design to interfere with the administration of the property of the Church, except so far as was warranted by his rights and by ancient custom. V. and VIII. So as to the seizure of the goods of the Church. The King intends nothing beyond law and usage. He is fully prepared to give the Church the free use of the spiritual sword in all cases where the Church has competent jurisdiction. To the VI^th^ Article, the burning of the Bull, the answer is most extraordinary. The King affects to suppose that the Pope alludes not to the Bull publicly burned at Paris with sound of trumpet, but to that of a Bull relating to the Chapter of Laon, burned on account of its invalidity. VII. The King denies the abuse of the Regale. IX. The debasement of the coin took place on account of the exigencies of the State. It was a prerogative exercised by all Kings of France, and the King was engaged in devising a remedy for the evil.

XI. The King had interfered in the affairs of Lyons, on account of a dangerous feud between the Archbishop and the people. The Archbishop, he averred, owed to him an oath of fealty, which had been refused, nevertheless he was prepared to continue his good offices. XII. The King earnestly desired that the unity and peace which had so long subsisted between the kingdom of France and the Roman See should be restored: he was prepared to act by the counsel of the Dukes of Bretagne and Burgundy. To these the Pope himself had proposed to submit all their differences.

With these answers of the King the Pope declared himself utterly dissatisfied. Some were in absolute defiance of truth, none consonant with justice. He would endure martyrdom rather than submit to such degrading conditions. But the same messengers which bore the Pope's instructions to the Cardinal of St. Marcellinus to appeal again to the King's Council were the bearers of another Brief. That Brief declared that Philip, King of France, notwithstanding his royal dignity, and notwithstanding any privilege or indulgence, had actually incurred the penalties of the general Excommunication published by the Pope; that he was excommunicate for having prohibited the Bishops of France from attending, according to the Pope's command, at Rome. All ecclesiastics, of whatever rank, even Bishops or Archbishops, who should presume to celebrate mass before the King, preach, administer any of the sacraments, or hear confession, were likewise excommunicate. This sentence was to be proclaimed in all convenient places within the realm. The King's con-

April 13.

The King excommunicated

fessor, Nicolas, a Friar Preacher, had orders to fix a peremptory term of three months for the King's submission, for his personal appearance at Rome, to be dealt with according to his deserts, and, if he were able, to prove his innocence.

May.

But already, above a month before the date of these Briefs, the King had held his Parliament at the Louvre in Paris. The Prelates and Barons had been summoned to take counsel on affairs touching the welfare of the realm. Only two Archbishops, Sens and Narbonne, three Bishops, Meaux, Nevers, and Angers,[1] obeyed the royal summons; but the Barons made up an imposing assemblage. Before this audience appeared William of Nogaret, one of the great lawyers, most eminent in the King's favor. Nogaret was born in the diocese of Toulouse, of a race whose blood had been shed by the Inquisition.[2] The Nemesis of that awful persecution was about to wreak itself on the Papacy. Nogaret had become a most distinguished Professor of Civil Law and Judge of Beaucaire: he had been ennobled by Philip the Fair. It is dangerous to crush hereditary religion out of men's hearts. Law and the most profound devotion to the King had become the religion of Nogaret. He was a man without fear, without scruple; perhaps thought that he was only inflicting just retribution on the persecutors of his ancestors. According to the accustomed form, William of Nogaret began his address to the Assembly with a text of Scripture. "There were

Parliament at the Louvre. March 12

[1] So writes Sismondi. It is Antessiodor in the document; but the Bishop of Auxerre was possibly still in Rome.

[2] Philip's edict against the Inquisition was probably suggested by Nogaret.

false prophets among the people, so among you are masters of lies."[1] These are the words of Saint Peter, and in the chair of Saint Peter sits the master of lies, ill-named the doer of good (Bonifice), but rather the doer of evil.[2] Boniface (he went on) had usurped the Holy See; he had wedded the Roman Church, while her lawful husband, Celestine, was alive; him he had compelled to an unlawful abdication by fraud and violence. Nogaret laid down, in strict legal phrase, four propositions: — I. That the Pope was not the true Pope. II. That he was a heretic: III. Was a notorious Simoniac: IV. A man weighed down with crimes — pride, iniquity, treachery, rapacity — an insupportable load and burden to the Church. He appealed to a General Council: he declared it to be the office and function of the King of France to summon such Council. "Before that Council he was prepared to appear and to substantiate all these charges." The public notaries made record of these accusations, advanced in the presence of the two Archbishops and the three Bishops, of many princes and nobles, whose names were recited in the decree of record.

Philip, to attach all orders of his subjects to the throne during this imminent crisis, and perhaps to divert the minds of men from the daring blow, the arraignment of a Pope before a General Council, had prepared his great Ordinance for the reformation of the realm. The Ordinance was manifestly designed for the especial conciliation of the clergy. All churches and monasteries, all prelates and ecclesiastics, were to be held in the grace and favor of the King, as of his religious ancestors: their immunities

Ordinance of Reformation.

[1] St. Peter, Epist. ii. 21.

[2] Maleficus.

and privileges were to be respected, as in the time of St. Louis: all good and ancient customs were to be maintained; all new and bad ones annulled. The right of the King to seize or confiscate the goods of the clergy was indeed asserted, but in guarded and temperate terms. The Regale was not to be abused, and (a curious illustration of the mode of life) the fish-ponds of the ecclesiastics were not to be drained during the time of vacancy. Ecclesiastics coming to the King's Court were to be immediately heard, that they might return to their sacred charge. No fees were to be received by the King's officers from ecclesiastics.[1]

The Ordinance for the reformation of the realm was skilfully designed to cover the extension of the royal power by the extension of the royal jurisdiction: yet it professed to respect all separate jurisdictions of Prelates and Barons; it was content to supersede them without violence. Two Parliaments were to be held yearly at Paris, two Exchequer Courts at Rouen, two Days at Troyes, one Parliament at Toulouse. No doubt Philip's jurists intended thus, without alarming the feudal Lords, quietly to draw within their own sphere almost the whole business of the realm. Their more profound science, the more authoritative power of executing their sentences, the greater regularity of their proceedings, would give to the King's Courts and to those of the Parliaments every advantage over that of the Bishop or of the Baron. As though the King were disposed to win the affections of every class of his people, there are in the Ordinance special instructions to the royal officers to execute their functions

[1] Ordonnances des Rois de France, vol. i. sub anno.

with moderation and gentleness.[1] The Crown was absolutely compelled to the harsh and unwelcome duty of levying taxes by the disloyalty and rebellion of some of its subjects. Not only were the King's bailiffs and seneschals to be thus courteous and forbearing, even the sergeants were to be mild and soft-spoken.[2]

The Pope had either not heard, or disdained to regard, what he might yet esteem the impotent audacity of William of Nogaret, and the audience given to his unprecedented requisition by the Parliament held in the Louvre. In his letter, dated one month after, to the Cardinal St. Marcellinus, in which he rejected the replies of Philip to his demands, there is no allusion to this glaring insult. But the King of France had early intimation of the contents of the Papal letters, which commanded the Cardinal of St. Marcellinus to declare him actually excommunicate.[3] The bearers of these letters were the Archdeacon of Coutances and Nicolas Benefracto, a servant of the Cardinal. It is said that, in the pride of being employed on such important services, they betrayed the secret of their despatches. "They bore that which would make the King tremble

[1] "C'est assavoir que vous devez être avisez de parler au peuple par douces paroles, et démonstrer les grans désobéissances, rebellions, et domages." — Ibid.

[2] "Et vous avisez de mettre Sergens débonnaires et tractables pour faire vos exécutions, si que il n'aient cause de eux doloir." — Ordonnance.

[3] The succession of events, on which much depends, is by no means clear. Velly places the mission of Cardinal Le Moine, the articles offered by him, the elaborate answer of the King, after the Parliament in the Louvre, in which William of Nogaret appeared (March 12). The Pope's letter to the Cardinal expressing his dissatisfaction at Philip's answers, as contained in the Cardinal's to Rome which he had then received, is dated April 13. The mission, the reception by Philip, the offer of the articles, the time for the deliberate reply, the communication of the result to Rome, the Pope's letter, could not possibly have been concluded in a month.

on his throne." Orders were given to the King's officers to arrest them: they were seized and thrown into prison at Troyes. Certain other priests boasted that they had been permitted to take copies of these Briefs, and were promulgating them in order to stir up the people to insurrection. The Cardinal protested, and imperiously demanded the delivery of the Briefs into his hands. The Edict confiscating the goods of the Bishops who had attended the Synod at Rome was renewed, if not put in execution. The Order which convoked again the States-General, to take counsel on the crimes and disabilities of his master the Pope, was fixed on the walls of the Monastery of St. Martin at Tours, where the Legate was lodged. All his movements were watched; he could neither receive a visit nor a single paper without the King's knowledge. He determined to return to Rome, mortified and humbled by the total failure of his mission, which he had been instructed to carry out with such imposing haughtiness. No doubt he had acted up to those instructions.

Second Parliament in the Louvre. June 13.

The States-General held their second meeting in the Louvre on the 13th of June. Louis Count of Evreux, Guy Count of St. Pol, John Count of Dreux, William of Plasian, Knight and Lord of Vezenoble (Peter Flotte, the Chancellor, had fallen at Courtrai, William of Nogaret was elsewhere), presented themselves before the Assembly, and declared that Christendom was in the utmost danger and misery through the misrule of Boniface; that a lawful Pope was necessary for her salvation; that Boniface was laden with crimes. William of Plasian swore upon the Gospels that these charges were true; that he was prepared to prove them before a General

Council; that the King, as champion of the faith, was compelled to summon such Council. It was no less the duty of the Prelates and Nobles to concur in this measure. The Prelates observed that it was an affair of the gravest import, and required mature deliberation. The next day William of Plasian produced his charges, charges of the most monstrous heresy, infidelity, and, what was perhaps worse, wizardry and dealing with evil spirits; charges against a Pope who for nearly nine years had exercised the full authority of St. Peter's successor; a man now in extreme old age, whose life and stern inflexible orthodoxy had been till now above question; who had been the chosen arbiter of Kings in their quarrels; who had been almost adored at the Jubilee by assenting Christendom; who was even at this time bestowing the Imperial crown, accepted by Albert of Austria with the humblest gratitude. These charges were advanced with a solemn appeal to the Holy Gospels, before the King and the nobility of France, before a great body of ecclesiastics, who, so far from repudiating them at once with indignant impatience, admitted them as the groundwork of a process to be submitted to a General Council of all Christendom: this Council there seems no reasonable doubt was in the actual contemplation, and was deliberately determined on by Philip and his advisers. The articles of accusation cannot be judged The charges. without the examination of their startling, repulsive, even loathsome detail: they must be seen too in their strange confusion. The Pope neither believed the immortality nor the incorruptibility of the human soul, it perished with the body. He did not believe in eternal life; he had averred that it was no sin to indulge the

body in all pleasures; he had publicly declared and preached that he had rather be a dog, an ass, or any brute beast, than a Frenchman; that no Frenchman had a soul which could deserve everlasting happiness: this he had taught to persons on their death-beds. He did not believe in the Real Presence in the Eucharist. He was reputed (all these things were advanced as matters of public fame and scandal) to have averred that fornication and other obscene practices were no sin. He had often said that to depress the King of France and the French he would devote himself, the world, and the Church to ruin. "Perish the French, come what may." He had approved a book written by a physician, Arnold of Villeneuve, which had been condemned by the Bishop and the Masters of Theology in Paris as heretical. He had caused, to perpetuate his damnable memory, silver images of himself to be set up in the churches, to which the people were tempted to pay idolatrous worship. "He has a special familiar devil, whose counsels he follows in all things."[1] He is a sortilege, and consults diviners and fortune-tellers. He has declared that Popes cannot commit simony, which declaration is heresy. He keeps a market by one Simon, an usurer, of ecclesiastic dignities and benefices. Contrary to Christ's charge to his Apostles, "My peace I leave with you," he has constantly stirred up and fomented discords and wars. On one occasion, when two parties had agreed to terms of peace, Boniface inhibited them and said, "If the Son

[1] This afterwards grew into a minute detail of all the famous wizards and sorcerers from whom he had obtained many different familiar spirits with whom he dealt: one was in a ring which he always wore, but offered to the King of Naples, who rejected the gift with pious abhorrence.

of God or Peter the Apostle had descended upon earth and given such precept, I would have replied, 'I believe you not.'" Like certain heretics who assert themselves to be the only true Christians, he called all others, especially that most Christian people the French, Paterins. He was a notorious sodomite. He had caused the murder of many clerks in his own presence, and urged his officers to their bloody work, saying, "Strike home! strike home!" He had refused the Eucharist, as unnecessary, to a nobleman in prison in his last agony. He had compelled priests to reveal confessions. He did not observe the Fasts of the Church, not even Lent. He depresses and always has depressed the whole Order of Cardinals, the Black and the White Monks, the Franciscan and Preaching Friars: he calls them all hypocrites. He never utters a good word, but words of scorn, lying reproach, and detraction against every bishop, monk, or ecclesiastic. He has conceived an old and implacable hatred against the King of France, and owned that he would subvert Christianity if he might humble what he calls the pride of the French. He has granted the tenths of his realm to the King of England, on condition of his waging war on France; he has leagued with Frederick of Arragon against the French King of Naples; he has granted the Empire to Albert of Austria, whom he had so long treated as unduly elected, as a traitor, and as a murderer, with the avowed purpose of employing him to crush the pride of the French. The Holy Land is lost through his fault; he has diverted the subsidies raised for the Christians of the Holy Land to enrich his kindred. He is the fountain and ground of all simony; he has reduced all prelates and

ecclesiastics to servitude, and loaded them with taxation; the wealth he has extorted from Christendom he has lavished on his own family, whom he has raised to the rank of counts and barons, and in building fortresses on the lands of Roman nobles, whom he has cruelly oppressed and driven into exile. He has dissolved many lawful marriages; he has promoted his nephew, a man of notoriously profligate life, to the Cardinalate, forced that nephew's wife to take a vow of chastity, and himself begotten upon her two bastard sons. He treated his holy predecessor Cœlestine with the utmost inhumanity, and caused his death. He has privately made away in prison with many others who denied his lawful election to the Papacy. To the public scandal he has allowed many nuns to return to a worldly life. He has also said that in a short time he would make all the French martyrs or apostates. Lastly, he seeks not the salvation, but the perdition of souls.[1]

Each of these separate articles was declared to rest on public fame and notoriety, and so the accuser might seem in some degree to guard himself against personal responsibility for their truth. Still it is almost inconceivable how even such bold men, so fully possessed of the royal favor, could venture on some of these charges, so flagrantly false. The Colonnas, no doubt, whose wrongs were not forgotten, some of whom will soon be discovered in active league with Philip's Jurists, had disseminated these rumors of the Pope's tyrannies and cruel misdeeds in Italy, not improbably the enormities charged on his private life. The coarse artifice (skill it cannot be called) with which the vanity of the French

[1] Compare for all this Dupuy, Preuves.

nation is constantly appealed to; the accumulation on one man of all the accusations which could be imagined as most odious to mankind; were not merely ominous of danger to Boniface himself, but signs of the declining awe of the Popedom beyond the walls of Rome, beyond the confines of Italy. William of Plasian solemnly protested that he was actuated by no hatred or passion; in the most formal manner he declared his adhesion to the appeal before made by William of Nogaret.

The King commanded his own appeal to be read. "We, Philip, King of France, having heard the charges now alleged by William of Plasian, as heretofore by William of Nogaret, against Boniface, now presiding over the Roman Church; though we had rather cover the shame of our father with our garment, yet in the fervor of our Catholic faith, and our devotion to the Holy See, and to our Mother the Church, for which our ancestors have not hesitated to risk their lives, we cannot but assent to these requisitions: we will use our utmost power for the convocation of a General Council, in order to remove these scandals from the Church; and we call upon and entreat, in the bowels of mercy in Jesus Christ, all you archbishops, bishops, and prelates, to join us in promoting this General Council; and lest the aforesaid Boniface should utter sentences of excommunication or interdict, or any act of spiritual violence against us, our realm, our churches, our prelates, our barons, or our vassals, we appeal to this Great Council, and to a legitimate Pope." King Philip's appeal.

No Churchman uttered one word of remonstrance. It might have been difficult to treat with scorn, or repel

with indignation, an arraignment made with such formal solemnity; accusations openly recognized by the King as grave and serious subjects of inquiry. The Jurists had taken care that all was conducted according to unexceptionable rules of procedure. The prelates veiled their weak compliance with the King's wishes, their assent to the unusual act of permitting a Pope to be arraigned as a criminal for the most hateful and loathsome offences and denounced before a General Council, under the specious plea of the necessity of investigation into such fearful scandals, and the pious hope that the innocence of Boniface would appear. To this assent were signed the names of five archbishops — Nicosia (in Cyprus), a Frenchman by birth, Rheims, Sens, Narboune, Tours; of twenty-one bishops — Laon, Beauvais, Chalons-sur-Marne, Auxerre, Meaux, Nevers, Chartres, Orleans, Amiens, Terouanne, Senlis, Angers, Avranches, Coutances, Evreux, Lisieux, Seez, Clermont, Limoges, Puy, Macon (afterwards St. Omer, Boulogne, Ypres); eleven of the great abbots — Clugny, Premontrè, Marmoutier, Citeaux, St. Denis, Compiegne, St. Victor, St. Geneviève, St. Martin de Laon, Figeac, Beaulieu; the Visitors of the Orders of the Temple and of St. John.[1]

The King was not content with this general suffrage of the States-General, nor even with the mutual guarantee entered into between himself, the ecclesiastics,

[1] Dupuy, Preuves. Baillet published a special appeal of the Archbishop of Narbonne, containing ten charges against the Pope, in substance much the same with those of De Plasian, but darkening the charge of immorality into his having seduced two of his married nieces, by whom he had many children. "O patrem fœcundum!" It is said that this appeal was made in the States-General at the Louvre. Baillet found it among the Brienne papers; but what proof is there of its authenticity? Baillet, Démelés Additions des Preuves, p. 29.

and the barons of France, to stand by each other and coöperate in holding the General Council; in permitting no excommunication or interdict to be published within the realm, and to pay no regard to any mandate or Bull of the Pope. He appealed severally to all the ecclesiastical and monastic bodies of the realm. He obtained seven hundred acts of adhesion from archbishops, chapters, conventual bodies, and the Orders of friars. Of the numerous houses of the Cluniacs, seven only refused, eleven sent evasive answers. All who had hitherto been the most ardent and servile partisans of the Papedom, the Preachers the Sons of St. Dominic, the Minorites the Sons of St. Francis, the Templars and Hospitallers, were for the King. The University of Paris gave in its unqualified concurrence to the royal demands. Philip sent his appeal into some of the neighboring kingdoms. All these gave at least their tacit assent to the arraignment of the Pope before a General Council: some, no doubt, reconciled it to their conscience by doubts as to the validity of the election of Boniface, and his title to be considered a lawful Pope: all were careful that the appeal lay not merely to the Council, but to a future lawful Pope; all protested their fervent reverence and attachment to the Church, their loyalty to the See of Rome.

General adhesion of the Kingdom.

The Pope had retired, as usual, from the summer heats, perhaps not without mistrust of the Romans, to his native city, Anagni. There, in a public consistory, he purged himself by oath of the charge of heresy; the more scandalous accusations against his life and morals he disdained to notice. In the Bull issued from that consistory, he declared that he had received intelligence of the pro-

Boniface at Anagni. Consistory. Aug. 16.

ceedings of the King and the Barons in the Louvre, of their appeal to a General Council, to a future lawful Pope, of their proclamation that they would receive neither legate nor letter from him, and their renunciation of all obedience. "With what sincerity, with what charity, with what zeal, this conventicle had acted, might be understood, by all who value truth, from the blasphemies which they had poured forth against him, and the open reception of his deadly enemy, Stephen Colonna. "They have lyingly blasphemed us with lying blasphemies, charging us with heresy, and with other monstrous criminalities over which they have affected to weep. Who in all the world has heard that we have been suspected of the taint of heresy? Which of our race, who in all Campania, has been branded with such a name? We were sound Catholics when he received favors from us. Valentinian the Emperor humbled himself before the Bishop of Milan: the King of France is as much below the Emperor as we are above the Bishop of Milan. The state of the Church will be utterly subverted, the Power of the Roman Pontiff annihilated, if such kings and princes, when the Roman Pontiff shall think it right to inflict correction upon them, shall presume to call him a heretic or of notoriously scandalous life, and so escape censure. This pernicious example must be cut up by the roots. Without us no General Council can be held. Henceforth no king, no prince, or other magnate of France shall dare, by the example of the King, to break out in words of blasphemy, and thus hope to elude due correction. Not to name the King of France deposed by Pope Zacharias, did Theodosius the Great, excommunicated by St. Ambrose, kindle

into wrath? Did the glorious Lothair lift up his heel against Pope Nicolas? or Frederick against Innocent?" In proper time and place he, Boniface, would proceed to the extreme censure, unless full satisfaction should be offered, lest the blood of Philip should be required at his hands.[1]

The stress laid upon the reception of Stephen Colonna shows that Boniface knew whence sprung much of the most desperate hostility to his fame and authority. He was peculiarly indignant at the presumption of the Archbishop of Nicosia, whom he had ordered, and again ordered in a separate Bull, to return to his diocese, and not to presume to meddle in the affairs of France. A third Bull, to punish the prelates who had been seduced into rebellion by the King, suspended in all the ecclesiastical corporations the right of election, declared all vacant benefices at the sole disposal of the Pope, annulled all elections made during this suspension, and until the King should have returned to his obedience. A fourth deprived the Universities of the right of teaching, of granting any degree in theology, canon or civil law. This privilege the Pope declared to be derived entirely from the Apostolic See, and to have been forfeited by their rebellious adhesion to the cause of the King.[2]

Boniface seemed, as it were, to pause, to be gathering up his strength to launch the last crushing thunders upon the head of the contumacious King. The sentence of excommunication had been prepared; it had received the Papal Seal. It began with more than the usual solemnity and haughtiness.

Excommunication.

[1] The Bull in Dupuy and Raynaldus, sub ann.
[2] Preuves. Raynaldus.

"We who sit on the high throne of St. Peter, the vicegerent of Him to whom the Father said, 'Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee,' 'Ask of me, I will give Thee the nations as Thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth as Thy possession: to bruise kings with a rod of iron, and to break them in pieces like a potter's vessel.' An awful admonition to kings! But the unlimited power of St. Peter has ever been exercised with serene lenity." The Bull then recapitulates all the chief causes of the quarrel: the prohibition of the bishops to attend the Papal summons to Rome; the missions of James de Normannis Archdeacon of Narbonne, and of the Cardinal of St. Marcellinus rejected with scorn (it is silent as to the burning of the Bull), the seizure and imprisonment of Nicolas de Benefracto, the bearer of the Papal letters; the entertainment of Stephen Colonna at the Court in Paris. The King of France was declared excommunicate; his subjects released from their allegiance, or rather peremptorily inhibited from paying him any acts of obedience; all the clergy were forbidden, under pain of perpetual disability, to hold preferment, from receiving benefices at his hands; all such appointments were void, all leagues were annulled, all oaths abrogated, "and this our Bull is ordered to be suspended in the porch of the Cathedral of Anagni." The 8th of September was the fatal day.[1]

William of Nogaret and Sciarra Colonna.

Boniface, infatuated by the sense of his unapproachable majesty, and of the sanctity of his office, had taken no precautions for the safeguard of his person. He could not but know that his two deadliest enemies, William of Nogaret, the most

[1] Preuves, p. 182.

daring of Philip's legal counsellors, and Sciarra Colonna, the most fierce and desperate of the house, which he had driven to desperation, had been for several months in Italy, on the Tuscan borders at no great distance from Rome. They were accompanied by Musciatto dei Francesi, in whose castle of Staggia, not far from Sienna, they had taken up their abode. They had unlimited power to draw on the Panizzi, the merchant bankers of the King of France at Florence. To the simple peasantry they held out that their mission was to reconcile the Pope with the King of France; others supposed that they were delegated to serve upon the Pope the citation to appear before the General Council. They bought with their gold many of the petty barons of Romagna. They hired to be at their command a band of the lawless soldiery who had been employed in the late wars. They had their emissaries in Anagni; some even of the Cardinals had not been inaccessible to their dark intrigues.

On a sudden, on the 7th September (the 8th was the day for the publication of the Bull), the peaceful streets of Anagni were disturbed. The Pope and the Cardinals, who were all assembled around him, were startled with the trampling of armed horse, and the terrible cry, which ran like wildfire through the city, "Death to Pope Boniface! Long live the King of France!" Sciarra Colonna, at the head of three hundred horsemen, the Barons of Cercano and Supino, and some others, the sons of Master Massio of Anagni, were marching in furious haste, with the banner of the King of France displayed. The ungrateful citizens of Anagni, forgetful of their pride in their holy compatriot, of the honor and advantage to their town from

the splendor and wealth of the Papal residence, received them with rebellious and acclaiming shouts.

The bell of the city, indeed, had tolled at the first alarm; the burghers had assembled; they had chosen their commander; but that commander, whom they ignorantly or treacherously chose, was Arnulf, a deadly enemy of the Pope. The banner of the Church was unfolded against the Pope by the captain of the people of Anagni.[1] The first attack was on the palace of the Pope, on that of the Marquis Gaetani, his nephew, and those of three Cardinals, the special partisans of Boniface. The houses of the Pope and of his nephew made some resistance. The doors of those of the Cardinals were beaten down, the treasures ransacked and carried off; the Cardinals themselves fled from the backs of the houses through the common sewer. Then arrived, but not to the rescue, Arnulf, the Captain of the People; he had perhaps been suborned by Reginald of Supino. With him were the sons of Chiton, whose father was pining in the dungeons of Boniface.[2] Instead of resisting, they joined the attack on the palace of the Pope's nephew and his own. The Pope and his nephew implored a truce; it was granted for eight hours. This time the Pope employed in endeavoring to stir up the people to his defence: the people coldly answered that they were under the command of their Captain. The Pope demanded the terms of the conspirators. "If the Pope would save his life, let him instantly restore the Colonna Cardinals to their dignity, and reinstate the whole house in their honors and pos-

[1] Statement of William of Nogaret. Dupuy, p. 247. I see no reason to doubt this.

[2] The Chiton of Walsingham is probably the Massio of Villani.

sessions; after this restoration the Pope must abdicate, and leave his body at the disposal of Sciarra." The Pope groaned in the depths of his heart. "The word is spoken." Again the assailants thundered at the gates of the palace; still there was obstinate resistance. The principal church of Anagni, that of Santa Maria, protected the Pope's palace. Sciarra Colonna's lawless band set fire to the gates; the church was crowded with clergy and laity and traders who had brought their precious wares into the sacred building. They were plundered with such rapacity that not a man escaped with a farthing.

The Marquis found himself compelled to surrender, on the condition that his own life, that of his family and of his servants, should be spared. At these sad tidings the Pope wept bitterly. The Pope was alone; from the first the Cardinals, some from treachery, some from cowardice, had fled on all sides, even his most familiar friends: they had crept into the most ignoble hiding-places. The aged Pontiff alone lost not his self-command. He had declared himself ready to perish in his glorious cause; he determined to fall with dignity. "If I am betrayed like Christ, I am ready to die like Christ." He put on the stole of St. Peter, the imperial crown was on his head, the keys of St. Peter in one hand and the cross in the other: he took his seat on the Papal throne, and, like the Roman Senators of old, awaited the approach of the Gaul.[1]

But the pride and cruelty of Boniface had raised and infixed deep in the hearts of men passions which acknowledged no awe of age, of intrepidity, or religious majesty. In William of Nogaret the blood of his To-

[1] Villani, *in loc.*

losan ancestors, in Colonna, the wrongs, the degradation, the beggary, the exile of all his house, had extinguished every feeling but revenge. They insulted him with contumelious reproaches; they menaced his life. The Pope answered not a word. They insisted that he should at once abdicate the Papacy. "Behold my neck, behold my head," was the only reply. But fiercer words passed between the Pope and William of Nogaret. Nogaret threatened to drag him before the Council of Lyons, where he should be deposed from the Papacy. "Shall I suffer myself to be degraded and deposed by Paterins like thee, whose fathers were righteously burned as Paterins?" William turned fiery red, with shame thought the partisans of Boniface, more likely with wrath. Sciarra, it was said, would have slain him outright: he was prevented by some of his own followers, even by Nogaret. "Wretched Pope, even at this distance the goodness of my Lord the King guards thy life."[1]

He was placed under close custody, not one of his own attendants permitted to approach him. Worse indignities awaited him. He was set on a vicious horse, with his face to the tail, and so led through the town to his place of imprisonment. The palaces of the Pope and of his nephew were plundered; so vast was the wealth, that the annual revenues of all the kings in the world would not have been equal to the treasures found and carried off by Sciarra's freebooting soldiers. His very private chamber was ransacked; nothing left but bare walls.

At length the people of Anagni could no longer bear the insult and the sufferings heaped upon their illustri-

[1] Chroniques de St. Denys.

ous and holy fellow-citizen. They rose in irresistible insurrection, drove out the soldiers by whom they had been overawed, now gorged with plunder, and doubtless not unwilling to withdraw. The Pope was rescued, and led out into the street, where the old man addressed a few words to the people: "Good men and women, ye see how mine enemies have come upon me, and plundered my goods, those of the Church and of the poor. Not a morsel of bread have I eaten, not a drop have I drunk since my capture. I am almost dead with hunger.[1] If any good woman will give me a piece of bread and a cup of wine, if she has no wine, a little water, I will absolve her, and any one who will give me their alms, from all their sins." The compassionate rabble burst into a cry, "Long life to the Pope!" They carried him back to his naked palace. They crowded, the women especially, with provisions, bread, meat, water, and wine. They could not find a single vessel: they poured a supply of water into a chest. The Pope proclaimed a general absolution to all except the plunderers of his palace. He even declared that he wished to be at peace with the Colonnas and all his enemies. This perhaps was to disguise his intention of retiring, as soon as he could, to Rome.[2]

The Romans had heard with indignation the sacrilegious attack on the person of the Supreme Pontiff. Four hundred horse under Matteo

Return to Rome

[1] According to St. Antonius, his assailants treated him with respect, and only kept him in safe custody.

[2] I have drawn this account from the various authorities, the historians Villani, Walsingham, the Chroniques de St. Denys, and others, with the declarations of Nogaret and his partisans, according to my own view of the trustworthiness of the statements, and the probability of the incidents. The reference to each special authority would have been almost endless and perplexing. The reader may compare Drumann, whose conscientious German industry is more particular. — P. 128, *et seq.*

and Gaetano Orsini were sent to conduct him to the city. He entered it almost in triumph; the populace welcomed him with every demonstration of joy. But the awe of his greatness was gone; the spell of his dominion over the minds of men was broken. His overweening haughtiness and domination had made him many enemies in the Sacred College, the gold of France had made him more. This general revolt is his severest condemnation. Among his first enemies was the Cardinal Napoleon Orsini. Orsini had followed the triumphal entrance of the Pope. Boniface, to show that he desired to reconcile himself with all, courteously invited him to his table. The Orsini coldly answered "that he must receive the Colonna Cardinals into his favor; he must not now disown what had been wrung from him by compulsion." "I will pardon them," said Boniface, "but the mercy of the Pope is not to be from compulsion." He found himself again a prisoner.

This last mortification crushed the bodily, if not the mental strength of the Pope. Among the Ghibellines terrible stories were bruited abroad of his death. In an access of fury, either from poison or wounded pride, he sat gnawing the top of his staff, and at length either beat out his own brains against the wall, or smothered himself (a strange notion!) with his own pillows.[1] More friendly, probably more trustworthy, accounts describe him as sadly but quietly breathing his last, surrounded by eight Cardinals, having confessed the faith and received the consoling offices of the Church. The Cardinal-Poet anticipates his mild sentence from the Divine Judge.[2]

Death of Boniface. Oct. 11, 1303.

[1] Ferretus Vincentinus, apud Muratori, a fierce Ghibelline.

[2] "Leto prostratus, anhelus
Procubuit, fassusque fidem, curamque professus

The religious mind of Christendom was at once perplexed and horror-stricken by this act of sacrilegious violence on the person of the Supreme Pontiff: it shocked some even of the sternest Ghibellines. Dante, who brands the pride, the avarice, the treachery of Boniface in his most terrible words, and has consigned him to the direst doom (though it is true that his alliance with the French, with Charles of Valois, by whom the poet had been driven into exile, was among the deepest causes of his hatred to Boniface), nevertheless expresses the almost universal feeling. Christendom "shuddered to behold the Fleur-de-lis enter into Anagni, and Christ again captive in his Vicar, the mockery, the gall and vinegar, the crucifixion between living robbers, the insolent and sacrilegious cruelty of the second Pilate."[1]

> Romanæ Ecclesiæ, Christo tunc redditur almus
> Spiritus, et sævi nescit jam judicis iram,
> Sed mitem placidumque patris, ceu credere fas est."
>
> *Apud Muratori, S. R. I.*

See in Tosti's Life the account of the exhumation of Boniface. His body is said to have appeared, after 302 years, whole and with no marks of violence.

[1] Purgatorio, xx. 89: —

> "Veggio in Alagni entrar lo fior d' aliso,
> E nel vicario suo Christo esser catto;
> Veggiolo un altra volta esser deriso,
> Veggio rinovellar l' aceto e l' fele,
> E tra vivi ladroni esser anciso.
> Veggio il nuovo Pilato sì crudele,
> Che ciò nol satia."

Strange! to find poetry ascribed to Boniface VIII., and in that poetry (an address to the Virgin) these lines: —

> "Vedea l' aceto ch' era col fiel misto
> Dato a bevere al doce Jesu Cristo,
> E un gran coltello il cor la trapassava."

The poem was found in a MS. in the Vatican by Amati: it was said in the MS. that it was legible in the 15th century on the walls of S. Paolo fuori delle mure. It was given by Amati to Perticari, who published it in his Essay in Monti's Proposta, p. 244.

## CHAPTER X.

### BENEDICT XI.

Never did the Church of Rome want a calmer, more sagacious, or a firmer head: never was a time in which the boldest intellect might stand appalled, or the profoundest piety shrink from the hopeless office of restoring peace between the temporal and the spiritual power. How could the Papacy maintain its ground with safety, or recede with dignity? There seemed this fearful alternative, either to continue the strife with the King of France, with the nation, with the clergy of France; with the King of France, who had not respected the sacred person of the Pope, against whose gold and against whose emissaries in Italy no Pope was secure: with the nation, one with the King; with the clergy of France, who had acknowledged the right of bringing the Pope before a General Council, a Council not to be held in Rome or in Italy, but in Lyons, if not in the dominions, under the control, of the King of France; among whom it could not be unknown, that new and extreme doctrines had been propagated unrebuked, and with general acceptance.[1] Or, on the other hand, to disown the arro-

[1] Two remarkable writings will be found in Goldastus, De Monarchia, ii., which endeavored to define the limits of the temporal and spiritual powers, asserting the entire independence and superiority of the temporal sovereign in temporal things; one by Ægidius, Archbishop of Bourges; one by John

gance, the offensive language, the naked and unmeasured assertion of principles which the Pontificate was not prepared to abandon; to sacrifice the memory, to leave unreproved, unpunished, the outrage on the person of Boniface. Were the Colonnas to be admitted to all the honors and privileges of the Cardinalate? the dreadful days at Anagni, the violence against Boniface, the plunder of the Papal treasures to be left (dire precedent!) in impunity? Were William of Nogaret, and Sciarra Colonna, the Reginald de Supino, and the other rebellious Barons to triumph in their unhallowed misdeeds, to revel in their impious plunder? Yet how to strike the accomplices and leave the author of the crime unscathed? Would the proud King of France abandon his loyal and devoted subjects to the Papal wrath?

Yet the Conclave,[1] as though the rival factions had not time to array themselves in their natural hostility, or to provoke each other to mutual recriminations, in but a few days came, it should seem, to an unanimous suffrage. Nicolas Boccasini, Bishop of Ostia, was raised to the throne of St. Peter. He was a man of humble race, born at Treviso, educated at Venice, of the Order of St. Dominic. He was of blameless morals and gentle manners. He had been employed to settle the affairs of Hungary during the contested succession for the crown: he had conducted himself with moderation and ability. He had been one of the Cardinals who adhered with unshaken fidel-

BENEDICT XI.

of Paris. There is an excellent summary of both in the posthumous volume of Neander's history, pp. 24–35.

[1] According to Ciacconius there were eighteen Cardinals living at the time of the death of Boniface. See the list, not of course including the Colonnas. There were two Orsinis, two Gaetanis.

ity to Boniface; he had witnessed, perhaps suffered in, the deplorable outrage at Anagni. He took the name of Benedict XI.

Benedict began his reign with consummate prudence, yet not without the lofty assertion of the Papal power. He issued a Bull to rebuke Frederick of Arragon, the King of Trinacria, for presuming to date the acts of his reign from the time at which he had assumed the crown of Sicily, not that of the treaty in which the Pope acknowledged his title. The Arragonese prince was reminded that he held the crown but for his life, that it then passed back to the Angevine line, the French house of Naples.[1]

The only act which before the close of the year took cognizance of the affair of Anagni, was a Bull of excommunication not against the assailants of the Pope's person, but against the plunderers of the Papal treasures. The Archdeacon of Xaintonge was armed with full powers to persuade or to enforce their restitution. A fond hope! as if such treasures were likely to be either won or extorted from such hands. The rest of the year and the commencement of the next were occupied with remote negotiations — which, in however perilous state stood the Papacy, were never neglected by the Pope — the affairs of Norway and of the Byzantine Empire in the East.

Philip had no sooner heard of the death of Boniface Feb. 25, 1304. and the accession of Benedict than he named his ambassadors to offer his congratulations, worded in the most flattering terms, on the elevation of Benedict. They were Berard, Lord of Marcueil, Peter de Belleperche a Canon of Chartres, a profound jurist,

[1] Bull in Raynaldus, sub ann.

and, it might seem as a warning to the Pope that he was determined to retract nothing, William de Plasian. But already Benedict, in his wisdom, had, uncompelled, out of his own generous will, made all the concessions to which he was disposed, or which his dignity would endure. Already in Paris the King, the Prelates, the Barons, and people of France had been declared absolved from the excommunication under which they lay.[1] During that excommunication the Pope could hold no intercourse with the King of the realm; he could receive no ambassadors from the Court.

[Lat. manuscript]

The envoys of the King were received with civility. In the spring a succession of conciliatory edicts seemed framed in order to heal the threatened breach between the Papacy and its ancient ally, the King of France. There was nothing to offend in a kind of pardonable ostentation of condescension, kept up by the Pope, a paternal superiority which he still maintained; the King of France was to be the pious Joash, to listen to the counsels of the High Priest, Jehoiada. The censures against the prelates for contumacy in not obeying the citation to Rome were rescinded; the right of giving instruction in the civil and canon law restored to the universities. Even the affairs of the Archbishop of Narbonne and the Bishop of Pamiers, the first causes of the dispute, were brought to an amicable conclusion. All the special privileges of the Kings of France in spiritual matters were given back in the amplest and most gracious manner. The

April 2, 1304.

[1] This was granted "absente et non petente." — Benedict's letter in Dupuy, p. 207. This is confirmed by the continuator of Nangis. Compare Mansi's note in Raynaldus, ad ann. 1304. The Anagni excommunication had not been promulgated.

tenths on the clergy were granted for two years on account of the war in Flanders; the famous Bull "Clericis Laicos" was mitigated so as to deprive it of its injurious and offensive spirit. It permitted all voluntary subsidies, leaving the King and the clergy to determine what degree of compulsion was consistent with free-will offerings.

The Colonnas found a hearing with this calm and wise Pope. They had entreated the interference of the King of France in their cause, they asserted that the Pope had no power to degrade Cardinals; that they had been deposed, despoiled, banished by the mere arbitrary mandate of Boniface, without citation, without trial, without hearing: and this by a Pope of questionable legitimacy. Their restoration by Benedict is described by himself as an act of becoming mercy: he eludes all discussion on the justice of the sentence, or the conduct of his predecessor. But their rehabilitation was full and complete, with some slight limitations. The sentence of deposition from the Cardinalate, the privation of benefices, the disability to obtain the Papacy, the attainder of the family both in the male and female line, were absolutely revoked. The restitution of the confiscated property was reserved for future arrangement with the actual possessors. Palestrina alone was not to be rebuilt or fortified; it was to remain a devoted place, and not again to become the seat of a Bishop. Even the name of Sciarra Colonna appears in this act of clemency.[1] William of Nogaret was the only Frenchman excepted from this comprehensive amnesty: even he was not inflexibly excluded from all hope of absolu-

The Colonnas.

[1] Raynald. sub ann. 1304.

tion. But the act of pardon for so heinous an offence as his was reserved for the special wisdom and mercy of the Pope himself. In another document[1] Sciarra Colonna is joined with William of Nogaret as the yet unforgiven offenders.

Peace might seem at hand. The King of France, with every one of the great causes of quarrel thus generously removed, with such sacrifices to his wounded pride, would resume his old position as the favorite son, the close ally, the loyal protector of the Papacy. If, with a fidelity unusual in kings, in kings like Philip, he should scruple to abandon his faithful instruments, men who had not shrunk from sacrilege, hardly from murder, in his cause, yet the Pope did not seem disposed to treat even them with immitigable severity. The Pope, though honor, justice, the sanctity of the person of the Pontiff, might require that some signal mark of retribution should separate from all other criminals William of Nogaret and Sciarra Colonna, perhaps too his own rebellious barons and the inhabitants of Anagni, who rose against Boniface; yet would hardly think it necessary to drive such desperate men to worse desperation. But the profound personal hatred of Philip the Fair to Boniface VIII., or his determination still further to humiliate that power which could presume to interfere with his hard despotism, was not satiated with the death; he would pursue the memory of Boniface, and so far justify his own cruel and insulting acts by obtaining from a General Council the solemn confirmation of those strange charges of which Boniface had been arraigned by Nogaret and De Plasian.

The King determines to persecute the memory of Boniface.

[1] Seen by Raynaldus. See *in loco*.

Another embassy from France appeared at Rome, but not addressed to the Pope — Walter de Chatenay and Peter de Celle, with a notary, Peter de Piperno. According to their instructions, they visited singly and severally each of the Cardinals then resident in Rome. "The King of France," they said, "in the full Parliament of all his Prelates and Barons, from his zealous reverence for the Church and the throne of St. Peter, had determined that the Church should be ruled by a legitimate Pontiff, and not by one who so grossly abused his power as Boniface VIII. They had resolved to summon a General Council, in order that Boniface might prove his innocence (they had the effrontery to say, as they devoutly hoped!) of the accusations urged against him, and not only for that purpose, but for the good of Christendom, and (of course) for the war in the Holy Land." [1] To each of the Cardinals was put the plain question whether he would concur in the convocation of this General Council, and promote it by his aid and countenance. Five made the cautious answer that they would deliberate with the Pope in his Consistory on this weighty matter. Five gave in their adhesion to the King of France. The same proceeding took place with six Cardinals at Viterbo. Of these four took the more prudent course; two gave their suffrage for the General Council.

Benedict XI. might think that he had carried concession far enough. He had shown his placability, he had now to show his firmness. The obstinacy of the King of France in persecuting the memory of Boniface, in pressing forward the General Council; the

[1] April 8, 1304. The King could not have received the Papal edicts, but he must have known the mild disposition of Benedict.

profound degradation of the Papacy, if a General Council should be permitted to sit in judgment even on a dead Pope; the desecration of the Papal Holiness, if any part of these foul charges should be even apparently proved: the injustice, the cowardliness of leaving the body of his predecessor to be thus torn in pieces by his rabid enemies; the well-grounded mistrust of a tribunal thus convoked, thus constituted, thus controlled; all these motives arrested the Pontiff in his conciliatory course, and unhappily disturbed the dispassionate dignity which he had hitherto maintained.

A Bull came forth against the actors in the tragedy of Anagni. Language seemed laboring to June 7, 1303. express the horror and detestation of the Pope at this "flagitious wickedness and wicked flagitiousness." Fifteen persons were named — William of Nogaret, Reginald de Supino and his son, the two sons of the man whom Boniface held in prison, Sciarra Colonna, the Anagnese who had aided them. It denounced their cruelty, their blasphemy against the Pope, their plunder of the sacred treasures. These acts had been done publicly, openly, notoriously, in the sight of Benedict himself — acts of capital treason, of rebellion, of sacrilege; crimes against the Julian law of public violence, the Cornelian against assassinations; acts of lawless imprisonment, plunder, robbery, crimes and felonies which struck men dumb with amazement. "Who is so cruel as to refrain from tears? who so hateful as to refuse compassion? What indolent and remiss judge will not rise up to punish? Who is safe, when in his native city no longer is security, his house is no longer his refuge? The Pontiff himself is thus dishonored, and the Church thus brought into captivity with her

Lord. O inexpiable guilt! O miserable Anagni, who hast endured such things! May the rain and the dew never fall upon thee! O most unhappy perpetrators of a crime, so adverse to the spirit of King David, who kept untouched the Lord's anointed though his foe, and avenged his death." The Bull declares excommunicate all the above-named, who in their proper persons were guilty of the crime at Anagni, and all who had aided and abetted them by succor, counsel, or favor. Philip himself could hardly stand beyond this sweeping anathema. The Pope cited these persons to appear before him on the Feast of St. Peter and St. Paul, June 29. there to receive their sentence. The citation was fixed on the gates of the cathedral of Perugia. The Bull[1] was promulgated on the 7th of June; on the 27th of July Benedict was dead.

The Pope had retired to Perugia from Rome — perhaps to avoid the summer heats, but no doubt also for greater security than he could command in Rome, where the Colonnas were strong, and the French party powerful through their gold. There he meditated and aimed this blow, which, by appalling the more rancorous foes of Boniface, might scare them from thus preying on his remains, and thus reinvest the Papacy, which had condescended far below its wont, in awe and majesty. Many of the Cardinals had remonstrated against the departure of the Pope from Rome, which was almost by stealth; it was rumored that he thought of fixing the Papal residence in one of the Lombard cities. They had refused to accompany him. But Perugia was not more safe than Rome. It is said that while the Pope was at dinner, a young female veiled

[1] The Bull in Raynaldus, sub ann.

and in the dress of a novice of St. Petronilla in Perugia, offered him in a silver basin some beautiful fresh figs, of which he was very fond, as from the abbess of that convent. The Pope, not suspecting a gift from such a hand, ate them eagerly, and without having them previously tasted.[1] That he died of poison few in that age would venture to doubt. William of Nogaret, Sciarra Colonna, Musciatto de' Francesi, the Cardinal Napoleon Orsini, were each silently arraigned as guilty of this new crime. One Ghibelline writer, hostile to Benedict, names the King of France as having suborned the butler of the Pope to perpetrate this fearful deed. Yet the disorder was a dysentery, which lasted seven or eight days, not an unusual effect of the immoderate use of rich fruit. No one thought that a death so seasonable to one party, so unseasonable to another, could be in the course of nature.

Fifteen years afterwards a Franciscan friar of Toulouse, named Bernard, was accused at Carcassonne of concerned, by magic and other black arts, in the poisoning of Benedict XI. This was not his only crime. He was charged with having excited the populace against the rival Order of the Friar Preachers and the Inquisition, of having broken open the prisons of the Inquisition, and set free the prisoners: he was charged with magic and divination, and with believing in the visions of the Abbot Joachim. He was one of the fanatic Fraticelli, seemingly a man of great daring and energy. The Ecclesiastical Judges declared that they could find no proof, either from his own mouth or from

[1] "Le mangiava volentieri e senza farne fare saggio." — Villani. This simple sentence of wonder, that the Pope would eat anything untasted, is frightfully expressive. viii. c. 80.

other evidence, of his concern in the poisoning of Benedict. He was condemned to perpetual imprisonment in irons. The King's advocates impeached the sentence, renewed the charge of his being an accomplice in the poisoning of the Pope, and demanded that he should be delivered to the secular arm. The Pope (John XXII.) aggravated the severity of his sentence by prohibiting any mitigation of his penance; but spoke very generally of his enormous crimes.[1]

[1] See the very curious documents in Baluzius. — Vitæ Papar. Avinionen., vol. ii., No. liii.

# BOOK XII.

## CONTEMPORARY CHRONOLOGY.

| POPES. | EMPERORS. | KINGS OF FRANCE. | KINGS OF ENGLAND. | KINGS OF SCOTLAND. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| A.D. A.D. | A.D. A.D. | A.D. A.D. | A.D. A.D. | A.D. A.D. |
| 1305 Clement V. 1314 | 1298 Albert of Austria 1307 | | Edward I. 1307 | 1306 Robert I. (Bruce) 1329 |
| Vacancy. | 1308 Vacant. | | 1307 Edward II. 1327 | |
| | 1314 Henry of Luxemburg 1313 | Philip the Fair 1314 | | |
| | 1314 Louis of Bavaria 1347 | 1314 Louis le Hutin | | |
| 1316 John XXII. 1334 | | 1315 John I. | | |
| | | 1316 Philip the Long 1321 | | |
| | | 1321 Charles IV. the Fair 1328 | 1327 Edward III. 1377 | |
| | (Frederick of Austria.) | | ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY. | 1329 David II. |
| | | 1328 Philip of Valois 1351 | | |
| 1334 Benedict XII. 1342 | | | 1294 Robert of Winchelsey 1313 | |
| 1342 Clement VI. 1352 | | | 1313 Walter Reynolds. | |
| | | | 1327 Simon Mepham. | |
| | 1347 Charles IV. of Luxemburg 1378 | | 1333 John Strat ord. | |
| 1352 Innocent VI. 1362 | | | 1349 Thomas Bradwardine. | |
| 1362 Urban V. 1370 | | 1351 John II. 1364 | 1349 Simon Islip. | |
| | | 1364 Charles IV. 1380 | 1366 Simon Langham. | |
| | | | 1367 William Whittlesey. | |
| 1370 Gregory XI. 1378 | | | 1375 Simon Sudbury. | 1370 Robert II. |

| KINGS OF SPAIN. | KINGS OF PORTUGAL. | KINGS OF SWEDEN. | KINGS OF POLAND. | EASTERN EMPERORS. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| A.D. A.D. | A.D. A.D. | A.D. A.D. | A.D. A.D. | A.D. A.D. |
| CASTILE. | Dionysius 1325 | Berger II. 1326 | 1305 Ladislaus IV. | Andronicus Palæologus 1320 |
| Ferdinand IV. 1312 | | | | |
| | | 1326 Magnus III. | | |
| 1312 Alfonso XII. 1350 | 1325 Alfonso IV. 1357 | | 1333 Casimir the Great. | 1320 Andronicus II. Palæologus 1341 |
| | | 1364 Albert. | | |
| 1350 Peter the Cruel. | | | | |
| | 1357 Peter the Cruel 1367 | | 1370 Louis of Hungary. | 1341 John V. Palæologus. |
| 1369 Henry the Bastard | | | | |
| | 1367 Ferdinand I. | | | |
| | | KINGS OF DENMARK. | | |
| ARRAGON. | | | | |
| James the Just. 1327 | | Erick VIII. 1321 | | |
| 1327 Alphonso IV. 1336 | | 1321 Christopher 1333 | | |
| 1336 Peter IV. 1380 | | 1333 Waldemar. | | |

# BOOK XII.

## THE POPES IN AVIGNON.

## CHAPTER I.

### CLEMENT V.

The period in the Papal history has arrived which in the Italian writers is called the Babylonish captivity: it lasted more than seventy years.[1] Rome is no longer the Metropolis of Christendom; the Pope is a French Prelate. The successor of St. Peter is not on St. Peter's throne; he is environed with none of the traditionary majesty or traditionary sanctity of the Eternal City; he has abandoned the holy bodies of the Apostles, the churches of the Apostles. It is perhaps the most marvellous part of its history, that the Papacy, having sunk so low, sank no lower; that it recovered its degradation; that, from a satellite, almost a slave, of the King of France, the Pontiff ever emerged again to be an independent potentate; and, although the great line of mediæval Popes, of Gregory, of Alexander III., and the Innocents, expired in Boniface VIII., he could resume even his modified supremacy. There is no proof so strong of the vitality of the Papacy as that it could establish the law that wherever the Pope is, there is the throne of St. Peter; that he could cease to be

[1] From 1305 to 1376.

Bishop of Rome in all but in name, and then take back again the abdicated Bishopric.

Never was revolution more sudden, more total, it might seem more enduring in its consequences. The close of the last century had seen Boniface VIII. advancing higher pretensions, if not wielding more actual power, than any former Pontiff; the acknowledged pacificator of the world, the arbiter between the Kings of France and England, claiming and exercising feudal as well as spiritual supremacy over many kingdoms, bestowing crowns as in Hungary, awarding the Empire; with millions of pilgrims at the Jubilee in Rome, still the centre of Christendom, paying him homage which bordered on adulation, and pouring the riches of the world at his feet. The first decade of the new century is not more than half passed; Pope Clement V. is a voluntary prisoner, but not the less a prisoner, in the realm, or almost within the precincts of France; struggling in vain to escape from the tyranny of his inexorable master, and to break or elude the fetters wound around him by his own solemn engagements. He is almost forced to condemn his predecessor for crimes of which he could hardly believe him guilty; to accept a niggardly, and perhaps never-fulfilled, penance from men almost murderers of a Pope; to sacrifice, on evidence which he himself manifestly mistrusted, one of the great military orders of Christendom to the hatred or avarice of Philip. The Pope, from Lord over the freedom of the world, had ceased to be a free agent.

The short Pontificate of Benedict XI., had exasperated, rather than allayed, the divisions in the Conclave.[1] The terrible fate of the two last Popes Conclave.

[1] There were now nineteen Cardinals, according to Ciacconius, exclusive

had not cooled down the eager competition for the perilous dignity. The Cardinals assembled at Perugia. The two factions, the French and that of the partisans and kindred of Boniface VIII., were headed, the latter by Matteo Orsini and Francesco Gaetani, brother of the late Pope, the former by Napoleon Orsini and the Cardinal da Prato.[1] The Colonna Cardinals had not yet been permitted to resume their place in the Conclave. The elder, James Colonna, had lived in seclusion, if not in concealment, at Perugia. He came forth from his hiding-place; he summoned his nephew, who had found an asylum at Padua, to his aid. They had an unlimited command of French money. But this money could hold, it could not turn, the balance between the two Orsini, each of whom aspired to be, or to create the Pope. The Conclave met, it separated, it met again; they wrangled, intrigued; each faction strove, but in vain, to win the preponderance by stubbornness or by artifice, by bribery in act or promise.[2] Months wore away. At length the people of Perugia grew weary of the delay: they surrounded the Conclave; threatened to keep the Cardinals as prisoners; demanded with loud outcries a Pope; any hour they might proceed to worse violence: by one account they unroofed the house in which the Cardinals sat, and cut off their provisions.[3] One day the Cardinal da Prato accosted Francesco Gaetani, "We are doing

of the Colonnas. One of the former Conclave had died. Pope Benedict had named two, the Cardinal of Prato (Ostia and Velletri), and an Englishman, Walter Winterburn of Salisbury.

[1] Ferretus Vicentinus, Murat. R. I. S. p. 1014.

[2] "Ut multum valet aurea persuasio, quæque constat in donis expectata fiducia." — Ferret. Vicent.

[3] Ibid. p. 4015.

sore wrong: it is an evil and a scandal to Christendom to deprive it so long of its Chief Pastor." "It rests not with us," replied Gaetani. "Will you accede to any reasonable scheme which may reconcile our differences?" The Cardinal da Prato then proposed that one party should name three Ultramontane (Northern) Prelates, not of the Sacred College, on one of whom the adverse party should pledge itself to unite its suffrages. Gaetani consented, on condition that the Bonifacians should name the three Prelates. They were named; among the three the Archbishop of Bordeaux. Compact.

Bernard de Goth had been raised by Boniface VIII. from the small bishopric of Comminges to the archiepiscopal seat of Bordeaux. As a subject of the King of England, he owed only a more remote allegiance to his suzerain, the King of France.[1] He was committed in some personal hostility with Charles of Valois. Throughout the strife between the Pope and the King he had been on the Pope's side. He had withdrawn in disguise from the Court in order to obey the Pope's summons to Rome: he was among the Prelates assembled in November at Rome. If there were any Transalpine Prelate whom the kindred and friends of Boniface might suppose secure to their party, from his inclinations, his gratitude, his animosities, his former conduct, it was Bernard de Goth. But the sagacious Cardinal da Prato knew the man; he knew the Gascon character. Forty days were to elapse before the election. In eleven days a courier was in Paris. In six days more the King and the Arch- Interview of King and Archbishop.

[1] Yet it is said, "Licet in Anglicâ regione præsul esset, tamen Philippo gratissimus, quod a juventute familiaris extitisset." — Ferret. Vicent.

bishop of Bordeaux, each with a few chosen attendants, met in a forest belonging to the Monastery of St. Jean d'Angely. The secrets of that interview are related, perhaps with suspicious particularity. Yet the King, having achieved his purpose, was not likely to conceal his part in the treaty, especially from his secret counsellors, who had possibly some interest to divulge, none to conceal, the whole affair. The King began by requesting the reconciliation of the Archbishop with Charles of Valois. He then opened the great subject of the interview. He showed to the dazzled eyes of the Prelate the despatch of the Cardinal da Prato. "One word from me, and you are Pope." But the King insisted on six conditions: — I. His own full and complete reconciliation with the Church. II. The absolution of all persons whom he had employed in his strife with Boniface. III. The tenths for five years from the clergy of the realm. IV. The condemnation of the memory of Boniface. V. The reinvestment of the Colonnas in the rank and honors of the Cardinalate. The VI[th] and last was a profound secret, which he reserved for himself to claim when the time of its fulfilment should be come. That secret has never been fully revealed. Some have thought, and not without strong ground, that Philip already meditated the suppression of the Templars. The cautious King was not content with the acquiescence, or with the oath, of the Archbishop, an oath from which, as Pope, he might release himself. De Goth was solemnly sworn upon the Host: he gave up his brother and two nephews as hostages. Before thirty-five days had passed, the Car-
June 5, 1305. dinal da Prato had secret intelligence of the compact. They proceeded to the ballot; Bernard de

Goth was unanimously chosen Pope. In the Cathedral of Bordeaux he took the name of Clement V.

The first ominous warning to the Italian Prelates was a summons to attend the coronation of the new Pope, not at Rome or in Italy, but at Lyons. The Cardinal Matteo Orsini is said to have uttered a sad vaticination: "It will be long before we behold the face of another Pope."[1] Clement began his slow progress towards Lyons at the end of August. He passed through Agen, Toulouse, Beziers, Montpellier, and Nismes. The monasteries which were compelled to lodge and entertain the Pope and all his retinue murmured at the pomp and luxury of his train: many of them were heavily impoverished by this enforced hospitality. At Montpellier he received the homage of the Kings of Majorca and Arragon: he confirmed the King of Arragon in the possession of the islands of Corsica and Sardinia, and received his oath of fealty. He had invited to his coro- Oct. 7.
nation his two sovereigns, the Kings of France and England. The King of England alleged important affairs in Scotland as an excuse for not doing honor to his former vassal. The Kings of France and Majorca were present. On the Cardinal Matteo Orsini, Italian, Roman, to the heart, devolved the office of Nov. 14. Coronation at Lyons
crowning the Gascon Pope, whose aversion to Italy he well knew. The Pope rode in solemn state from the Church of St. Just in the royal castle of Lyons to the palace prepared for him. The King of France at first held his bridle, and then yielded the post of humble honor to his brothers, Charles of Valois, and Louis of Evreux, and to the Duke of Bretagne.

[1] VI. Vit. Clement. apud Baluz.

The pomp was interrupted by a dire and ominous calamity. An old wall fell as they passed. The Pope was thrown from his horse, but escaped unhurt: his gorgeous crown rolled in the mire. The Duke of Bretagne, with eleven or twelve others, was killed: Charles of Valois seriously hurt.

The Pope fulfils his vows.

Clement V. hastened to fulfil the first of his engagements to the King of France, perhaps designing by this ready zeal to avert, elude, or delay the accomplishment of those which were more difficult or more humiliating. The King of France had plenary absolution: he was received as again the favored son and protector of the Church. To the King were granted the tenths on all the revenues of the Church of France for five years. The Colonnas were restored to their dignity; they resumed the state, dress, and symbols of the Cardinalate, and took their place in the Sacred College. A promotion of ten Cardinals showed what interest was hereafter to prevail in the Conclave. Among the ten were the Bishops of Toulouse and Beziers, the Archbishop (Elect) of Bordeaux and the nephew of the Pope, the King's Confessor Nicolas de Francavilla, the King's Chancellor Stephen, Archdeacon of Bruges. A French Pope was to be surrounded by a French Court.

New cardinals.

Measure followed measure to propitiate the Pope's master. Of the two famous Bulls, that denominated "Clericis Laicos" was altogether abrogated, as having been the cause of grievous scandals, dangers, and inconveniences. The old decrees of the Lateran and other Councils concerning the taxation of the clergy were declared to be the law of the Church. As to the other, the "Unam Sanctam," the dearest beloved son

Philip of France, for his loyal attachment to the Church of Rome, had deserved that the Pope should declare this statute to contain nothing to his prejudice; that he, his realm, and his people, were exactly in the same state, as regarded the See of Rome, as before the promulgation of that Bull.

But there were two articles of the compact, besides the secret one, yet unaccomplished, the complete absolution of all the King's agents in the quarrel with the Pope, and the condemnation of the memory of Boniface. The Pope writhed and struggled in vain in the folds of his deathly embarrassment. The King of France could not in honor, he was not disposed by temper to abandon the faithful executioners of his mandates: he might want them for other remorseless services. He could not retreat or let fall the accusations against the deceased Pope. Philip was compelled, like other persecutors, to go on in his persecution. This immitigable, seemingly vindictive, hostility to the fame of Boniface was his only justification. If those high crimes and misdemeanors of which the Pope had been arraigned, those heresies, immoralities, cruelties, enormities, were admitted to be groundless, or dropped as not thought worthy of proof, the seizure at Anagni became a barbarous, cowardly, and unnecessary outrage on a defenceless old man, an impious sacrilege: William of Nogaret and his accomplices were base and cruel assassins.

Already, before the death of Benedict, William of Nogaret had issued one strong protest against his condemnation. During the vacancy he allowed no repose to the memory of Boniface, and justified himself against the terrible anathema of Bene- William of Nogaret.

dict. He appeared before the official of his diocesan, the Bishop of Paris, and claimed absolution from a censure issued by the Pope under false information. He promulgated two memorials: in the first he adduced sixty heads of accusation against Boniface; in the second he protested at great length against the rash proceedings of Pope Benedict. The Bull of Benedict had cited him to appear at Rome on the Festival of St. Peter and St. Paul. He excused his contumacy in not appearing: he was in France, the citation had not been served upon him; and also by reason of the death of the Pope, as well as on account of his powerful enemies in Italy. Nogaret entered into an elaborate account of his own intercourse with Pope Boniface. Five years before, he had been the King's ambassador to announce the treaty of Philip with Albert, King of the Romans. The Pope demanded Tuscany as the price of his consent to that alliance. It was then that William of Nogaret heard at Rome the vices and misdeeds of the Pope, of which he was afterwards arraigned, and had humbly implored the Pope to desist from his simonies and extortions. The Pope had demanded whether he spoke in his own name or in that of the King. Nogaret had replied, in his own, out of his great zeal for the Church. The Pope had roared with passion, like a madman, and had heaped on him menaces, insults and blasphemies.[1]

Nogaret treats the refusal of Boniface to appear before the Council when first summoned at Anagni as an act of contumacy; he therefore (Nogaret) was justified in using force towards a contumacious criminal. He asserts that he saved the life of Boniface when others

[1] Preuves, p. 252.

would have killed him; that he tried to protect the treasure, of which he had not touched a penny; he had kept the Pope with a decent attendance, and supplied him with food and drink. Had he slain the wicked usurper he had been justified, as Phineas who pleased the Lord, as Abraham who slew the Kings, Moses the Egyptian, the Maccabees the enemies of God. Pope Benedict had complained of the loss of his treasure, he ought rather to have complained that so vast a treasure had been wrung by cruel exactions from the impoverished churches. He asserts that for all his acts he had received absolution from Boniface himself. For all these reasons he appealed to a General Council in the vacancy of the Pontificate, and demanded absolution from the unjust censures of the misinformed Pope Benedict.

William of Nogaret was necessary, as other men of his stamp, for mediated acts of the King, not less cruel or less daring than the surprisal at Anagni and the abasement of the Supreme Pontiff. The King of France, ever rapacious, yet ever necessitous, who must maintain his schemes, his ambition, his wars in Flanders at lavish cost, but with hardly any certain income but that of the royal domains, had again taken to that coarse expedient of barbarous finance, the debasement of the coin. There were now two standards: in the higher the King and the Nobles exacted the payments of their subjects and vassals; the lower the subjects and vassals were obliged to receive as current money. Everywhere was secret or clamorous discontent, aggravated by famine;[1] discontent in Paris and Orleans rose to insurrection,

King's distresses

[1] During the winter 1304–5.

which endangered the King's government, even his person, and was only put down by extreme measures of cruelty. The King was compelled to make concessions, to content himself to be paid in the lower coin. But some time had elapsed since the usual financial resource in times of difficulty had been put in force. The Jews had had leisure to become again alluringly rich. William of Nogaret proceeded with his usual rapid resolution. In one day all the Jews were seized, their property confiscated to the Crown, the race expelled the realm. The clergy, in their zeal for the faith, and the hope that their own burdens might be lightened, approved this pious robbery, and rejoiced that France was delivered from the presence of this usurious and miscreant race. William of Nogaret had atoned for some at least of his sins.[1] But even this was not his last service.

Jews plundered.

Pope Clement, in the mean time, hastened to return to Bordeaux. He passed by a different road, through Macon, Clugny, Nevers, Bourges, Limoges, again severely taxing by the honor of his entertainment all the great monasteries and chapters on his way. The Archbishop of Bourges was so reduced as to accept the pittance of a Canon. At Bordeaux the Pope was in the dominions of England, and to Edward of England he showed himself even a more obsequious vassal than to the King of France. He could perhaps secure Edward's protection if too hardly pressed by his inexorable master, the King of France. He gave to Edward plenary absolution from all his oaths to maintain the Charters (the Great Charter and the

The Pope at Bordeaux.

England.

[1] Ordonnances des Rois, i. 443, 447. Vita Clementis. Continuator. Nangis, p. 594. Raynald. sub ann. 1306, c. 29.

Charter of Forests) extorted from him, as was asserted, by his disloyal subjects.[1] Afterwards, casting aside all the haughty pretensions of Pope Boniface, he excommunicated Robert Bruce, now engaged in his gallant strife for the crown of Scotland.[2]

But the Pope could not decline the commanding invitation of King Philip to an interview within the realm of France, at Poitiers. To that city he went, but soon repented of having placed himself so completely within the King's power. He attempted to make an honorable retreat; he was retained with courteous force, and overwhelmed with specious honor and reverence. A.D. 1305.

A Congress of Princes might seem assembled to show their flattering respect to the Pontiff: — Philip, with his three sons, his brothers Charles of Valois and Louis Count of Evreux, Robert Count of Flanders, Charles King of Naples, the ambassadors of Edward King of England. Clement, by the prodigality of his concessions, endeavored to avert the fatal question, the condemnation of Boniface. He was seized with a sudden ardor to place Charles of Valois on the throne of Constantinople, in right of his wife, Isabella of Courtenay. He declared himself the head of a new Crusade, addressed Bulls to all Christendom, in order to expel the feeble Andronicus from the throne, which must fall under the power of the Turks and Saracens, unless filled by a powerful Christian Emperor. He pronounced his anathema against Andronicus. He awarded the kingdom of Hungary to Charobert, grandson of the King of Naples. He took the first steps for the canonization of Louis, the second son of Charles, who had

[1] Rymer. [2] Rymer.

died Archbishop of Toulouse in the odor of sanctity. He remitted the vast debt owed by the King of Naples to the Papal See, which amounted to 360,000 ounces of gold; a third was absolutely annulled, the rest assigned to the Crusade of Charles of Valois.[1]

But the inflexible Philip was neither to be diverted nor dissuaded from exacting the full terms of his bond. He offered to prove forty-three articles of heresy against Boniface; he demanded that the body of the Pope should be disinterred and burned, the ignominious fate of heretics, which he had undeservedly escaped during life. Even the French Cardinals saw and deprecated the fatal consequences of such a proceeding to the Church. All the acts of Boniface, his bulls, decrees, promotions, became questionable. The College of Cardinals was dissolved, at least the nomination of almost all became precarious. The title of Clement himself was doubtful. The effects of breaking the chain of traditional authority were incalculable, interminable. The Supplement to the Canon Law, the Sixth Book of Decretals, at once the most unanswerable proof of the orthodoxy of Boniface and the most full assertion of the rights of the Church, fell to the ground. The foundations of the Papal power were shaken to the base. By the wise advice of the Cardinal da Prato, Clement determined to dissemble and so gain time. Philip himself had demanded a General Council of all Christendom. A General Council alone of all Christendom could give dignity and authority to a decree so weighty and unprecedented as the condemnation of a Pope.

Council of Vienne determined on.

They only could investigate such judgment. In such an assembly the Prelates of the Chris-

[1] Acta apud Baluzium, xxv.

tian world, French, English, Germans, Italians, Spaniards, might meet; and the Church, in her full liberty, and with irrefragable solemnity, decide the awful cause. He named the city of Vienne in Dauphiny as the seat of this Great Council. In the mean time he strove to conciliate the counsellors who ruled the mind of Philip. William of Nogaret and his accomplices received full absolution for all their acts in the seizure of Boniface and the plunder of the Papal treasures, on condition of certain penances to be assigned by some of the Cardinals. William of Nogaret was to take arms in the East against the Saracens, and not to return without permission of the Holy See; but he was allowed five years' delay before he was called on to fulfil this penitential Crusade.[1]

Absolution of De Nogaret.

The Pope could breathe more freely: he had gained time, and time was inestimable. Who could know what it might bring forth? Even the stubborn hatred of Philip might be, if not mitigated, distracted to some other object. That object seemed to arise at once, great, of absorbing public interest, ministering excitement to all Philip's dominant passions, a religious object of the most surprising, unprecedented, almost appalling nature, and of the most dubious justice and policy, the abolition of the great Order of the Knights Templars. The secret of the last stipulation in the covenant between the King and the Pope remained with themselves; what it was, and whether it was really demanded, was not permitted to transpire. Was it this destruction of the Templars? No one knew; yet all had their conjecture. Or was it some yet remoter scheme, the elevation of his brother or himself to the

[1] Raynaldus, sub ann. 1307, c. xi.

Imperial throne? It was still a dark, profound, and so more stimulating mystery.

A.D. 1118. The Order of the Knights Templars.

The famous Order of the Temple of Jerusalem had sprung, like all the other great religious institutions of the middle ages, from the humblest origin. Their ancestors were a small band of nine French Knights,[1] engaged on a chivalrous adventure, sworn to an especial service, the protection of the Christian pilgrims to the Holy Sepulchre through the dangerous passes between Jerusalem and the Jordan, that they might bathe, unmolested by the marauding Moslemin, in the holy waters. The Templars had become, in almost every kingdom of the West, a powerful, wealthy, and formidable republic, governed by their own laws, animated by the closest corporate spirit, under the severest internal discipline, and an all-pervading organization; independent alike of the civil power and of the spiritual hierarchy. It was a half-military, half-monastic community. The three great monastic vows, implicit obedience to their superiors, chastity, the abandonment of all personal property, were the fundamental statutes of the Order: while, instead of the peaceful and secluded monastery, the contemplative, devotional, or studious life, their convents were strong castles, their life that of the camp or the battle-field, their occupation chivalrous exercises or adventures, war in preparation, or war in all its fierceness and activity. The nine brethren in arms were now fifteen thousand of the bravest, best-trained, most experienced soldiers in the world; armed, horsed, ac-

[1] A.D. 1118. Hugo di Payens, Godfrey de St. Omer, Raoul, Godfrey Bisol, Pagans de Montdidier, Archembold de St. Aman, Andrew, Gundomar, Hugh Count of Provence. — Wilcke, Geschichte des Tempelherren Ordens, p. 9.

centred in the most perfect and splendid fashion of the times; isolated from all ties or interests with the rest of mankind; ready at the summons of the Grand Master to embark on any service; the one aim the power, aggrandizement, enrichment of the Order.

St. Bernard, in his devout enthusiasm, had beheld in the rise of the Templars a permanent and invincible Crusade. The Order (with its rival brotherhood, the Knights of the Hospital or of St. John) was in his view a perpetual sacred militia, which would conquer and maintain the sepulchre of the Lord, become the body-guard of the Christian Kings of Jerusalem, the standing army on the outposts of Christendom. His eloquent address to the soldiers of the temple[1] was at once the law and the vivid expression of the dominant sentiments of his time; here, as in all things, his age spake in St. Bernard. From that time the devout admiration of Western Christendom in heaping the most splendid endowments of lands, castles, riches of all kinds, on the Knights of the Temple and of the Hospital, supposed that it was contributing in the most efficient manner to the Holy Wars. Successive Popes, the most renowned and wise, especially Innocent III., notwithstanding occasional signs of mistrust and jealousy of their augmenting power, had vied with each other in enlarging the privileges and raising the fame of the Knights of the Temple. Eugenius III., under the influence of St. Bernard, first issued a Bull in their favor; but their great Charter, which invested them in their most valuable rights and privileges,[2] was issued by A.D. 1172.

[1] Refer back to vol. iv. 251. Sermo ad Milites Templi, Opera, p. 830.

[2] The Bull, Omne datum optimum. Compare Wilcke, p. 77. It is translated by Mr. Addison, the Knights Templars, p. 70.

Alexander III. They had already ceased to be a lay community, and therefore under spiritual subjection to the clergy. The clergy had been admitted in considerable numbers into the Order, and so their own body administered within themselves all the rites and sacraments of religion. Innocent III. released the clergy in the Order of the Templars from their oath of fidelity and obedience to their Bishop; henceforth they owed allegiance to the Pope alone.[1] Honorius III. prohibited all Bishops from excommunicating any Knight Templar, or laying an interdict on their churches or houses. Gregory IX., Innocent IV., Alexander III., Clement IV. maintained their absolute exemption from episcopal authority. The Grand Master and the brotherhood of the Temple were subordinate only to the supreme head of Christendom. Gregory X. crowned their privileges with an exemption from all contributions to the Holy War, and from the tenths paid by the rest of Christendom for this sacred purpose. The pretence was that their whole lands and wealth were held on that tenure.[2]

Nearly two hundred years[3] had elapsed since the foundation of the Order, two hundred years of slow, imperceptible, but inevitable change. The Knights Templars fought in the Holy Land with consummate valor, discipline, activity, and zeal; but they fought for themselves, not for the common cause of Christianity.

[1] Innocent III., Epist. i. 508, ii. 35, 84, 257, 259. To the Bishops, "Quatenus a capellanis ecclesiarum, quæ pleno jure jam dictis fratribus sunt concessæ, nec fidelitatem, nec obedientiam exigatis, quia Romano tantum Pontifici sunt subjecti."

[2] "Cum vos ad hoc principaliter laboratis, ut vos pariter et omnia quæ habetis pro ipsius terræ sanctæ defensione, ac Christianæ fidei exponatis, vos eximere a præstatione hujusmodi (decimæ pro terrâ sanctâ) de benignitate Apostolicâ curaremus." — Compare Wilcke, ii. p. 195.

[3] 1118 — 1307.

They were an independent army, owing no subordination to the King or Bishop of Jerusalem, or to any of the Sovereigns who placed themselves at the head of a Crusade. They supported or thwarted, according to their own views, the plans of campaigns, joined vigorously in the enterprise, or stood aloof in sullen disapprobation: they made or broke treaties. Thus formidable to the enemies of the faith, they were not less so to its champions. There was a constant rivalry with the Knights of St. John, not of generous emulation, but of power and even of sordid gain. During the expedition of Frederick II. the Master of the Templars and the whole Order had espoused the cause of the Pope. To their stubborn opposition was attributed, no doubt with much justice, the failure or rather the imperfect success of that Crusade.

The character of the war in the East had also changed, unnoticed, unobserved. There was no longer the implacable mutual aversion, or rather abhorrence, with which the Christian met the Saracen, the Saracen the Christian; from which the Christian thought that by slaying the Saracen he was avenging the cause of his Redeemer, and washing off his own sins; the Saracen that in massacring the Christian, or trampling on the Christian dog, he was acting according to the first principles of his faith, and winning Paradise. This traditionary, almost inborn, antipathy had worn away by long intermingling, and given place to the courtesies and mutual respect of a more chivalrous warfare. The brave and generous Knight could not but admire bravery and generosity in his antagonist. The accidents of war led to more intimate acquaintance, acquaintance to hospitable even to social intercourse, social inter-

course to a fairer estimation of the better qualities on both sides. The prisoner was not always reduced to a cruel and debasing servitude, or shut up in a squalid dungeon. He became the guest, the companion, of his high-minded captor. A character like that of Saladin, which his fiercest enemies could not behold without awe and admiring wonder, must have softened the detestation with which it was once the duty of the Christian to look on the Unbeliever. The lofty toleration of Frederick II. might offend the more zealous by its approximation to indifference, but was not altogether uncongenial to the dominant feeling. How far had that indifference, which was so hardly reproached against Frederick, crept into the minds and hearts of Frederick's most deadly enemies? How far had Mohammedanism lost its odious and repulsive character to the Templars? and begun to appear not as a monstrous and wicked idolatry to be refuted only with the good sword, but as a sublime and hardly irrational Theism? How far had Oriental superstitions, belief in magic, in the power of amulets and talismans, divination, mystic signs and characters, dealings with genii or evil spirits, seized on the excited imaginations of those adventurous but rude warriors of the West, and mingled with that secret ceremonial which was designed to impress upon the initiated the inflexible discipline of the Order?

Oriental manners.

How far were the Templars orientalized by their domiciliation in the East? Had their morals escaped the taint of Oriental license? Vows of chastity were very different to men of hot blood, inflamed by the sun of the East, in the freedom of the camp or the marauding expedition, provoked by the sack and plunder of towns, the irruption into the luxu-

rious harems of their foes; and to monks in close-watched seclusion, occupied every hour of the day and night with religious services, emaciated by the fast and scourge, and become, as it were, the shadows of men. If even Western devotees were so apt, as was ever the case, to degenerate into debauchery, the individual Templar at least would hardly maintain his austere and impeccable virtue. Those unnatural vices, which it offends Christian purity even to allude to, but which are looked upon if not with indulgence, at least without the same disgust in the East, were chiefly charged upon the Templars. Yet after all, it was the pride rather than the sensuality of the Order which was their characteristic and proverbial crime. Richard I., who must have known them well in the East, bequeathed not his avarice, or his lust, but his pride, to the Knights of the Temple.

But the Templars were not a great colony of warriors transplanted and settled in the East as their permanent abode, having broken off all connection with their native West. They were powerful feudal lords, lords of castles and domains and estates, a self-governed community in all the kingdoms of Europe. Hence their total expulsion, with the rest of the Christian establishments, from Palestine, left them not, as might have been expected, without home, without possessions, discharged, as it were, from their mission by its melancholy and ignominious failure. The loss of the Temple, the irretrievable loss, might seem to imply the dissolution of the defenders of the Temple: it might be thought to disband and disclaim them as useless and worn-out veterans. The bitter disappointment of the Christian world at that loss would attribute the shame,

Loss of Palestine.

the guilt, to those whose especial duty it was, the very charter of their foundation, to protect it. That guilt was unanswerably shown by God's visible wrath. His abandonment of the tomb of his Blessed Son was a proof which could not be gainsaid, that the Christians, those especially designated for the glorious service, were unworthy of that honor. Any charge of wickedness so denounced, it might seem, by God himself, would find ready hearing.

Conquest of Rhodes by Knights of St. John

The Knights of the Hospital, more fortunate or more sagacious, had found an occupation for their arms, of which perhaps themselves did not appreciate the full importance, the conquest of Rhodes. Their establishment in that island became the bulwark, long the unconquerable outpost of Christendom in the East. The Templars, if they did not altogether stand aloof from that enterprise, disdained to act a secondary part, and to aid in subduing for their rivals that in which those rivals would claim exclusive dominion.[1]

Clement V., soon after his accession, had summoned the Grand Masters of the two Orders to Europe, under the pretext of consulting them on the affairs of the East, on succors to be afforded to the King of Armenia, and on plans which had been already formed for the union of the two Orders. It does not appear whether, either with a secret understanding with the King of France, or of his own accord, he as yet contemplated hostile measures against the Order. He declares himself, that while at Lyons he had heard reports unfavorable both to the faith and to the conduct of the Templars: but he had rejected with disdain all impeachment against

[1] Raynald. sub ann. 1306.

an Order which had warred so valiantly and shed so much noble blood in defence of the Sepulchre of the Lord. His invitation was couched in the smoothest terms of religious adulation.[1]

Du Molay,[2] Grand Master of the Order, manifestly altogether unsuspecting, obeyed the Papal invitation. The Grand Master of the Hospitallers alleged his engagement in the siege of Rhodes. But if Du Molay had designed to precipitate the fall of his Order, he could not have followed a more fatal course of policy. His return to Europe was not that of the head of an institution whose occupation and special function was in the East, and who held all they possessed on the tenure of war against the Moslemin. He might rather seem an independent Prince, intending to take up his permanent abode and live in dignity and wealth on their ample domains, or rather territories, in Europe. He might seem almost wantonly to alarm the jealous apprehensions, and stimulate the insatiable rapacity of Philip the Fair. He assembled around him in Cyprus a retinue of sixty, the most distinguished Knights of the Order, collected a great mass of treasure, and left the Marshal of the Order as Regent in that island. In this state, having landed in the south, and made his slow progress through France, he entered the capital, and proceeded to the mansion of the Order, in Paris as well as in London perhaps the most spacious, the strongest, and even most magnificent edifice in the city. The treasure which

Du Molay.

Entry into Paris.

[1] "De quorum circumspectâ probitate, et probatâ circumspectione ac vulgatâ fidelitate, fiduciam tenemus." So wrote Clement V. The letter is in Raynaldus, date June 6, 1306.

[2] See in Raynouard, Monuments Historiques, p. 15 *et seq.*, the life and services of Du Molay.

Du Molay brought was reported to amount to the enormous sum of one hundred and fifty thousand golden florins and a vast quantity of silver. The populace wondered at the long train of sumpter horses,[1] as they moved through the narrow streets to the Temple citadel, which confronted the Louvre in its height and strength. Du Molay was received with ostentatious courtesy by the King. Everything flattered his pride and security; there was no sign, no omen of the danger which lowered around him.

Yet Du Molay, if of less generous and unsuspicious nature, should have known the character of Philip, and that every motive which actuated that unscrupulous King was concentred in its utmost intensity against his Order. Philip's manifest policy was the submission of the whole realm to his despotic power; the elevation of the kingly authority above all feudal check, or ecclesiastical control. Would he endure an armed brotherhood, a brotherhood so completely organized, in itself more formidable than any army he could bring into the field, to occupy a fortress in his capital and other strong holds throughout the kingdom? It was no less his policy to establish an uniform taxation, a heavy and grinding taxation, on all classes, on the Church as on the laity. The Templars had stubbornly refused to pay the tenths which he had levied everywhere else almost without resistance.[2] There were strong suspi-

[1] Raynouard says, p. 17, "Outre l'immense trésor que l'Ordre conservait dans le palais du Temple à Paris, le chef apporta de l'Orient cent cinquante mille flórins d'or, et une grande quantité de gros tournois d'argent, qui formaient la charge de douze chevaux; sommes considérables pour le temps."

[2] They were exempt by the Papal privilege. These tenths were still in theory permitted by the Pope, as though for holy uses — the recovery of Palestine.

cions that during the strife with the King, Boniface had reckoned on the secret if not active support of the Templars, who, as highly favored by the Pope, had almost always been high Papalists.[1] If they had not held a congregation in defence of Boniface, such congregation might have been held.[2] For this reason no doubt, if not for a darker one — some concern in the burning of his father — William of Nogaret hated the Templars with all the hatred which he had not exhausted on Pope Boniface.[3]

Philip knew well not only the strength but the wealth of the Order. He knew their strength, for during the insurrections at Paris on account of the debasement of the coin, he had fled from his own insecure Louvre, and taken refuge in the Temple. From that impregnable fortress he had defied his rebellious subjects, and afterwards having gathered some troops, perhaps with the aid of the Templars themselves, suppressed the mutiny (which the Templars nevertheless were accused of having instigated), and had hanged the insurgents[4] on the trees around the city. Philip knew too their wealth.[5] From their treasures alone he had been able

[1] "In diebus suis admirabilis novitas et persequutio facta est super Ordinem Templariorum, quod processit ex invidiâ et cupiditate Philippi Francorum regis, qui odio Templarios habebat, eo quod ausi fuerant stare contra ipsum ex sententiâ excommunicationis, datâ per dictum Bonifacium contra dictum Regem." — Chronic. Astens. Murator. xi. p. 193.

[2] One writer says, "Quia contra Regem congregationem fecerunt."

[3] "Guilelmus de Nogaret, Regis Franciæ auctor fuit pro posse ruinæ ordinis Templariorum, eò quod patrem ejus tanquam hæreticum comburi fecerunt." This can hardly be literally true. But see further the striking speech of a Templar going to the stake, and (what cannot be true) the death of Nogaret. — Chron. Astens. ut supra.

[4] Continuator Nangis apud Bouquet, p. 594.

[5] Of their wealth:

"Li frere, li mestre au Temple
Qu'estoient rempli et ample

to borrow the dowry of his daughter Isabella, on her marriage with Prince Edward of England. Debtors love not their creditors. Du Molay is said to have made importunate and unwelcome demands for repayment.[1] Every race or community possessed of dangerous riches had in turn suffered the extortionate persecutions of Philip. Would his avarice, which had drained the Jews, the Lombards, and laid his sacrilegious hands on the Church, so tempted, respect the Templars, even if he had no excuse of religious zeal or regard for morals to justify his confiscation of their riches?

Du Molay at Poitiers.

Du Molay, in his lofty security, proceeded to the great meeting at Poitiers, to pay his allegiance with the Princes and Sovereigns, and to give counsel to the Pope on the affairs of the East and those of the Military Orders. Du Molay's advice as to the future Crusade, however wise and well-grounded, might seem a death-blow to all hopes of success. There could be no reliance on the King of Armenia; to reconquer the Holy Land would demand the league and coöperation of all the Kings of Christendom. Their united forces, conveyed by the united fleets of Genoa, Venice, and other maritime cities, should land at Cyprus; and from Cyprus carry on a regular and aggressive war. The proposal for the

D'or, d'argent et de richesse,
Et qui ménoient tel noblesse . . .
Tozjors achetoient sans vendre."
*Chronique quoted by Raynouard*, p. 7.

According to Paris, "Habent Templarii in Christianitate novem millia maneriorum." — p. 417.

[1] "Quia is magistrum ordinis exosum habuit, propter importunam pecuniæ exactionem, quam in nuptiis filiæ suæ Isabellæ ei mutuum dederat. Inhiabat præterea prædiis militum et possessionibus." — Thom. de la Moor, Vit. Edward II., quoted in note to Baluzius, Pap. Avionen., p. 589.

fusion of the Knights of the Temple and of St. John, a scheme proposed by Gregory X. and by St. Louis, he coldly rejected as impracticable. "That which is new is not always the best. The Orders, in their separate corporations, had done great things: it was doubtful how, if united, they would act together. Both were spiritual as well as secular institutions: neither could, with safe conscience, give up the statutes to which they had sworn, to adopt those of the other. There would rise inextinguishable discord concerning their estates and possessions. The Templars were lavish of their wealth, the Hospitallers only intent on amassing wealth: on this head there must be endless strife. The Templars were in better fame, more richly endowed by the laity. The Templars would lose their popularity, or excite the envy of the Hospitallers. There would be eternal contests between the heads of the Orders, as to the conferring dignities and offices of trust. The united Order might be more strong and formidable, and yet many ancient establishments fall to the ground: and so the collective wealth and power might be diminished rather than augmented."[1]

Yet even now that Du Molay was holding this almost supercilious language, the mine was under his feet, ready to burst and explode. Du Molay could not be absolutely ignorant of the sinister rumors which had long been spread abroad concerning the faith, the morals, the secret mysteries of his Order; he could not be ignorant that they had been repeatedly urged upon the Pope by the King himself, by his counsellors, by the Prior of the new convent in Poitiers.[2] But he

[1] See the Document in Baluzius, vol. ii. p. 174.

[2] Letter of Clement to Philip, Baluzius, ii. p. 74. This letter is misdated

maintained, both he and the other Preceptors of the Order, the same haughty demeanor. They demanded again and again, and in the most urgent terms, rigid investigation, so that, if blameless, as they asserted, they might receive public absolution; if guilty, might suffer condemnation.[1] Content with this defiance of their enemies, Du Molay and the other Preceptors returned quietly to Paris.[2]

Squino di Florian.

There was a certain Squino di Florian, Prior of Montfalcon, in the county of Toulouse, who had been condemned, as a heretic and a man of evil life, to perpetual imprisonment in the dungeons of one of the royal castles. There he met one Roffo, a Florentine, an apostate Templar, perhaps some others: he contrived to communicate to the King's officers that he could reveal foul and monstrous secrets of the Order. He was admitted to the royal presence; and on his attestation the vague and terrible charges, which had been floating about as rumors, grew into distinct and awful articles of accusation.[3]

by Baluzius. Wilcke has retained the error. The letter mentions the death of Edward I., which took place July 7, 1307. It was written when Clement was at or near Poitiers. The king had left the city.

[1] "Quia verò magister militiæ Templi ac multi præceptores, tam de regno tuo quam de aliis, ordinis cum eodem, audito, ut dixerunt, quid tam erga nos te quam erga aliquos alios dominos temporales super prædicto facto eorum opinio gravabatur, a nobis, nedum semel, sed pluries cum magnâ instantiâ petierunt quod nos super illis eis falsò impositis, ut dicebant, vellemus inquirere veritatem, ac eos, si reperirentur, ut asserebant, inculpabiles, absolvere, vel ipsos si reperirentur culpabiles, quod nullatenus credebant, condemnare vellemus." — Ex Epist. ut supra.

[2] Raynouard, p. 18.

[3] Baluzii Vit. vi. Villani, viii. 92. This was the current history of the time. The historian expresses, too, the prevailing opinion out of France. "Ma più si dice, che fu per trarre di loro molta moneta. E per sdegno preso col maestro del tempio, e colla magione. Il Papa per levarsi del dosso il Re di Francia per la richiesta del condannare Papa Bonifazio . . . per

Christendom heard with amazement and horror that this noble, proud, and austere Order, which had waged irreconcilable war with the Saracens, poured its best blood, like water, for two hundred years on the soil of Palestine, sworn to the severest chastity as to the most rigorous discipline, was charged and publicly charged by the King of France with the most deliberate infidelity, with the most revolting lust, with the most subtle treason to Christendom. The sum of these charges, as appeared from the examinations, was, — that at the secret initiation into the Order, each novice was compelled to deny Christ, and to spit upon the Cross; that obscene kisses were given and received by the candidate; that an idol, the head either of a cat, or with two human faces, or that of one of the eleven thousand virgins, or of some other monstrous form, was the object of their secret worship; that they wore a cord which had acquired a magical or talismanic power by contact with this idol; that full license was granted for the indulgence of unnatural lusts; that parts of the canon of the mass were omitted in their churches; that the Grand Master and other great officers, even when not in holy orders, claimed the power of granting absolution; that they were in secret league with the Mohammedans, and had constantly betrayed the Christian cause, especially that of St. Louis at Mansura. These were the formal legal charges, of which the accusers offered to furnish proof, or to wring confession by torture from the criminals

Charges against the Order.

piacere al Re li assentè di ciò fare." Dupuy observes (De la Condemnation des Templiers, p. 8), that *all* the historians of the times agree in this. He refers to them. Compare also Note, p. 193, in Haveman, Geschichte des Ausgangs des Tempelherren Ordens. Stutgard, 1843.

themselves. Popular credulity, terror, hatred, envy, either by the usual inventiveness of common rumor, or by the industrious malice of the King and his counsellors, darkened even these crimes into more appalling and loathsome acts. If a Templar refused to continue to his death in his wickedness, he was burned and his ashes given to be drank by the younger Templars. A child begotten on a virgin was cooked and roasted, and the idol anointed with its fat.[1]

Arrest of the Templars.

Philip did not await the tardy decision of the Pope. A slower process might have banded together this formidable body, thus driven to despair, in resistance if not in rebellion. On the 14th of September, the Feast of the Elevation of the Cross, sealed instructions were issued to all the seneschals and other high officers of the crown throughout the realm, to summon each a powerful armed force, on the night of the 12th of October: then and not before, under pain of death, to open those close instructions.[2] The instructions ran, that according to secret counsels taken

[1] See the eleven articles in the Chronique de Saint Denys, Bouquet, p. 686. Observe among the more heinous charges is one that they refused to pay taxes to the king. "Que eux reconnurent du Trésor du Roi a aucuns avoir donné, qui au Roi avoient fait, contrariété, laquelle chose étoit moult domageable au Royaume." — Art. vi.

[2] In Dupuy, i. p. 311. There is a copy of the orders addressed to the Vidame and the Bailiff of Amiens. It is dated Pontisera ("Pontoise"). But the fullest "instructions" are those from the archives of Nismes, published by Menard, "Histoire de Nismes," Preuves, p. 195. They begin with these inflaming words: "Res amara, res flebilis, res quidem cogitatu horribilis, auditu terribilis, detestabilis crimine, execrabilis scelere, abhominabilis opere, detestanda flagitio, res penitus ymo ab omni humanitate seposita, dudum fide dignorum relacione multorum . . . ." Those employed "saizare" must be well armed, "in manu forti ne possit per illos fratres et eorum familias resisti." Inquisition was to be made "particulariter et diversim omnimodo quo poterunt, etiam ubi faciendum viderint, *per tormenta*." — p. 197.

with the Holy Father the Pope, with his cognizance if not his sanction, the King gave command to arrest on one and the same day all the Knights Templars within the kingdom; to commit them to safe custody, and to set the royal seal on all their goods, to make a careful inventory thereof, and to retain them in the name of the King. Philip's officers were trained to execute these rapid and simultaneous movements for the apprehension and spoliation of some devoted class of his subjects. That which had succeeded so well with the defenceless Lombards and Jews, was executed with equal promptitude and precision against the warlike Templars. In one day (Friday, October 13th), at the dawn of one day, with no single act of resistance, with no single attempt at flight, as if not the slightest intimation of measures which had been a month in preparation had reached their ears; or as if, presuming on their innocence, numbers, or popularity, they had not deigned to take alarm: the whole Order, every one of these high-born and valiant warriors, found the houses of the Order surrounded by the King's soldiers, and was dragged forth to prison. The inventory of the whole property was made, and was in the King's power. In Paris William of Nogaret and Reginald de Roye, fit executioners of such a mandate, were intrusted with the arrest of the Grand Master and the Knights in Paris. Jacques du Molay but the day before had held the pall at the funeral of the King's sister.[1] They were confined in separate dungeons. The royal officers took possession of the strong and stately mansion which had given refuge to the King. Everywhere throughout France there was the same

[1] Poele. Balur Vie ; Michelet Hist. des Français vol v. ch iii.

suddenness, the same despatch, the same success. Every Templar in the realm was a prisoner.[1]

Further proceedings.

The secrecy, the celerity, the punctuality with which those orders were executed throughout the realm, could not but excite, even had they been employed on an affair of less moment, amazement and admiration bordering on terror. The Templars were wealthy, powerful, had connections at once among the highest and the humblest families. They had been haughty, insolent, but many at least lavish in almsgiving. They partook of the sanctity which invested all religious bodies; they were or had been the defenders of the Sepulchre of Christ; they had fought, knelt, worshipped in the Holy Land. It was prudent, if not necessary, to crush at once all popular sympathy; to leave no doubt of the King's justice, or suspicion of his motives in seizing such rich and tempting endowments. The very day after the apprehension of the Knights, the Canons of Notre Dame and the Masters of the University of Paris were assembled in the Chapter-house of that church. The Chancellor William of Nogaret, the Provost of Paris, and others of the King's ministers, with William Imbert, the King's confessor and Grand Inquisitor of the realm, to whose jurisdiction the whole affair was committed, made their appearance, and arraigned the Order on five enormous charges.[2] I. The denial of Christ and the

Charges.

[1] Neither the names nor the numbers of the prisoners in other seneschalties are known. Sixty were arrested at Beaucaire: forty-five of these incarcerated at Aigues Mortes, fifteen at Nismes. Thirty-three were committed to the royal castle of Alais.

[2] Casus enormissimos. Baluzii Vit. I. The first of these Lives (of Clement V.) was written by John, Canon of St. Victor in Paris, and therefore is the best authority for the events in Paris.

insult to the Cross; II. The adoration of an idolatrous head; III. The kisses at their reception; IV. The omission of the words of consecration in the mass; V. Unnatural crimes. On the same day (Saturday) the theological faculty of Paris was summoned to give judgment whether the King could proceed against a religious Order on his own authority. They took time for their deliberation: their formal sentence was not promulgated till some months after; its substance was probably declared or anticipated. A tempo- Preachings.
ral judge cannot pass sentence in case of heresy, unless summoned thereto by the Church, and where the heretics have been made over to the secular arm. But in case of necessity he may apprehend and imprison a heretic, with the intent to deliver him over to the Church.[1] The next day (Sunday) the whole clergy and the people from all the parishes of the city were gathered together in the gardens of the royal palace. Sermons were delivered by the most popular preachers, the Friars; addresses were made to the multitude by the King's ministers, denouncing, blackening, aggravating the crimes of the Templars. No means were spared to allay any possible movement of interest in their favor. Blow followed blow without pause or delay; every rebellious impulse of sympathy, every feeling of compunction, respect, gratitude, pity, must be crushed by terror out of the hearts of men.[2] The Grand Inquisitor opened his Court, with the Chancellor, and as many of the King's ministers as were present. The apprehension of the Templars, in order

1 Crevier, ii. p. 207. Wilcke, i. p. 284.

2 "Ne populus scandalizaretur de eorum tam subitaneâ captione. Erant quippe potentissimi divitiis et honore." — Vit. I. p. 9.

to their safe custody, and with the intent to deliver them over to the Church, was assumed, or declared to be within the province of the temporal power. The final judgment was reserved for the Archbishops and Bishops: but the Head of the Inquisition, the Dominican William Imbert, thus lent the terrors of his presence to the King's commission.

The tribunal. The tribunal sat from day to day, endeavoring to extort confession from the one hundred and forty prisoners, who were separately examined. These men, some brave and well-born, but mostly rude and illiterate soldiers, some humble servitors of the Order, were brought up from their dungeons without counsel, mutual communication, or legal advice, and submitted to every trial which subtlety or cruelty could invent, or which could work on the feebler or the firmer mind, — shame, terror, pain, the hope of impunity, of reward. Confession was bribed out of some by offers of indulgence, wrung from others by the dread of torture, by actual torture, — torture, with the various ways of which our hearts must be shocked, that we may judge more fairly on their effects. These were among the forms of procedure by torture in those times, without doubt mercilessly employed in the dungeons which confined the Templars. The criminal was Tortures. stripped, his hands tied behind him; the cord which lashed his hands hung upon a pulley at some height above. At the sign of the judge he was hauled up with a frightful wrench, and then violently let fall to the ground. This was called in the common phrase, hoisting. It was the most usual, perhaps the mildest form of torture. After that the feet of the criminal were fixed in a kind of stocks, rubbed with oil, and

fire applied to the soles. If he showed a disposition to confess, a board was driven between his feet and the fire; if he gave no further hopes, it was withdrawn again. Then iron boots were fitted to the naked heels, and contracted either by wedges or in some other manner. Splinters of wood were driven up the nails into the finger-joints; teeth were wrenched out; heavy weights hung on the most sensitive parts of the body, even on the genitals. And these excruciating agonies were inflicted by the basest executioners, on proud men, suddenly degraded into criminals, their spirits shattered either by the sudden withdrawal from the light of day, from the pride, pomp, it might be the luxury of life into foul, narrow, sunless dungeons; or more slowly broken by long incarceration in these clammy, noisome holes: some almost starved. The effect upon their minds will appear hereafter from the horror and shuddering agony with which they are reverted to by the bravest Knights. If their hard frames, inured to endurance in adventure and war, might feel less acutely the bodily sufferings, their lofty and generous minds would be more sensitive to the shame and degradation. Knights were racked like the basest slaves; and there was nothing to awaken, everything to repress, the pride of endurance; no publicity, nothing of the stern consolation of defying, or bearing bravely or contemptuously before the eyes of men the cruel agony. It was all secret, all in the depths of the gloomy dungeon, where human sympathy and human admiration could not find their way. And according to the rigor and the secrecy of the torture was the terrible temptation of the weak or fearful, of those whose patience gave way with the first wrench of the rack, to purchase im-

punity by acknowledging whatever the accuser might suggest: to despair of himself, of the Order, whose doom might seem irretrievably, irrevocably sealed. Their very vices (and no doubt many had vices), the unmeasured haughtiness of most, the licentious self-indulgence of some, would aggravate the trial; utter prostration would follow overweening pride, softness, luxury.

Some accordingly admitted at once or slowly, and with bitter tears, a part or the whole of the charges; some as it seemed, touched with repentance, some at the threats, at the sight of the instruments of torture; some not till after long actual suffering; some beguiled by bland promises; some subdued by starvation in prison. Many, however, persevered to the end in calm and steadfast denial, more retracted their confessions, and expired upon the rack.[1] The King himself, by one account, was present at the examination of the Grand Master: the awe of the royal presence wrought some to confession. But Philip withdrew, it should seem, when tortures were actually applied, under which, it is said, in the unintentional irony of the historian, some *willingly* confessed, though others died without confession. To those who confessed the King seemed disposed to hold out the possibility of mercy.[2]

Confessions.

[1] "Factumque est ut eorum nonnulli sponte quædam præmissorum vel omnia lacrymabiliter sunt confessi. Alii quidem, ut videbatur, pœnitentiâ ducti, alii autem diversis tormentis quæstionati, vel comminatione vel eorum aspectu perterriti; alii blandis tracti promissionibus et illecti; alii carceris inediâ cruciati vel coacti multipliciterque compulsi. . . . Multi tamen penitus omnia negaverunt, et plures qui confessi primò fuerunt ad negationem postea reversi sunt, in ea fortiter perseverantes, quorum nonnulli inter ipsa supplicia perierunt." — Continuat. Nangis.

[2] "Magister militiæ Templariorum cum multis militibus, et viris magnis sui Ordinis captus apud Parisios *coram Rege* productus fuisset. Tunc quidam ipsorum propter verecundiam veritatem de præmissis denegaverunt

After some interval the University of Paris was summoned to the Temple to hear nothing less than the confession of the Grand Master himself. How Du Molay was wrought to confession, by what persuasion or what violence, remained among the secrets of his dungeon; it is equally uncertain what were the articles which he confessed. Some at this trial asserted that the accursed form of initiation had been unknown in the Order till within the last forty years. But this was not enough; they must be won or compelled to more full acknowledgment. At a second session before the University the Master and the rest pleaded guilty, and in the name of the whole Order, to all the charges.[1] The King's Almoner, the Treasurer of the Temple at Paris, made the same confession. But this confession of the Grand Master, however industriously bruited abroad, in whatever form it might seem fit to the enemies of the Order, though no doubt it had a powerful effect upon the weaker brethren who sought a precedent for their weakness, and with those who might think a cause abandoned by the Grand Master utterly desperate, by no means produced complete submission. Still a great number of the Knights repudiated the base example, disbelieved its authenticity, or excused it, as wrung from him by intolerable tortures; they sternly adhered to their denial. One brave old Knight in the South declared that "if the Grand

Confession of Grand Master

et quidam alii ipsam sibi confessi fuerunt. Sed posteà illi qui denegabant cum tormentis ipsam tunc *libenter* confitebantur, et aliqui ipsorum in tormentis sine confessione moriebantur, vel comburebantur (the burning was later). Et tunc de confitentibus ultra (ultro?, veritatem ipse mitius se habebat." — Vit. VI. apud Baluz. p. 101.

[1] They were not content to admit "quosdam articulorum." "Item in aliâ congregatione coram Universitate Magister et alii plures simpliciter sunt confessi, et Magister pro toto Ordine." — Vit. I. p. 10.

Master had uttered such things, he had lied in his throat."

The interrogatory had done its work. The prisoners were carried back to their dungeons, some in the Temple, some in the Louvre, and in other prisons. The Grand Master with the three Preceptors of the Order were transferred to the royal castle of Corbeil; the Treasurers to Moret. In these prisons many died of hunger, of remorse, and anguish of mind; some hung themselves in despair.[1]

With no less awful despatch proceeded the interrogatories in other parts of France. Everywhere torture was prodigally used; everywhere was the same result, some free confessions, some retractations of confessions; some bold and inflexible denials of the whole; some equivocations, some submissions manifestly racked out of unwilling witnesses by imprisonment, exhaustion, and agony.

Interrogatories in the Provinces. Oct. 28, 1307.

The Grand Inquisitor proceeded on a circuit to Bayeux: in the other northern cities he delegated his work usually to Dominican Friars. Thirteen were examined at Caen, seven of them had been previously interrogated at Pont de l'Arche. Twelve made confession after torture, on the promise of absolution from the Church, and security against secular punishment. Ten others were examined at Pont de l'Arche. In the south, of seven at Cahors, two recanted their confession. At Clermont twenty-nine obstinately denied the charges, forty admitted their truth. Two German Templars, returning from Paris, were arrested at Chaumont, in Lorraine;

[1] "Ubi fama referebat, plures mortuos fuisse inediâ, vel cordis tristitiâ vel ex desperatione suspendio periisse." — Vit. I.

they steadfastly denied the whole. In the seneschalty of Beaucaire and Nismes[1] sixty-six Templars had been arrested by Edward de Maubrisson and William de St. Just, the Lieutenant of the Seneschal, Bertrand Jourdain de l'Isle. They had been committed to different prisons. Edward de Maubrisson held his first sitting at Aigues Mortes upon forty-five who were in the dungeons of that city. The King's Advocate, the King's Justice, and two other nobles were present, but no ecclesiastic either during this or any of the subsequent sessions. According to the precise instructions the following questions were put to the criminals, but cautiously and carefully,[2] and at first only in general terms, in order to elicit free confession. Where it was necessary torture was to be applied. I. That on the reception the postulant was led into a sacristy behind the altar, commanded thrice to deny Christ, and to spit on the crucifix. Then, II. When he was unclothed, the Initiator kissed him on the navel, the spine, and the mouth. III. He was granted full license for the indulgence of unnatural lusts. IV. Girt with a cord which had been drawn across the idol-head. In the provincial chapters an idol, a human head, was worshipped. V. The clerical brethren were alone to be pressed on the omission of the words in the mass.

Eight servitors were first introduced. They confessed the whole of the first charges; they Nov. 8. 1307. declared that they had denied Christ in fear of imprisonment, even of death; but they had denied him with

[1] In this seneschalty lay the great estate of William of Nogaret. There are several royal grants in the documents at the end of Ménard, Histoire de Nismes, vol. i., which show that Nogaret was not sparingly rewarded, even by his parsimonious king, for his services.

[2] "Caute et diligenter."

the lips, not the heart; they swore that they had never committed unnatural crimes; of the idol and the omission of the words in the mass they knew nothing. On the following day thirty-five more were examined, all servitors except one clerk and three Knights, Pons Seguin, Bertrand de Silva, Bertrand de Salgues. The same confession, word for word, the same reservation: the priest alone acknowledged that he had administered an unconsecrated Host, omitting the words of consecration; but in his heart he had never neglected to utter them. There is throughout the same determination to limit the confession to the narrowest bounds, to keep to the words of the charges, absolutely to exculpate themselves, and to criminate the Order, from which some might rejoice to be released, others think irrevocably doomed. They were all afterwards summoned, in the presence of two monks in the Dominican cloister at Nismes, to whom the Grand Inquisitor had given power to act for the Holy Office, to repeat their confession, and admonished within eight days still further to confess any heresies of which they might have been guilty. Maubrisson also passed to Nismes; fifteen servitors were interrogated; there were the same confessions, the same denials. At Carcassonne the Preceptor of the wealthy house of Villedieu, Cassaignes, with four others, were examined before the Bishop, Peter de Rochefort: they admitted all, even the idol.[1]

Conduct of the Pope

The Pope was no less astounded than the rest of Christendom by this sudden and rapid measure, so opposite to the tardy and formal pro-

[1] The report, the fullest and most minute of all, as to the interrogatories at Nismes, is dated 1310. But it contains the earlier proceedings from the beginning of the prosecution out of the Authentic Acts. I have therefore dwelt upon it more at length. — Ménard, Hist. de Nismes, p. 449; Preuves, p. 195

cedures of the Roman Court. It was a flagrant and insulting invasion of the Papal rights, the arrest of a whole religious Order, under the special and peculiar protection of the Pope, and the seizure of all their estates and goods, so far as yet appeared, for the royal use. It looked at first like a studied exclusion of all spiritual persons even from the interrogatory. Clement could not suppress his indignation: he broke out into angry expressions against the King; he issued a Bull, in which he declared it an unheard-of measure that the secular power should presume to judge religious persons; to the Pope alone belonged the jurisdiction over the Knights Templars. He deposed William Imbert from the office of Grand Inquisitor, as having presumptuously overstepped his powers. He sent two Légates, the Cardinal Berenger of Fredeol and Stephen of Suza, to demand the surrender of the prisoners and of their estates to the Pope. In a letter to the Archbishops of Rheims, Bourges and Tours, he declared that he had been utterly amazed at the arrest of the Templars, and the hasty proceedings of the Grand Inquisitor, who, though he lived in his immediate neighborhood, had given him no intimation of the King's design. He had his own views on the subject; his mind could not be induced to believe the charges.[1] Poitiers. Oct 27

But, when the first impulse of his wrath was over, the Pope felt his own impotence; he was in the toils, in the power, now imprudently within the dominions, of the relentless Philip; his resentment speedily cooled down. The great prelates of France arrayed themselves on the side of the King. The King held secret

[1] Dachery, Spicilegium, x. 366.

councils at Melun, and at other places, with the Princes and Bishops of the realm, meditating, it might be, strong measures against the Pope. Somewhat later, the Archbishop of Rheims announced to the King that himself, with his Suffragans and Chapter, had met at Senlis, and were prepared to aid the King in his prosecution of the Templars.[1]

The King of France had laid down a wide scheme for the suppression of the Templars, not in his own dominions alone, but throughout Christendom. Abolished on account of their presumed irregularities in France, they could not be permitted, as involved in the same guilt, to subsist in the English dominions in France, in Provence, or even in England. Already, on the issuing the instructions for their arrest, Philip had despatched an ecclesiastic, Bernard Pelet, to his son-in-law, Edward II. of England, to inform him of their guilt and heresy, and to urge him to take the same measures for their apprehension. Edward and his Barons declared themselves utterly amazed at the demand.[2] Neither he nor his Prelates and Barons could at first credit the abominable and execrable charges; but before the end of the year, the Pope himself, as if unwilling that Edward, as Philip had done, should take the affair into his own hands and proceed without Papal authority, hastened to issue a Bull, in which he commanded the King to arrest all the Templars in his dominions, and to sequester their lands and property. The Bull, however, seemed studiously

Message to England.

[1] "Ad vestram presenciam duximus destinandum (episcopum) ad assentiendum secundum Deum et justitiam vestræ majestati." — Archives Administrat. de Rheims, Collect. Documents Inédits, ii. 65.

[2] 22d Sept., Edwardus Philippo. — Rymer, iii. ad ann. 1307.

to limit the guilt to individual members of the Order.[1] The goods were to be retained for the service of the Holy Land, if the Order should be condemned, otherwise to be preserved for the Order. It referred to the confession of the Grand Master at Paris, that this abuse had crept in at the instigation of Satan, contrary to the Institutes of the Order. The Pope declares that one brother of the Order, a man of high birth and rank, had made full confession to himself of his crime; that in the kingdom of Cyprus a noble knight had made his abnegation of Christ at the command of the Grand Master in the presence of a hundred knights.

King Edward had hesitated. On the 4th December, as though under the influence of the Templars themselves, he wrote to the Kings of Portugal, Castile, Sicily, and Arragon. He expressed strong suspicion of Bernard Pelet, who had presumed to make some horrid and detestable accusations against the Order, and endeavored by letters of certain persons, which he had produced (those of the King of France), but had procured, as Edward believed, by undue means, to induce the King to imprison all the brethren of the Temple in his dominions. He urged those Kings to avert their ears from the calumniators of the Order, to join him in protecting the Knights from the avarice and jealousy of their enemies.[2] Still later, King Edward, in a letter to the Pope, asserts the pure faith and lofty morals of the Order, and speaks of the detractions

[1] "Quod *singuli* fratres dicti ordinis in suâ professione . . . expressis verbis abnegant Jes. Christum. . . ." See the Bull, "Pastoralis præeminentiæ solio." — Raynaldus sub ann. Nov. 22, Rymer.

[2] "Aures vestras a perversorum detractionibus, qui, ut credimus, non zelo rectitudinis sed cupiditatis et invidiæ spiritibus excitantur, avertere velitis." — Redyng. Dec. 4, Rymer sub ann.

and calumnies of a few persons jealous of their greatness, and convicted of ill-will to the Order.[1]

Arrest. The Papal Bull either appalled or convinced the King of England. Only five days after his letter (the Bull having arrived in the interim), orders were issued to the sheriffs for the general arrest of the Templars throughout England. The persons of the knights were to be treated with respect, the inventory of their names and effects returned into the Exchequer at Westminster. The same instructions were sent to Wales, Ireland, and Scotland. On the 28th December the King informed the Pope that he would speedily carry his commands into execution. On the Wednesday after Epiphany the arrest took place with the same simultaneous promptitude as in France, and without resistance.

Dec. 20.

King of Naples. The King of Naples, as Count of Provence, followed exactly the plan of the King of France. He transmitted sealed instructions to all the officers of the Crown, which were to be opened on the 24th January. On the 25th all the Templars in Provence and Forcalquier were committed to the prisons of Aix and Pertuis; those of the counties of Nice, Grafe, St. Maurice, and the houses in Avignon and Arles, to the Castle of Meirargues.

Death of the Emperor. Just at this juncture an appalling event took place, which in some degree distracted the attention of Christendom from the rapidly unfolding tragedy of the Templars, and had perhaps no inconsiderable though remote influence on their doom. The Emperor Albert was murdered at Königstein by his own nephew, John, in the full view of their ancestral

[1] Rymer, Dec. 10.

house.[1] The King of France was known to aspire to the imperial crown, if not for himself, for his brother Charles of Valois. He instantly despatched ambassadors to secure the support of the Pope for Charles of Valois — Charles, the old enemy of Clement, to whom he had been reconciled only on compulsion. It is even asserted that he demanded this as the last, the secret stipulation, sworn to by the Pope when he sold himself to the King for the tiara.[2] But the accumulation of crowns on the heads of the princes of France was not more formidable to the liberties of Europe than to the Pope, who must inevitably sink even into more ignoble vassalage. A Valois ruled in France and in Naples. A daughter of the King of

Charles of Valois seeks the Empire.

[1] Coxe has told coldly the terrible vengeance of the Empress Agnes. She witnessed the execution of sixty-three of the retainers of the Lord of Balm, the accomplice of John of Hapsburg. "Now," she said, as the blood flowed, "I bathe in honey dew." She founded the magnificent convent of Königstein, of which fine ruins remain. Christianity still finds a voice in the wildest and worst times. The rebuke of the hermit to the vengeful Empress must be heard: "God is not served by shedding innocent blood, and by building convents from the plunder of families, but by confession and forgiveness of injuries." — Compare Coxe's Austria, ch. vi.

[2] "Rex autem Franciæ Philippus, auditâ vacatione imperii, cogitavit facile posse imperium redire ad Francos, ratione sextæ promissionis factæ sibi a Papâ, si operam daret ut papa crearetur, sicut factum est. Nam cum explicasset jam eam, videlicet in delendo quicquid gestum fuit per Bonifacium et memoriam ejus, ad quod Papa se difficultabat, et in posterum hoc offerebat agendum, arbitratus est Rex commutari facere quod fuerat postulatum ab eo in sibi utilius et honorabilius negotium, ut videlicet loco prædictæ petitionis hoc concederetur, ut Dominus Carolus Valisiensius, frater ejus eligeretur in Imperatorem. Quod satis æquum et exiguibile videbatur, cum Bonifacius Papa hoc ei promisisset, et ad hoc multa fecerat pro ecclesiâ. Sed et olim imperium fuerat apud Francos tempore Caroli magni, translatum a Græcis ad eos, sic possit transire de Teutonicis ad Francos." — S. Antonini Chronicon, iii. p. 276. This Chronicle is a compilation in the words of other writers, but shows what writers were held in best esteem, when the Archbishop of Florence (afterwards canonized) wrote during the next century.

France was on the throne of England: it might be hoped, or foreseen, that the young, beautiful, and ambitious bride might wean her feeble husband from the disgraceful thraldom of his minions, and govern him who could not govern himself. If Charles were Emperor, what power in Europe could then resist or control this omnipotent house of Valois?

Philip had already bought the vote and support of the Archbishop of Cologne; he anticipated the tame acquiescence of the Pope. Charles of Valois visited the Pope with the ostentation of respect, but at the head of six thousand men-at-arms.

But the sagacious Cardinal da Prato was at hand to keep alive the fears and to guide the actions of Clement. The Pope had no resource but profound dissimulation, or rather consummate falsehood. He wrote publicly to recommend Charles of Valois to the electors; his secret agents urged them to secure their own liberties and the independence of the Church by any other choice.[1] The election dragged on for some months of doubt, vacillation, and intrigue. At length Henry of Luxemburg was named King of the Romans.[2] Clement pretended to submit to the hard necessity of consenting to a choice in which six of the electors had concurred; he could no longer in decency assert the claims of Charles of Valois. Philip suppressed but did not the less brood over his disappointment and wrath.

Henry of Luxemburg Emperor.

Thus all this time, if Clement had any lingering

[1] "Sed omnipotens Deus (writes S. Antoninus) qui dissipat consilia principum . . . non permisit rem ipsam suum habere effectum, ne ecclesia regno Franciæ subjiceretur." — Ibid.

[2] At Frankfort, Nov. 27, 1308.

desire to show favor or justice to the Templars, or to maintain the Order, it had sunk into an object not only secondary to that which he thought his paramount duty and the chief interest of the Papacy, to avert the condemnation from the memory of Boniface; but also to that of rescuing the imperial crown from the grasp of France. To contest a third, a more doubtful issue with King Philip, was in his situation, and with his pliant character, with his fatal engagements, and his want of vigor and moral dignity, beyond his powers.

The King neglected no means to overawe the Pope. He had succeeded in making his quarrel with Pope Boniface a national question. For the first time the Commons of France had been summoned formally and distinctly to the Parliament, which had given weight and dignity to the King's proceedings against Pope Boniface.[1] The States-General, the burghers and citizens, as well as the nobles and prelates, the whole French nation, were now again summoned to a Parliament at Tours on May 1. Philip knew that by this time he had penetrated the whole realm with his hatred of the Templars. The Order had been long odious to the clergy, as interfering with their proceedings, and exercising spiritual functions at least within their own precincts. The Knights sat proudly aloof in their own fastnesses, and despised the jurisdiction of the Bishop or the Metropolitan. The excommunication, the interdict, which smote or silenced the clergy, had no effect within the walls of the Temple. Their bells tolled, their masses were chanted, when all the rest of the kingdom was in silence and

Parliament of Tours.

[1] See above, page 318.

sorrow; men fled to them to find the consolations forbidden elsewhere. Their ample and growing estates refused to pay tithe to the clergy; their exemption rested on Papal authority. It was one of the charges which in enormity seemed to be not less hateful than the most awful blasphemy or the foulest indulgences, that the great officers, the Grand Master, though not in orders, dared to pronounce the absolution. The Nobles were jealous of a privileged Order, and no doubt with the commonalty looked to some lightening of their own burdens from the confiscation, to which they would willingly give their suffrage, of the estates of the Templars; nor did these proud feudal lords like men prouder than themselves.[1] Among the commonalty the dark rumors so industriously disseminated, the reports of full and revolting confessions, had now been long working; the popular mind was fully possessed with horror at these impious, execrable practices. At particular periods, free institutions are the most ready and obsequious instruments of tyranny: the popular Parliament of Philip the Fair sanctioned, by their acclamation, his worst iniquities;[2] and the politic Philip, before this appeal to the people, knew well to what effect the popular voice would speak. The Parliament of Tours, with hardly a dissentient vote, declared the Templars worthy of death.[3] The University of Paris gave the weight of their judgment as to the fulness and authenticity of the confessions; at the same time they

[1] Eight of the nobility of Languedoc, at the Parliament of Tours, intrusted their powers to William of Nogaret. — Hist. de Languedoc, iv. 146.

[2] "Intendebat enim Rex sapienter agere. Et ideo volebat hominem cujuslibet conditionis regni sui habere judicium vel assensum, ne possit in aliquo reprehendi." — Vit. i. p. 12.

[3] Vit. i. ibid.

reasserted the sole right of the Roman Court to pass the final sentence.

From Tours, the King, with his sons, brothers, and chief counsellors, proceeded at Whitsuntide to the Pope at Poitiers. He came armed with the Acts of the General Estates of the realm. They were laid before the Pope by William de Plasian. The Pope was summoned to proceed against the Order for confessed and notorious heresy.

This appeal to his tribunal seemed to awaken Clement to the consciousness of his strength. For the temporal power to assume the right, even now when the Pope was in the King's realm, of adjudging in causes of heresy, was too flagrant an invasion on the spiritual power. The fate of the Order too must depend on the Pope. The King might seize, imprison, interrogate, even put to the torture, individual Templars, his subjects; but the dissolution of the Order, founded under the Papal sanction, guaranteed by so many Papal Bulls, could not be commanded by any other authority. Clement intrenched himself behind the yet lingering awe, the yet unquestioned dignity of the Papal See. "The charges were heavy, but they had been pressed on with indecent haste, without consulting the successor of St. Peter; the Grand Inquisitor had exceeded his powers; the Pope demanded that all the prisoners should be made over to himself, the sole judge in such high matters." Long and sullen discussions took place between the Cardinals and the Counsellors of the King.[1]

[1] "Fuitque ibi pretactum negotium factis, allegationibus et rationibus, pro parte Papæ et responsionibus pro Rege, rationibusque et replicationibus multis utrinque coram cardinalibus cleroque et cæteris qui aderant *morosè* discussum." — Vit. i.

The King (the affair of the Empire was not settled, that was the secret of Clement's power) was unwilling to drive the Pope to extremities. He ordered copies of all the proceedings against the Knights, and the inventories of their goods, to be furnished to the Pontiff. This Clement took in good part. The custody of the estates and property of the Order had given a perilous advantage to the King. The Pope now issued a circular Bull to the Archbishops and Bishops of France to take upon themselves the administration of all the sequestered goods; and to them was to be consigned, to each within his own diocese, the final examination and judgment.[1] The Templars caught at the faint gleam of hope that the Church would assume the judgment; they were fondly possessed with a notion of the justice, the humanity of the Church. Some instantly recanted their confessions. The King broke out into a passion of wrath. He publicly proclaimed, that while he faithfully discharged the duties of a Christian king and a servant of the Lord, the lukewarm Vicegerent of Christ was tampering with heresy, and must answer before God for his guilt. The Pope took alarm. At length it was agreed that the custody both of the persons and the goods should remain with the King; that the Knights should be maintained in prison, where they were to lie, out of the revenues of their estates; that no personal punishment should be inflicted without the consent of the Pope; that the fate of the Order should be determined at the great Council of Vienne, summoned for October 10, 1310.[2] Clement reserved for

[1] Clemens Philippo. — Baluz. ii. 98. The date is erroneous; it should be July 3, 1308.

[2] "Tandem conventum est inter eos, quod Rex bona eorum omnia leva-

himself the sentence on the Grand Master and other chief officers of the Temple.

Yet before Philip left Poitiers, seventy-two Templars were brought from different prisons (with the King and the King's Counsellors rested the selection): they were interrogated before the Pope and the Cardinals. All confessed the whole: they were remanded. In a few days after, their confessions were read to them in the vulgar tongue, in the Consistory; all adhered to their truth.

But the Grand Master and some of the principal preceptors of the Order — those of Normandy, Aquitaine, and Poitou — were now in confinement in the castle of Chinon. Some of them could not mount on horseback, some were so weak that they could not be conveyed to Poitiers:[1] the torture and the dungeon had done their work. Three Cardinals (Berenger of St. Nireus and Achilles, Stephen of St. Cyriac, Landolph of St. Angelo) were commissioned to go and receive their depositions. The Cardinals reported that all those Knights, in the presence of public notaries and other good men, had sworn on the Gospels, without compulsion or fear, to the denial of Christ, and the insult to the cross on initiation; some others to foul and horrible offences, not to be named. Du Molay had confessed the denial; he had empowered a servitor of

ret, seu levari faceret fideliter per ministros, et servare ea usquequo Papa cum ipso Rege diliberasset quid regi expediret, sed punitionem corporum non faceret: corpora tamen eorum servari faceret, sicut fecerat, et de proventibus domorum Templi sustentari usque ad concilium generale futurum: corpora autem ex tunc ponebat Papa in manu suâ." This left, as we shall see, all future public trial to the Church. — Vit. i. p. 13.

[1] "Sed quoniam quidam ex eis sic infirmabantur tunc temporis, quod equitare non poterant, nec ad nostram presenciam quoquomodo adduci." — The Pope's own words in the Bull, "faciens *misericordiam*"!!

the order to make the rest of his confession.[1] The Cardinals, having regard to their penitence, had pronounced the absolution of the Church, and recommended them to the royal mercy.[2]

The Pope pretended that conviction had been forced upon him by these dreadful revelations. He now issued a Bull, addressed to all Christendom, in which he declared how slowly and with difficulty he had been compelled to believe the infamy, the apostasy of the noble and valiant Order. His beloved son, the King of France, not urged by avarice,[3] for he had not intended to confiscate or appropriate to his own use the goods of the Templars (he that excuses sometimes accuses!) but actuated solely by zeal for the faith, had laid information before him which he could not but receive. One Knight of noble race, and of no light esteem (could this be Squino de Florian, the Prior of Montfalcon?), had deposed in secret, and upon his oath, to these things. It had now been confirmed by seventy-two, who had confessed the guilt of the Order to him; the Grand Master and the others to the Cardinals. Throughout the world therefore, he commanded, by this Apostolic Bull, that proceedings should be instituted against the Knights of the Temple, against the Preceptor of the Order in Germany. The result was to be transmitted, under seal, to the Pope. The secular arm might be called in to compel witnesses who

[1] See below.

[2] Epistol. Cardinalium. — Baluz. ii. 121.

[3] Is it charity in the Pope to exculpate the King of avarice? "Non gippo avaritiæ, cum de bonis Templariorum nihil sibi vendicare vel appropriare intendat," or adroitness to clench his concession? See the secret compact about the custody of the goods. — Dupuy, Condemnation, p. 107

were contemptuous of Church censures to bear their testimony.[1]

Pope Clement, when this conference was over, hastened to leave his honorable imprisonment at Poitiers. He passed some months at Bordeaux, the Cardinals in the neighborhood. After the winter he retired to Avignon, hereafter to be the residence of the Transalpine Popes.[2] As he passed through Toulouse he addressed a circular letter to the King of France, in which, having declared the unanswerable evidence of the heresy and the guilt of the Templars, he prohibited all men from aiding, counselling, or favoring, from harboring or concealing, any member of the proscribed Order; he commanded all persons to seize, arrest, and commit them to safe custody. All this under the pain of severe spiritual censure. Yet there were many who stole away unperceived; and for concealment or from want submitted to the humblest functions of society, to plebeian services or illiberal arts. Many bore exile, degradation, indigence, with noble magnanimity — all asserting, wherever it was safe to assert it, as in the Ghibelline cities of Lombardy, the entire and irreproachable innocence of the Order.[3]

[1] The Bull, "faciens misericordiam," dated Aug. 12, 1308.

[2] Baluz. ii. p. 134. He was at Narbonne, April 5, 1309, then at Montpellier and Nismes; he arrived at Avignon at the end of April. — Ménard, p. 456.

[3] "Si qui autem ex Templariorum cœtu manumissi aut per fugam abstracti evadere potuerunt, projecto Religionis suæ habitu ministeriis plebeiis ignoti, aut artibus illiberalibus se dederunt. Nonnulli autem ex clarissimis parentibus orti, dum transfugæ laboribus multis et periculis dudum expositi, vitæ tædium, magnificis animorum nobilium conatibus vilipenderunt, ultro se gentibus edidere, adjurantes se objecti criminis prorsus insontes." Ferretus of Vicenza had before said (and in Lombardy the refugees would not fear to describe their sufferings) that many had died in prison, "tam diu vinculis retentos pædoris squallorisque rigidi angustia peremit." — Apud Murator. R. I. S. ix. p. 1017.

As he passed through Nismes, the Pope issued his commission to Bertrand, Bishop of that city, to reinvestigate the guilt of the prisoners. Bertrand held one session; then, on account of his age and infirmity, devolved the office on William St. Lawrence Curé of Durfort. Durfort opened his court first at Nismes, afterwards at Alais. Thirty-two, a few Knights, others servitors, the same who had confessed before the royal commissioners — now that the milder and more impartial Church sat in judgment — now that their chains were struck off, and they felt their limbs free, and hoped that they should not return to their fetid prisons — almost with one voice disclaimed their confessions. One only, manifestly in a paroxysm of fright, and in the eager desire of obtaining absolution, recanted his recantation. Another, Drohet, had abandoned the Order: he confessed, but only from hearsay, and entreated not to be sent back to prison among men whose heresy he detested. A third appeared to the Court to have concerted his evidence, was remanded, made amends by a more ample confession, clearly from panic: he had heard of the cat-idol. The rest firmly, resolutely denied all.[1]

[1] The examination at Alais began June 19, 1310, ended July 14. St. Lawrence took as his assessors two canons of Nismes, three Dominicans, two Franciscans of Alais (Ménard, p. 260). Eight were brought from Nismes (of these were three knights), seventeen from Aigues Mortes, seven from the prisons in Alais. It should be added that the recanting witness, Bernard Arnold, swore that the prisoners had met to concert — when? and where? — "quod cotidie tenebant sua colloquia et suos tractatus super hiis; et sese ad invicem instruunt qualiter negent omnia, et dicant dictum ordinem bonum esse et sanctum." — Preuves, p. 175.

# CHAPTER II.

## PROCESS OF THE TEMPLARS.

THE affair of the Templars slumbered for some months, but it slumbered to awaken into terrible activity. A Papal Commission[1] was now opened to inquire, not into the guilt of the several members of the Order, but of the Order itself. The Order was to be arraigned before the Council of Vienne, which was to decide on its reorganization or its dissolution. This commission therefore superseded all the ordinary jurisdictions either of the Bishop or of the Inquisition, and, in order to furnish irrefragable proof before the Council, summoned before it for reëxamination all who had before made depositions in those Courts. Their confessions were put in as evidence, but they had the opportunity of recanting or disclaiming those confessions.[2]

At the head of the Commission was Gilles d'Aiscelin, Archbishop of Narbonne, a man of learning, but no strength of character; the Bishop of Mende, who owed his advancement to King Philip; the Bishops of Bayeux and Limoges; the Archdeacons of Rouen (the Papal Notary), of Trent, and Maguelonne, and the Provost of Aix. The Provost excused himself from attendance. The Archbishop and the Bishop of Bay-

[1] Aug. 1309. The Commission sat, with some intermission, to May, 1311

[2] See Haveman, p. 227.

eux grew weary and withdrew themselves gradually, on various pretexts, from the sittings.

The Commission opened its Court in the Bishop's palace at Paris[1] August 7th, 1309. The Bull issued by the Pope at Poitiers was read.[2] Then, after other documents, a citation of the Order of Knights Templars, and all and every one of the Brethren of the said Order. This citation was addressed to the Archbishops of the nine Provinces, Sens, Rheims, Rouen, Tours, Lyons, Bourges, Bordeaux, Narbonne, and Auch, and to their suffragans. It was to be suspended on the doors of all cathedral and collegiate churches, public schools, and court-houses, the houses of the Templars, and the prisons where the Templars were confined. Sworn messengers were despatched to promulgate this citation in the provinces and dioceses. The Templars were to appear on the day after the Feast of St. Martin.

On that day not a Templar was seen. Whether the Bishops were reluctant to give orders, or the keepers of the prisons to obey orders; whether no means of transport had been provided, no one knew; or, what is far less likely, that the Templars themselves shrunk from this new interrogatory, hardly hoping that it would be conducted with more mildness, or dreading that it might command

Nov. 12. Commission at Paris. No Templars appear.

[1] The acts of this Commission are the most full, authentic, and curious documents in the history of the abolition of the Templars. They were published imperfectly, or rather a summary of them, by Moldenhauer, Hamburg, 1792. The complete and genuine proceedings have now appeared in the original Latin, among the 'Documents Inédits sur l'Histoire de France,' under the care of M. Michelet. The second volume has recently been added. My citations, if not otherwise distinguished, refer to these volumes.

[2] "Faciens misericordiam."

fresh tortures. On five successive days proclamation was made by the apparitor of the Official of Paris, summoning the Knights to answer for their Order. No voice replied. On the Tuesday inquiry was made into the answers of the Bishops to the Court. Some were found to have published the citation, others to have neglected or disobeyed; from some had come no answers; to them letters were addressed of mild rebuke or exhortation. The Templars were to be informed that the investigation was not against individual members of the Order, but against the Order itself. No one was to be compelled to appear: but all who voluntarily undertook the defence of the Order had free liberty to go to Paris.[1]

On the 22d of November the Bishop of Paris appeared in Court. He declared that he had himself gone to the prison in which the Grand Master, Hugo de Peyraud the Visitor of the Order, and other Knights were confined; that he had caused the Apostolic letter to be read in Latin, and explained in the vulgar tongue; that the Knights had declared themselves ready to appear before the Court; some were willing to defend the Order. He had published the citation in the churches and other public places, and sent persons of trust to make known and to explain the citation to all the prisoners in the city and diocese of Paris. Orders were issued to Philip de Vohet, Provost of the Church of Poitiers, and John de Jamville, door-keeper to the King, who

1 "Nec volumus quod contra fratres singulares dicti ordinis, et de hiis quæ ipsos tamquam singulares personas tangant, non intendimus inquirere contra eos, sed duntaxat contra ordinem supradictum juxta traditam nobis formam. Nec fuit nostræ intencionis, nec est, quod aliqui ex eis venire cogantur vel teneantur, sed solum ii qui voluntarie venire valeant pro premissis." — p. 25.

had the general custody of the prisoners, to bring before the Court, under a strong and trusty guard, the Master, the Visitor, and all who would undertake the defence. The Provost and De Jamville bowed and promised to obey. On the same day appeared a man in a secular habit, who called himself John de Melot, of the diocese of Besançon. He was manifestly a simple and bewildered man, who had left the Order or who had been dismissed ten years before, and seemed under the influence of panic. "He knew no harm of the Order, did not come to defend it, was ready to do or to suffer whatever the Court might ordain; he prayed that they would furnish him with subsistence, for he was very poor." The Court saw that he was half-witted, and sent him to the Bishop of Paris to be taken care of.[1] Six Knights then stood before the Court. Gerald de Caus was asked why he appeared. He replied, in obedience to the citation: he was prepared to answer any interrogatory. The Court answered, that they compelled no one to come before them, and asked whether he was ready to defend the Order. After many words he said that he was a simple soldier, without house, arms, or land: he had neither ability nor knowledge to defend the Order. So said the other five. Then appeared Hugo de Peyraud, Visitor of the Order, under the custody of the Provost of Poitiers and John de Jamville. He came in consequence of the citation, made

Hugh de Peyraud.

[1] "Et quia fuit visum eisdem dominis commissariis, ex aspectu et consideracione personæ suæ, actuum, gestuum, et loquelæ, quod erat valde simplex vel fatuus, et non bene compos mentis suæ, non processerunt ulterius cum eodem." — p. 27. By some strange mistake of his own or of his authorities, Sismondi has attributed the speech and conduct of this poor crazy man to Du Molay.

known by the Bishop of Paris, to answer any interrogatory. He came further to entreat the Pope and the King not to waste and dissipate the goods of the Temple, but religiously to devote them to their original use, the cause of the Holy Land. He had given his answers to the three Cardinals at Chinon, had been prepared to do the same before the Pope; he could only say the same before the Commissioners. He too declined to undertake the defence, and was remanded to prison.[1]

After two days' adjournment, on Wednesday, November 26th, Du Molay, at his own request, Du Molay was brought before the Court. He was asked whether he would defend the Order. "The Order was founded," he replied, "and endowed with its privileges by the Pope. He wondered that the Pope would proceed in such haste to the abolition of such an Order. The sentence hung over Frederick II. for thirty-two years. Himself was an unlearned man, unfit, without counsel, to defend the Temple; yet he was prepared to do it to the best of his ability. He should hold himself a base wretch, he would be justly held as a base wretch by others, if he defended not an Order from which he had received so much honor and advantage. Yet this was a hard task for one who had been thrown into prison by the King and by the Pope, and had but four deniers in the world to fee counsel. All he sought was that the

[1] The Court received private information that certain Templars had arrived in Paris, disguised in secular habits, and furnished with money to provide counsel and legal aid to defend the Order; they had been arrested by the king's officers; the Provost of the Châtelet was commanded to bring them before the Court. It was a false alarm. One of them only had been a servitor for those monks; he was poor, and had come to Paris to seek a livelihood. They were gravely informed that if they designed to defend the Order, the Court was ready to hear them: they disclaimed such intention.

truth might be known concerning the Order, not in France only, but before the kings, princes, prelates, and barons of the world. By the judgment of those kings, princes, prelates, and barons he would stand." The Court replied that he should deliberate well on his defence. The Master said, "he had but one attendant, a poor servitor of the Order: he was his cook." They reminded him significantly of his confessions: they would have him to know that, in a case of heresy or faith, the course was direct and summary, without the noise and form of advocates and judicial procedure.

They then, without delay, read the Apostolic letters, and the confession which Du Molay was reported to have made before the three Cardinals. The Grand Master stood aghast; the gallant knight, the devout Christian, rose within him. Twice he signed himself with the sign of the cross. "If the Lords Commissioners were of other condition, he would answer them in another way." The Commissioners coldly replied "that they sat not there to accept wager of battle." Du Molay saw at once his error. "I meant not that, but would to God that the law observed by the Saracens and the Tartars, as to the forgers of false documents, were in use here! The Saracens and Tartars strike off the heads of such traitors, and cleave them to the middle." The Court only subjoined, "The Church passes sentence on heretics, and delivers over the obstinate to the secular arm."

William de Plasian, the subtlest of Philip's counsellors, was at hand. He led Du Molay aside: he protested that he loved him as a brother-soldier; he besought him with many words not to rush upon his ruin. Du Molay, confused, perplexed, feared that if

he acted further without thought he might fall into some snare. He requested delay. He felt confidence (fatal confidence!) in De Plasian, for De Plasian was a knight!

The day after, Ponsard de Gisi, Preceptor of Payens, was brought up with Raoul de Gisi, Preceptor of Lagny Sec. Ponsard boldly declared himself ready to undertake the defence of the Order. All the enormous charges against the Order were utterly, absolutely false; false were all the confessions, extorted by terror and pain, from himself and other brethren before the Bishop of Paris. Those tortures had been applied by the sworn and deadly enemies and accusers of the Order, by the Prior of Montfalcon, and William Roberts, the monk.[1] He put in a schedule: — "These are the traitors who have falsely and disloyally accused the religion of the Temple: William Roberts the monk, who had them put to the torture; Esquin de Florian of Beziers, Prior of Montfalcon; Bernard Pelet, Prior of Maso) Philip's Envoy to England); and Gervais Boysol, Knight of Gisors."[2]

Nov. 27.

Had Ponsard himself been tortured? He had been tortured before the Bishop of Paris three months ere he made confession. His hands had been tied behind him till the blood burst from his nails. He had stood

[1] "Per vim et propter periculum et timorem, quia torquebantur." Florigerano de Biturres, priori Montefalconis, Guilelmo Roberto monacho, inimicis eorum." This is a new and terrible fact, that the accusers, even the Prior of Montfalcon, were the *torturers!*

[2] Moldenhauer says that they gave in a paper. "Ces sont les treytours, liquel ont proposé fauseté et debaute contre leste de la Religion deu Temple, Guilealmes Robers Moynes, qui les mitoyet a geinas: Esquino de Flexian de Biterris, en Priens de Montfaucon, Bernard Pelete Priens de Maso de Genois, et Everannes de Boxxol, Echalier vençus a Gisors" (*sic*). — p. 33.

thus in a pit for the space of an hour.[1] He protested that in that state of agony he should confess or deny whatever they would. He was prepared to endure beheading, the stake, or the caldron, for the honor of the Order; but these slow, excruciating torments he could not bear, besides the horrors of his two years' imprisonment. He was asked if he had anything to allege wherefore the Court should not proceed. He hoped that the cause would be decided by good men and true.[2] The Provost of Poitiers interposed; he produced a schedule of charges advanced by Ponsard himself against the Order. "Truth," answered Ponsard, "requires no concealment. I own that, in a fit of passion, on account of some contumelious words with the Treasurer of the Temple, I did draw up that schedule." Those charges, however, dark as were some of them, were totally unlike those now brought against the brotherhood. Before he left the Court Ponsard expressed his hope that the severity of his imprisonment might not be aggravated because he had undertaken the defence of the Order. The Court gave instructions to the Provost of Poitiers and De Jamville that he should not be more harshly treated.

Du Molay again.

On the Friday before the Feast of St. Andrew Du Molay appeared again. De Plasian had alarmed, or persuaded or caressed him to a more calm and suppliant demeanor. He thanked the commissioners for their indulgence in granting delay. Asked if he would defend the Order, he said that "he was an unlettered and a poor man. The Pope had reserved for its own decision the judgment on himself and other heads of the Order. He prayed

[1] Leuge. [2] See also this in the Procès and in Moldenhauer, p. 35

to be brought, as speedily as might be (for life was short), into the presence of the Pope." Asked whether he saw cause why the Court should not proceed, not against individual Knights, but against the Order, he replied, "None; but to disburden his conscience, he must aver three things: I. That no religious edifices were adorned with so much splendor and beauty as the chapels of the Templars, nor the services performed with greater majesty, except in cathedral churches; II. That no Order was more munificent in alms-giving; III. That no Brotherhood and no Christians had confronted death more intrepidly, or shed their blood more cheerfully for the cause of Christ." He especially referred to the rescue of the Count of Artois. The Court replied that these things profited not to salvation, where the groundwork of the faith was wanting. Du Molay professed his full belief in the Trinity, and in all the articles of the Catholic faith.

William of Nogaret came forward, and inquired whether it was not written in the Chronicles of St. Denys, that Saladin had publicly declared, on a certain defeat of the Templars, that it was "a judgment of God for their apostasy from their faith, and for their unnatural crimes." Du Molay was amazed; "he had never heard this in the East." He acknowledged that he and some young Knights, eager for war, had murmured against the Grand Master, William de Beaujeu, because he kept peace with the Sultan, peace which turned out to be a wise measure. He entreated to be allowed the mass and the divine offices, to have his chapel and his chaplain. He withdrew, never to leave his prison till some years after, to be burned alive.

Up to this time none but the prisoners confined in Paris had been brought before the Commission. It was still found that the citations had been but partially served in the prisons of the other provinces.

Prisoners from the provinces.

Letters were again written to the Archbishops and Bishops, enjoining them to send up all the Templars who would undertake the defence of the Order to Paris. The King issued instructions to the Bailiffs and Seneschals of the realm to provide horses and conveyances, and to furnish a strong and sufficient guard. This was the special office of the Provost of Poitiers, and John de Jamville, who had the general custody of the captives in the provinces of Sens, Rheims, and Rouen. The prisons of Orleans were crowded. They were compelled to disgorge all

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their inmates. The appointed day was the morrow after the Purification. From that day till the end of March the prisoners came pouring in from all parts of the kingdom. Great numbers had died of torture, of famine, of shame and misery at their confinement in fetid and unwholesome dungeons, men accustomed to a free and active life. The survivors came, broken in spirit by torture, not perhaps sure that the Papal Commission would maintain its unusual humanity; most of them with the burden of extorted confessions, which they knew would rise up against them. Perhaps some selection was made. Some, no doubt, the more obstinate, and the more than obstinate, those who had recanted their confessions, were kept carefully away. Yet even under these depressing, crushing circumstances their numbers, their mutual confidence in each other, the glad open air, the face of man, before whom they were now to bear them-

selves proudly, and — vague hope! — some reliance on the power, the justice, or the mercy of the Pope, into whose hands they might seem to have passed from that of the remorseless King, gave them courage. They heard with undisguised murmurs of indignation the charges now publicly made against the Order, against themselves: the blood boiled as of old; the soldier nerved himself in defiance of his foe.

The first interrogatory, to which all at the time collectively before the Court[1] were exposed, was whether they would defend the Order. By far the larger number engaged with unhesitating intrepidity. There were some hundreds. Dreadful tales transpired of their prison-houses. Of those from St. Denys John de Baro had been three times tortured, and kept twelve weeks on bread and water. Of those from Tyers one declared that twenty-five of the Brethren had died in prison of torture and suffering: he asserted that if the Host were administered to them, God would work a miracle to show which spoke truth, those who confessed or those who denied. Of the twenty who arrived later from the province of Sens one, John of Cochiac, produced a letter from the Provost of Poitiers, addressed to Laurence de Brami, once

Asked if they will defend the Order. Feb. 3

[1] See the detail — from Clermont 34, from Sens 6, from the Bishopric of Amiens 12, from that of Paris about 10, from Tours 7 or 8 (of the Touraine Templars, some would defend themselves, not the Order, some as far as themselves were concerned), from St. Martin des Champs in Paris 14, from Nismes 7, from Moulhery 8, from the Temple 34, from Aris in the diocese of Paris 19, from the Castle of Corbeil 38, from St. Denys 7, from Beauvais 10, from Chalons 9, from Tyers in the diocese of Sens 10, from Carcassonne 28. There came from the province of Sens 20 more; there came from Sammartine in the diocese of Meaux 14; from Auxerre 4, from Crevecœur 18, from Toulouse 6, from Poitiers 13, from Cressi 6, from Moissiac 6, from Jamville (Orleans) 21, from Gisors 58, from Vernon 13, from Bourges diocese 14, from the archdiocese of Lyons 22.

commander in Apulia, and to other prisoners, urging them to deny to the Bishop of Orleans that they had been tampered with, and pressed to confess falsehoods: to act according to the advice of John Chiapini, "the beloved clerk;" and warning them that the Pope had ordered all who did not persevere in their confessions to be burned at once.[1] The Provost, having examined the document with seeming care, said, that he did not believe that he had written such a letter, or that it was sealed with his seal: "a certain clerk sometimes kept his seal, but he had not urged the prisoners to speak anything but the truth." One of those from Toulouse had been so dreadfully tortured by fire, that some of the bones of his feet had dropped out; he produced them before the Court.

Undertake the defence.

These many hundred Knights, Clerks, and Servitors, a great majority at least of those before the Court, resolved, notwithstanding their former sufferings, to defend their Order. Some of their answers were striking from their emphatic boldness. "To death." "To the end." "To the peril of my soul." "I have never confessed, never will confess, those base calumnies." "Give us the sacrament on the oaths, and let God judge." "With my body and my soul." "Against all men, against all living, save the King and the Pope." "I have made some confession before the Pope, but I lied. I revoke all, and will stand to the defence of the Order."[2] Those who declined,[3] alleged

[1] Procès, p. 75.

[2] Raynouard gives the names (p. 271), confirmed by the Procès.

[3] There seems to have been less boldness and resolution among the great officers of the Order; perhaps they were old and more sorely tried. John de Tournon, the Treasurer of the Temple in Paris, refused to undertake their defence. William of Arteblay, the king's almoner, would not offer

different excuses, some would defend themselves, not the Order; some would not undertake the defence, unauthorized by the Grand Master; some were simple men, unversed in such proceedings; one with simplicity, which seemed like irony, "would not presume to litigate with the King and the Pope." Very few, indeed, with Gerhard de Lorinche, refused "because there were many bad points in the Order." Many entreated that they might be relieved from some of the hardships of their prisons: that they might be admitted to the holy offices of the Church; some that they might resume the habit of the Order.

Defenders before the Court.

On the 25th of March the Knights, who had undertaken the defence, were assembled in the garden of the Archbishop's palace at Paris, to the number of five hundred and fifty-six; their names are extant in full.[1] The Papal commission, and the articles exhibited against the Order, which had been drawn up, to the number of one hundred and twenty-seven, by the King and his counsellors,[2] and which had before been read[3] and explained in French to about ninety persons, were now read again in Latin at full length. They contained, in minute legal particularity, every charge which had been adduced before. As the notary was proceeding to translate the charges, a gen-

himself for that purpose. Godfrey de Gonaville, Preceptor of Poithou and Aquitaine, said that he was a prisoner, a rude unlettered man: before the King and the Pope, whom he held for good lords and just judges, he would speak what was right, but not before the Commissioners. The Commissioners pledged themselves for his full security and freedom of speech — p. 100. "Nec deberet timere de aliquibus violenciis injuriis vel tormentis, quia non inferrent nec inferri permitterent, immo impedirent si inferri deberent." — p. 88. This is noteworthy.

[1] In the Proces; Moldenhauer has 556, Haveman says 544

[2] Raynouard, whom Haveman quotes, p. 246.

[3] March 14.

eral outcry arose that they did not need to hear, that they would not hear, such foul, false, and unutterable things in the vulgar tongue.

The Commissioners, in order to proceed with regularity, commanded the prisoners to select from among themselves six or eight or ten proctors to conduct the defence: they promised to these proctors full freedom of speech. After some deliberation Reginald de Pruin, Preceptor of the Temple in Orleans, and Peter of Bologna, Proctor of the Order in the Roman Court, both lettered men, dictated, in the name of the Knights present, this representation: "It appeared hard to them and to the rest of the Brethren that they had been deprived of the sacraments of the Church, stripped of their religious habit, despoiled of their goods, ignominiously imprisoned and put in chains. They were ill-provided with all things: the bodies of those who had died in prison had been buried in unconsecrated ground: in the hour of death they had been denied the Sacrament. No one could act as a proctor without the consent of the Grand Master; they were illiterate and simple, they required therefore the aid and advice of learned Counsel. Many knights of high character had not been permitted to undertake the defence: they named Reginald de Vossiniac and Matthew de Clichy as eminently qualified for that high function.

There was great difficulty in the choice of proctors and in their investiture with powers to act in defence of the Order. The public notaries went round the prisons in which the Templars were confined, to require their assent, if determined on the defence, to the nomination of proctors. The Knights had taken new courage from their short emancipation from their fetters,

from the glimpse of the light of day. About seventy-seven in the Temple dungeons solemnly averred all the articles to be foul, irrational, detestable, horrid, false to the blackest falsehood, iniquitous, fabricated, invented by mendacious witnesses, base, infamous; that "the Temple" is and always was pure and blameless. If they were not permitted to appear in person at the General Council, they prayed that they might appear by some of their Brethren. They asserted all the confessions to be false, wrung from them by torture, or by the fear of torture, and therefore to be annulled and thrown aside; that these things were public, notorious, to be concealed by no subterfuge. Other prisoners put in other pleas of defence, as strong, some of them more convincing from their rashness and simplicity. A few bitterly complained of the miserable allowance for their maintenance: they had to pay two sous for knocking off their irons, when brought up for hearing, and ironing them again.[1]

The mass of suffrages, though others were named, were for Peter of Bologna, Reginald de Pruin, priests; William de Chambonnet and Bertrand de Salleges, knights, as those in whom they had greatest confidence as proctors. Already on the 1st of April these four with Matthew de Clichy and Robert Vigier had given in a written paper, stating that without the approbation of the Grand Master they could not act. The Grand Master, the chief Preceptors of France, Guienne, Cyprus, and Normandy, and the other Brethren, must be withdrawn from the custody of the King's officers, and delivered to that of the Church, as it was notorious that they dared not, through fear, or through seduction and

[1] Procès, passim, at this period.

false promises, consent to the defence of the Order, and that false confessions would be adduced so long as the cause should last.[1] They demanded everything requisite to defend the cause, especially the counsel of learned lawyers; full security for the proctors and their counsel: that the apostate Brethren, who had thrown off the habit of the Order, should be taken into the custody of the Church till it should be ascertained whether they had borne true or false witness,[2] for it was well known that they had been corrupted by solicitations and bribes; that the priests who had heard the dying confessions of the Templars should be examined as to those confessions; that the accusers should appear before the Court, and be liable to the Lex Talionis.

On the 7th of April they appeared again with William de Montreal, Matthew de Cresson Essart, John de St. Leonard, and William de Grinsac. Peter of Bologna read the final determination of the Brethren: —

Protest of the Proctors.

"They could not, without leave from the Grand Master, appoint proctors, but they were content that the four, the two priests, Peter of Bologna and De Pruin, the two Knights, De Chambonnet and Salleges, should appear for the defence, produce all documents, allege all laws, and watch the whole proceedings in their behalf. They demanded that no confession, extorted by solicitation, reward, or fear, should be adduced to their prejudice; that all the false Brethren, who had thrown off the habit of the Order, should be kept in safe custody by the Church till found

[1] "Quia scimus predictos fratres non audere consentire defensioni ordinis propter eorum metum et seductionem, et falsas promissiones, quia quamdiu durabit causa, durabit et confessio falsa." — p. 127.

[2] This was probably aimed especially at Squino de Florian and his colleagues.

true or mendacious; that no layman should be present at the hearing, no one who might cause reasonable dread;" for the Brethren were in general so downcast in mind from terror, that it is less surprising that they should tell lies than speak truth, when they compare the tribulation, anguish, insults endured by those who speak truth, with the advantages, enjoyments, freedom of those who speak falsehood.[1] "It is amazing that those should be believed who are thus corrupted by personal advantage rather than the martyrs of Christ, who endure the worst afflictions:" "they aver that no Knight in all the world out of the realm of France has or would utter such lies: it is manifest therefore that they that do this in France are seduced by terror, influence, or bribery."[2] They assert distinctly, deliberately, without reserve, the holiness of the Order; their fidelity to their three solemn vows of chastity, obedience, poverty; their dedication to the service of Christ's Sepulchre; they avouch the utter mendacity of the articles exhibited against them. "Certain false Christians, or absolute heretics, moved by the zeal of covetousness, or the ardor of envy, have sought out some few apostates or renegades from the Order (diseased sheep cast out of the fold), and with them have invented and forged all the horrid crimes and wickednesses attributed to the Order. They have poisoned the ears of the Pope and of the King. The Pope and the King, thus misled by designing and crafty counsellors, have permitted their satellites to compel confessions by impris-

[1] "Quia omnes fratres generaliter tanto terrore, et terrore perculsi, quod non est mirandum quodam modo de hiis qui mentiuntur, sed plus de hiis qui sustinent veritatem." — p. 166, and in Moldenhauer.

[2] "Quare dicta sunt in regno Franciæ, quia, qui dixerunt, corrupti timore prece vel pretio testificati sunt"!!

onment, torture, the dread of death. Finally, they protested against the form of procedure, as directly contrary to law, an inquisition ex officio, because before their arrest, they were not arraigned by public fame, because they are not now in a state of freedom and security, but at the mercy of those who are continually suggesting to the King that he should urge all who have confessed by words, messages, or letters not to retract their false depositions, extorted by fear; for if they retract them, they will be burned alive."[1]

William de Montreal presented another protest in Provençal French, somewhat different in terms, insisting on their undoubted privilege of being judged by the Pope and the Pope alone.

These protests had no greater effect than such protests usually have; they were overruled by the Commissioners, who declared themselves determined to proceed.

Witnesses.

On April 11th, on the eve of Palm Sunday, the witnesses, how chosen is unknown, were brought forward: oaths of remarkable solemnity were administered in the presence of the four advocates of the Order. The depositions of the first witnesses were loose and unsatisfactory, resting on rumor and suspicion. Raoul de Prael had some years before heard Gervais, Prior of the Temple at Laon, declare that the Templars had a great and terrible secret, he would have his head cut off rather than betray it. Nicolas Domizelli, Provost of the Monastery of Fassat, had heard his uncle, who entered the Order twenty-five years before, declare that the same Gervais had used the same language concerning the secret usages of the Order. He had himself wished to enter the Order,

[1] p. 140.

but, though he was very rich, Gervais had raised difficulties. Some of the Court adjourned to the death-bed of John de St. Benedict, Preceptor of Isle Bochard. John underwent, though said to be at the point of death, a long interrogatory. He confessed, as they reported, the denial of Christ and spitting on the Cross at his reception: of the idol, or of the other charges he knew nothing. Guiscard de Marsiac had heard of the obscene kisses. His relative, Hugh de Marchant, after he had entered the Order, had become profoundly melancholy; he called himself a lost man, had a seal stamped "Hugh the Lost." Hugh, however, had died, after confession to a Friar Minor and having received the Holy Sacrament, in devotion and peace. Then came two servitors, under the suspicious character of renegades, having cast off the dress of the Order, John de Taillefer, and John de Hinquemet, an Englishman. They deposed to the denial of Christ, the spitting on the Cross, the denial with their lips not their hearts (as almost every one did), the spitting near not on the Cross.

The Court adjourned for the Festival of Easter, and resumed its sittings on the Thursday in Easter week. The four defenders had become still more emboldened, perhaps by the meagre and inconclusive evidence. They put in a new protest against the proceedings, as hasty, violent, sudden, iniquitous, and without the forms of law. The Brethren had been led like sheep to the slaughter; they recounted again the imprisonments, the tortures, under which many had died, many were maimed for life, by which some had been compelled to make lying confessions. Further, letters had been shown to the Brethren, with

Easter.

New protest.

the King's seal attached, promising them, if they would bear witness against the Order, safety of life and limb, ample provision for life, and assuring them at the same time that the Order was irrevocably doomed. They demanded a list of the witnesses, so that they might adduce evidence as to their credibility; that those who had given their depositions should be separated and kept apart from those who had not, so that there might be no collusion or mutual understanding; that the depositions should be kept secret; that every witness should be informed that he might speak the truth without fear, because his deposition would not be divulged till it had been laid before the Pope. They demanded that the laymen De Plasian, De Nogaret, and others should not be present in the spiritual court to overawe the judges; they demanded that those who had the custody of the Templars should be interrogated as to the testimony given concerning the Order by the dying in their last hours.

Examinations resumed.

The examinations began again. Another servitor, Huguet de Buris, who, with a fourth, had shared the dungeon of Taillefer and John the Englishman, deposed much to the same effect. Gerard de Passages gave more extraordinary evidence. Seventeen years after his reception he had abandoned the Order for five years on account of the foul acts which had taken place at his reception. After the usual rigorous oaths had been administered, a crucifix of wood was produced: he was asked whether he believed that cross to be God. He replied that it was the image of the Crucified. It was answered, "this is but a piece of wood; God is in heaven." He was commanded to spit upon and trample on the Cross. He did this,

not compelled, but from his vow of obedience. He kissed his Initiator on the spine of the back. Yet Gerard de Passages, though thus a renegade to the Order, had suffered, he avers, the most horrible tortures before the King's Bailiff at Macon, weights tied to the genitals and other limbs to compel him to a confession of the idol, of which he declared that he knew nothing. Godfrey de Thatan, the fourth of the servitors, "had been forced to the denial of Christ, on his reception, by the threat of being shut up in a place where he could see neither his hands nor his feet." Raymond de Vassiniac made an admission for the first time of one of the fouler charges, but denied MAY 6. the actual guilt of the Order. Baldwin de St. Just, Preceptor of Ponthieu, had been twice examined, twice put to the torture, at Amiens by the Friar Preachers, at Paris before the Bishop. The sharper tortures at Amiens had compelled him to confess more than the less intolerable tortures at Paris, or than he was disposed to avow before the Commissioners. "At his own reception had taken place the abnegation, the insult to the Cross, the license to commit unnamable vices. But at the reception of four Brothers, one his own nephew, at which he had been present, nothing of the kind." The servitor James of Troyes was the most ready witness: he had left the Order four years before from love of a woman. Besides the usual admissions, he had heard, he could not say from whom, that a head was worshipped at the midnight Chapters. The Court itself mistrusted the ease, fluency, and contradictions of this witness.[1]

1 "Predictus testis videbatur esse valde facilis et procax ad loquendum et in pluribus dictis suis non esse stabilis, sed quasi varians et vacillans."

Still during all these examinations new batches of Knights were brought in, almost all of them eager to undertake the defence of the Order. As yet, considering the means unscrupulously used to obtain evidence, the evidence had been scanty, suspicious, resting chiefly on low persons of doubtful fidelity to their vows. Hope, even something like triumph, might be rising in the hearts, faintly gleaming on the countenances of the Templars. The Court itself might seem somewhat shaken: the weighty protests, unanswered and unanswerable, could hardly be without some effect. Who could tell the turn affairs might take?

Archbishop of Sens.

But now, at this crisis, terrible rumors began to spread that the Archbishop of Sens, in defiance and in contempt of the supreme Papal tribunal, was proceeding (as Metropolitan of Paris) against all who had retracted their confessions, as relapsed heretics. These were the first fruits of the Archbishop's gratitude to the King for his promotion extorted from the reluctant Pope: he had not been a month enthroned!

Stephen, Archbishop of Sens, had died about the Easter of the preceding year. The Pope declared his determination himself to nominate the Metropolitan of this important See, of which the Bishop of Paris was a Suffragan. But the King requested, he demanded the See for Philip, the brother of his faithful minister, Enguerrand de Marigni, the author and adviser of all his policy. Clement struggled with some resolution, but gave way at length; he acceded ungraciously, reluctantly, but still acceded.

Philip de Marigni.

A.D. 1310.

At Easter Philip de Marigni received his pall. Almost his first act was to summon a Provincial

Council to sit in judgment on the Templars who had retracted their confessions. The rapid deliberations of this Council were known to be drawing to a close. On Sunday the four defenders demanded a special audience of the Commissioners. They put in a strong protest against the acts of the Archbishop; they entreated the intervention of the Commissioners to arrest these iniquitous proceedings; they appealed to their authority, to their justice, to their mercy for their Brethren now on trial before another Court. The Archbishop of Narbonne withdrew under the pretext of hearing or celebrating mass. It was not till the evening that they obtained a cold reply. "The proceedings of the Archbishop related to different matters than those before the Court: the trial of relapsed heretics. The Commissioners had no authority to inhibit the Archbishop of Sens and his Suffragans: they would, however, deliberate further on the subject."

Appeal to the Commissioners.

They had no time for deliberation. The next day De Marigni's Council closed its session. The Archbishop pronounced all who had retracted their confessions, and firmly adhered to their retractation, relapsed heretics. It was strange, stern logic: "You have confessed yourself to be guilty of heresy, on that confession you have received absolution. If you retract your confessions, the Church treats you not as reconciled sinners, but as relapsed heretics, and as heretics adjudges you to be burned." It was in vain urged that their heresy rested on their own confession; that confession withdrawn, there was no proof of their heresy. Those who persisted in their confession, were set at liberty, declared reconciled to the Church, provided for by the King. Those who had made no con-

Decision of the Council.

fession, and refused to make one, were declared not reconciled to the Church, and ordered to be detained in prison, which might be perpetual. For the relapsed there was a darker destiny.

On May 12th fifty-four stakes, encircled with dry wood, were erected outside the Porte St. Antoine. Fifty-four Templars were led forth — men, some of noble birth, many in the full health and strength of manhood.[1] The habits of their Order were rent from them; each was bound to the stake, with an executioner beside him. The herald proclaimed for the last time that those who would confess should be set at liberty. Kindred and friends thronged around weeping, beseeching, imploring them to submit to the King. Not one showed the least sign of weakness: they resolutely asserted the innocence of the Order, their own faith as Christians. The executioners slowly lit the wood, which began to scorch, to burn, to consume their extremities. The flames rose higher; and through the crackling might be heard the howlings of the dying men, their agonizing prayers to Christ, to the Blessed Virgin, to the Saints. Not one but died an unshrinking and resolute martyr to the guiltlessness of the Order. The people looked on in undisguised sympathy. "Their souls," says one chronicler, "incurred deeper damnation, for they misled the people into grievous error."[2] Day after day went on the same sad spectacle. On the eve of the Ascension, four were burned, among them the King's Almoner. One hundred and thirteen were burned in Paris alone, and not one apostate!

[1] Raynouard (pp. 109-111) has recovered the names of most of the fifty-four.

[2] Chroniques de St. Denys. The best account is in Villani, viii. xcii., Zantfleet Chronicon, apud Martene, v. p. 159.

The examinations were going on, meantime, before the Papal Commission. The day when it was well known that the Archbishop was about to condemn the recreants to the flames, Humphry de Puy, a servitor, gave the most intrepid denial to the whole of the charges: he had been three times tortured, kept in a dungeon on bread and water for twenty-six weeks. He described his own reception as solemn, secret, and austere. He had heard rumors of such things as were said to have taken place; he did not believe one word of them. Throughout his denial was plain, firm, unshaken. John Bertaldi was under examination when the tidings of the burnings at the Porte St. Antoine were made known. The Commissioners sent a tardy and feeble petition at least for delay, and to inform the Archbishop and the King's officers that the Templars had entered an appeal to the Council of Vienne. This was all!

Examinations proceed.

The next day Aymeric de Villars le Duc appeared before the Commissioners, pale, bewildered; yet on his oath, and at peril of his soul, he imprecated upon himself, if he lied, instant death, and that he might be plunged body and soul, in sight of the Court, into hell. He smote his breast, lifted his hands in solemn appeal to the altar, knelt down, and averred all the crimes imputed to the Order utterly false: though he had been tortured by G. de Maraillac and Hugo de Celle, the King's officers, to partial confession. He had seen the wagons in which the fifty-four had been led to be burned, he had heard that they had been burned. He doubted whether, if he should be burned, he would not through fear confess anything, and confess it on his oath, even if he were asked if he had slain the Lord.

He entreated the Commissioners, he even entreated the notaries not to betray his secret lest he should be condemned to the same fate as his Brethren.

The Commissioners found the witnesses utterly paralyzed with dread, and only earnest that their confessions or retractations of their confessions, might not be revealed; above forty abandoned the defence in despair. So, after some unmeaning communications with the Archbishop of Sens, they determined to adjourn the Court for some months, till November 3d.

In the mean time other Metropolitans and Bishops followed the summary and barbarous proceedings of Philip Marigni of Sens.[1] The Archbishop of Rheims held a Council at Senlis; nine Templars were burned: the Archbishop of Rouen at Pont de l'Arche; the number of victims is not known, but they were many.[2] The Bishop of Carcassonne held his Council: John Cassantras, Commander in Carcassonne, with many others perished in the fire.[3] Duke Thiebault of Lorraine, who had seized the goods of the Templars, ordered great numbers to execution. None retracted their retractation of their confession.[4]

On November 3d the Commission resumed its sittings, but most of the Commissioners were weary or disgusted with their work. Three only were present. The Archbishop of Narbonne and the Bishop of Bayeux were elsewhere employed, it was alleged, on the

[1] Continuator Nangis. — Vit. Clement. VI.

[2] Histoire des Archevêques de Rouen, quoted by Raynouard, p. 120.

[3] Hist. Eccles. de Carcassonne. — Ibid.

[4] "Unum autem mirandum fuit, quod omnes et singuli sigillatim confessiones suas quas prius fecerant in judicio, et jurati confessi fuerant dicere veritatem, penitus retractaverunt, dicentes se falso dixisse prius et se fuisse mentitos, nullam super hæc reddentes causam nisi vim vel metum tormentorum quod de se talia faterentur." — iv. vit. Clement, p. 72.

King's business. The Archdeacon of Maguelonne wrote from Montpellier to excuse himself on account of illness. The Bishop of Limoges withdrew: a letter to the King had been seen, disapproving the reopening of the Commission till the meeting of a Parliament summoned for the day of St. Vincent.[1] They adjourned to the 17th of December.[2] The Commission was then more full; the Archbishop of Narbonne and four others took their seats. Of the four proctors, the Knights William de Chambonnet and Bernard de Salleges alone appeared. Peter of Bologna and Reginald de Pruin, it was asserted, had renounced the defence. Peter de Bologna was heard of no more; he was reported to have broken prison. Reginald de Pruin, as having been degraded by the Archbishop, was deemed disqualified to act for the Order. Thus was the defence crippled. In vain the Knights, unlettered men, demanded counsel to assist them: they too abandoned the desperate office. The Court, released from their importunate presence, could proceed with greater despatch. Lest any new hindrance should occur, at the suggestion of the Archbishop of Narbonne it was determined that the Commissioners might sit by deputy.

The Court sat from the 17th of December to the 26th of May. Not less, on the whole, than two hundred and thirty-one witnesses were heard. It cannot now be wondered if the confessions were more in accordance with the views of the King. The most intrepid of the Knights had died at the stake; every one who retracted his confession must make up his mind to be burned. On the other hand, the Order seemed irretrievably doomed: while confession might

[1] Jan. 22. [2] By an error in the Document, Oct. 17.

secure themselves, the most stubborn assertor of the blamelessness of the Order could not avert its dissolution. A few appeared in the habit of the Order, with the long beard: most had either thrown it off, or it had been taken from them, they appeared shaven. This was the case with all who had been absolved by the Church.

The confessions, upon strict examination, manifestly betray this predominant feeling of terror and despair. Some there were who nobly, obstinately denied the whole. Those who confessed, confessed as little as they could, enough to condemn the Order, yet not to inculpate, or to inculpate as little as possible, themselves. The confessions are constantly clashing and contradictory.[1] Men present at certain receptions assert things to have taken place, which others, also present, explicitly deny. The general conclusion was this. Many dwelt on the difficulties which were raised against their admission to the Order. They were admonished that they must not expect to ride about in splendid attire on stately horses, and to live easy and luxurious lives; they had to submit to austere discipline, stern self-denial, almost intolerable privations and hardships. When they would wish to be beyond the sea, they would be thwarted in their wishes; when they would sleep, they would be forced to watch; when to eat, to fast. They were asked if they believed the Catholic faith of the Church of Rome; if they were in Holy Orders, married, under the vows of any other Brotherhood; whether they had given bribe or promise to any Knight Templar to obtain admission

[1] Raynouard has, with much ingenuity and truth, brought together the direct contradictions. — p. 157 *et. seq.*

into the Order. "Ye ask a great thing," replied the Knight who admitted them to their request.

The first and public act of reception,[1] all agreed, was most severe, solemn, impressive. The three great vows of obedience, chastity, abandonment of property, were administered with awful gravity. Then it was, according to the confession of most who confessed anything, that, after they had been clothed in the dress of the Order, they were led aside into some private chamber or chapel, and compelled, either in virtue of their vow of obedience, or in dread of some mysterious punishment, to deny Christ, to spit on the Cross. Yet, perhaps without exception, all swore that they had denied with their lips, not with their heart; that they spat, beside, above, below, not on the Cross.[2] All declared that never after had any attempt been made to confirm them in apostasy from Christ:[3] all declared that they fully believed the whole creed of the Church; almost all that they believed all their Brethren to have perfect faith in Christ. There were some singular variations and explanations of the denial. One believed it to be a mere test of their absolute obedience; another a probation, as to whether they were of sufficient resolution to be sent to the Holy Land, where, in the power of the Mohammedans, they might be compelled to choose between death and the abnegation of their Redeemer:[4] some that it

Result of confessions.

1 See the most full account of the reception by Gerard de Causse, p. 179 *et seq.*

2 "Juxta non super."

3 Albert de Canellis, preceptor in Sicily, and door-keeper of Pope Benedict XI., was told, when he denied Christ, "that the Crucified was a false prophet; and that he must not believe or have hope or trust in him." — p. 425.

4 One had confessed it to a Friar Minor, "et dixit ei dictus frater quod

was a mysterious allusion to the denial of St. Peter; some that it was an idle jest;[1] some that it was treated lightly, "Go, fool, and confess." Many had confessed the crime, most usually to Minorite Friars, and, though their confession shocked the priest, they received, after some penance, full absolution. Most of those who acknowledged the abnegation of Christ, admitted the obscene kiss: some that it was but a brotherly kiss on the mouth; some had received, some had been compelled to bestow this sign of obedience: it was sometimes on the navel, sometimes between the shoulders, sometimes at the bottom of the spine, sometimes, very rarely, lower: it was sometimes on the naked person, more often through the clothes. Here stopped the admissions of great numbers; this they thought would suffice; the whole of the rest they denied. Others went further: some admitted the permission to commit unnatural crimes, though in the charge on reception the sin was declared to be relentlessly punished by perpetual imprisonment; but all swore vehemently that they had never committed such crimes; had never been tempted or solicited to commit them; offences of this kind were very rare, and punished by expulsion from the Order. Some said that they were told it was better to sin so than with women to deter from that sin: some took it merely as an injunction hospitably to

ipse in articulo mortis et aliter audiverat confessiones multorum fratrum dicti ordinis, et nunquam intellexit prædicta, sed credebat quod hoc fecissent, ad *temptandum*, *si contingeret* eum capi ultra mare a Saracenis, an abnegaret Deum." — p. 405. Another Friar-Preacher took the same view of the denials, and added, "Quia, si non negâsset, forsitan citius misissent eum ultra mare." — p. 525. Peter de Charrat said that after his abnegation, "Dictus Odo incepit subridere, quasi *dispiciendo* ipsum testem."

[1] Truffas. It was done "truffatorie."

share their bed with a Brother: they wore their dress night and day, with a cord which bound it close.[1]

Of the idol but few had heard: still fewer seen it. It was a cat; it was a human head with two faces; it was of stone or metal, with features which might be discerned, or was utterly shapeless; it was the head of one of the eleven thousand virgins:[2] no one idol could be produced, though every mansion of the Templars, and all their most secret treasures, were in the hands of their enemies, had been seized without warning or time for concealment, and searched with the most deliberate scrutiny. In the midst of the examinations came, in a Latin writing from Vercelli, from Antonio Siri, a notary, this wild story, followed by another not less extravagant. A renegade in Sicily had divulged the secret. A Lord of Sidon had loved a beautiful woman: he had never enjoyed her before her death. After her death he disinterred and abused her body. The fruit of this unholy and loathsome connection was a head; and this head, a talisman of good fortune, was the idol of the Templars.[3] THE IDOL.

Most of the interrogated seemed to think that they had satisfied all demands when they had made admissions on the first few questions: to the rest they gave a general denial, or pleaded total ignorance. There were some vague answers about secret midnight chapters, of absolution spoken by the Grand Master, but rarely,

[1] Theobald of Tavernay added to his indignant denial of those crimes, "We had always money enough to purchase the favors of the most beautiful women." — p. 326.

[2] William de Arreblay, the king's almoner, before his apprehension, had believed it to be the head of one of these Virgins; since, from what he had heard in prison, suspected it was an idol, for it seemed to have two faces, was terrible to see, and had a silver beard! — p. 502.

[3] Pp. 645-6.

except in the absence of a priest, or it was conditional, and to be confirmed by a priest: very few knew anything of the omission of the words at the consecration of the host. But throughout they are the confessions of men under terror, some in an agony of dread, others from the remembrance or the fear of torture, or of worse than torture. John de Pollencourt at first protested again and again that he would adhere to his confession made before the Bishop of Amiens that he had denied Christ. The Commissioners saw that he was pale and shivering; they exhorted him to speak the truth, for neither they nor the notaries would betray his secret. He then solemnly denied the whole and every particular; averred that he had made his confession before the Inquisitors from fear of death; that Giles de Boutongi, one of the former witnesses, had urged on him and many others in the prison of Montreuil that they would lose their lives if they did not assist in the dissolution of the Order by confessing the abnegation of Christ and the spitting on the cross.[1] Three days after, the same John de Pollencourt entreats another hearing, not only retracts his retractation, but adds to his former confession, acknowledging the license to commit nameless sins, but denies the worship of the idol-cat. John de Cormeli, Preceptor of Moissiac, at first seems to assert the perfect sanctity of the initiation. Being pressed as to anything unseemly having taken place, he hesitates, entreats to speak with the Commissioners in private. The Commissioners decline this, but seeing him bewildered with the terror of torture (he had lost four teeth by torture at Paris), allow him to retire and deliberate. Some days after he ap-

[1] P. 368.

pears again with a full confession.[1] John de Rumfrey had confessed because he had been three times tortured. Robert Vigier denied all the charges; he had confessed on account of the violence of the tortures inflicted on him at Paris by the Bishop of Nevers:[2] three of his brethren had died under the torture. Stephen de Donnant was utterly bewildered; he confessed to the denial and the spitting on the cross. "Would he maintain this in the face of the Knight who had received him, and so give him the lie?" He would not.[3] The Court saw that he was shattered by the tortures undergone two years before under the Bishop of Paris.

All these depositions, signed, sealed, attested, authenticated, were transmitted to the Pope.[4]

It was not in France alone that the Templars were arrested, interrogated, in some kingdoms, and by the Pope's order, submitted to torture. In Templars in England.

[1] P. 506. [2] P. 514. [3] P. 557.

[4] M. Michelet writes thus in the Preface to the second volume of the Procès des Templiers, which, it must be admitted, contains on the whole a startling mass of confessions: "Il suffit de remarquer, que dans les interrogatoires que nous publions, les dénégations sont presque *toutes identiques*, comme si elles étaient dictées d'un formulaire convenu, qu'au contraire les aveux sont *tous différens*, variés de circonstances spéciales, souvent très naïves, qui leur donnent un caractère particulier de vérité. Le contraire doit avoir lieu, si les aveux avoient été dictés ou arrachés par les tortures: ils seraient à peu près semblables, et la diversité se trouverait plutôt dans les dénégations." I confess that my impression of the fact is different, though I am unwilling to set my opinion on this point against that of the Editor of the Proceedings. But the fact itself, if true, strikes me just in the contrary way. The denegations were simple denials: the avowals, those of persons who had suffered or feared torture or death, who were bewildered, desperate of saving the Order, and spoke therefore whatever might please or propitiate the judges. Truth is usually plain, simple; falsehood desultory, circumstantial, contradictory. In their confessions they were wildly bidding for their lives. Whatever you wish us to say, we will say it: a few words more or less matters not; or a few more assenting answers to questions which suggested those answers. Twenty-five examined at Elne in Rousillon had not been tortured: they denied calmly, consistently, the whole. — Tom. ii. p. 421.

England, Edward II., after the example of his father-in-law, and in obedience to the Pope's repeated injunctions, and to his peremptory Bull, had seized with the same despatch, and cast into different prisons, all the Templars in England, Wales, and Ireland; Scotland had done the same. The English Templars were under custody in London, Lincoln, and York. From Lincoln, before the interrogatory, great part, but not all, were transferred to the Tower of London, to the care of John Cromwell, the Constable.[1] The first proceeding was before Ralph Baldock, Bishop of London. On the 21st of October he opened the inquest on forty Knights, including the Grand Master, William de la More, in the chapter-house of the monastery of the Holy Trinity, in the presence of the Papal Commissioners, Deodate, Abbot of Lagny, and Sicard de St. Vaur, Canon of Narbonne, Auditor of the Pope.[2] The questions were at first far more simple, far less elaborately drawn out than those urged in France.[3] The chief points were these:[4] — Whether the chapters and the reception of knights were held in secret and by night; whether in those chapters were committed any offences against Christian morals or the faith of the Church; whether any one had suspected such offences; whether they knew that any individual brother had denied the Redeemer and worshipped idols; whether they themselves held heretical opinions on any of the sacraments. The examination was conducted with grave

[1] "Ut commodius et efficacius procedi potest ad inquisitionem." — Rymer, 1309.

[2] Wilkins, Concilia Mag. Britann. ii. p. 334.

[3] Concil. Magn. Britann. ii. 347. I shall be excused for giving the English examinations somewhat more at length. The trials were here at least *more fair*.

[4] The charges were read to them in Latin, French, and English.

dignity. The warders of the prisons were commanded to keep the witnesses separate, under pain of the greater excommunication: to allow them no intercourse, to permit no one to have access to them. The first four witnesses, William Raven, Hugh of Tadcaster, Thomas Chamberleyn, Ralph of Barton, were interrogated according to the simpler formulary. They described each his reception, by whom, in whose presence it took place; denied calmly, distinctly, specifically, every one of the charges; declared that they believed them to be false, and had not the least suspicion of their truth. Ralph of Barton was a priest; he was recalled, and then first examined, under a more rigid form of oath, on each of the eighty-seven articles used in France, and sanctioned by the Pope. His answer was a plain positive denial in succession of every criminal charge. Forty-seven witnesses deposed fully to the same effect.[1] From all these knights had been obtained not one syllable of confession.[2] It was determined to admit the testimony of witnesses not of the Order. Nov. 20. Seventeen were examined, clergy, public notaries, and others. Most of them knew nothing against the Templars; the utmost was a vague suspicion arising out of the secrecy with which they held their chapters. One man alone deposed to an overt act of

[1] Thomas de Ludham, the thirty-first witness, said that he had been often urged to leave the Order: but had constantly refused, though he had quite enough to live upon had he done so.

[2] The forty-fourth, John of Stoke, Chaplain of the Order, was questioned as to the death of William Bachelor, a knight. It appears that Bachelor had been in the prison of the Templars eight weeks, had died, had been buried, not in the cemetery, but in the public way within the Temple, and not in the dress of the Order. He had died excommunicated by the rules of the Order. It was intimated that Bachelor's offence was appropriating some of the goods of the Order.

guilt against a knight, Guy de Forest, who had been his enemy.

From January 29th to February 4th were hearings before the Bishops of London and Chichester, the Papal commissioners, and some others, in St. Martin's, Ludgate, and in other churches, on twenty-nine new articles. I. Whether they knew anything of the infidel and foul crimes charged in the Papal Bull. II. Whether the knights deposed under awe of the Great Preceptor or of the Order. III. Whether the form of reception was the same throughout the world, &c. Thirty-four witnesses, some before examined, persisted in the same absolute denial. On the 8th of June the Inquest dwelt solely on the absolution pronounced by the Grand Preceptor. William de la More deposed that when an offender was brought up before the chapter he was stripped of the dress of the Order, his back exposed, and the President struck three blows with scourges. He then said, "Brother, pray to God to remit thy sins." He turned to those present, "Brethren, pray to God that he remit our brother's sin, and repeat your Pater Noster." He swore that he had never used the form, "I absolve thee, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost." This was the case with all offences, save those which could not be confessed without indecency. These he remitted as far as he might by the powers granted to him by God and the Pope.[1] This was the universal practice of the Order. All the witnesses confirmed the testimony of William de la More. Interrogatories were also made at dif-

June 1, 1310.

[1] "Sed alia peccata, quæ non audent confiteri propter erubescentiam carnis vel timorem justitiæ ordinis, ipse ex potestate sibi concessâ, a Deo et domino Papâ, remittit ei in quantum potest." — p. 357.

ferent times at Lincoln under the Papal Commission, and before the Archbishop at York with the two Papal Commissioners.[1] All examined denied the whole as firmly and unanimously as at London. April 28.

The conclusions to which the chief Court arrived, after these Inquisitions, were in part a full and absolute acquittal of the Order; in part were based on a distorted and unjust view of the evidence; in part on evidence almost acknowledged to be unsatisfactory. The form of reception was declared to be the same throughout the world; of the criminality of that form, or of any of its particular usages, not one word. Certain articles were alleged to be proved: the absolution pronounced by the Grand Preceptor, and by certain lay knights in high office, and by the chapters; also that the reception was by night and secret; that they were sworn not to reveal the secret of their reception (proved by seven witnesses), were liable to be punished for such revelation (by three witnesses); that it was not lawful among themselves to discuss this secret (by three witnesses); that they were sworn to increase the wealth of the Order, by right or wrong;[2] by four witnesses that they were forbidden to confess except to priests of their own Order.[3]

The testimony of certain hostile witnesses was all this time kept separate; it was admitted that at the utmost even this was but presumptive against the Order. The Court seemed to have been ashamed of it, as well they might. In one place there is a strong intimation that the witnesses had contradicted and forsworn them-

[1] Thos. Stubbs, Act. Pontif. Eborac. apud Twysden, p. 730; also Hemingford.

[2] "Per fas vel per nefas."

[3] Concil. p. 548.

selves.[1] To what did it amount, and what manner of men were the witnesses?

An Irish Brother, Henry Tanet, had *heard* that in the East one knight had apostatized to Islam: he had *heard* that the Preceptor of Mount Pelerin in Syria had received knights with the denial of Christ; the names of the knights he knew not. Certain knights of Cyprus (unnamed) were not sound in faith. A certain Templar had a brazen head which answered all questions. He never heard that any knight worshipped an idol, except the apostate to Mohammedanism! and the aforesaid Preceptor.

John of Nassingham had heard from others, who said that they had been told, that at a great banquet given by the Preceptor at York many brothers met in solemn festival to worship a calf.

John de Eure, knight (not of the Order), had invited William de la Fenne, Preceptor of Wesdall, to dinner. De la Fenne, after dinner, had produced a book, and given it to his wife to read, which book denied the virgin birth of the Saviour, and the Redemption: "Christ was crucified, not for man's sins, but for his own." De la Fenne had confessed this before the Inquest. Himself, being a layman, could not know the contents of the book.

William de la Forde, Rector of Crofton, had heard from an Augustinian monk, now dead, that he had heard the confession of Patrick Rippon, of the Order, also dead, a confession of all the crimes charged against the Order. He had heard all this after the apprehension of the Templars at York.

[1] "Suspicio (quæ loco testis 21 in MS. allegatur) probare videtur, quod omnes examinati in aliquo dejeraverunt, ut ex inspectione processuum apparet."

Robert of Oteringham, a Franciscan, had heard a chaplain of the Order say to his brethren, "The devil will burn you," or some such words. He had seen a Templar with his face to the West, his hinder parts towards the altar. Twenty years before, at Wetherby, he had looked through a hole in the wall of a chapel where the Preceptor was said to be busy arranging the relics brought from the Holy Land; he saw a very bright light. Next day he asked a Templar what Saint they worshipped; the Templar turned pale, and entreated him, as he valued his life, to speak no more of the matter.

John Wederal sent in a schedule, in which he testified in writing that he had heard a Templar, one Robert Bayser, as he walked along a meadow, say, "Alas! alas! that ever I was born! I must deny Christ and hold to the devil!"

N. de Chinon, a Franciscan, had heard that a certain Templar had a son who looked through a wall and saw the knights compelling a professing knight to deny Christ; on his refusal they killed him. The boy was asked by his father whether he would be a Templar; the boy refused, saying what he had seen: on which his father killed him also.

Ferins Mareschal deposed that his grandfather entered the Order in full health and vigor, delighting in his hawks and hounds; in three days he was dead: the witness suspected that he would not consent to the wickednesses practised by the Order.

Adam de Heton deposed that when he was a boy it was a common cry among boys, "Beware of the kisses of the Templars."

William de Berney, an Augustinian, had heard that

a certain Templar, he did not know his name, but believed that he was the Preceptor of Duxworthe (near Cambridge), had said that man after death had no more a living soul than a dog.

Roger, Rector of Godmersham, deposed that fifteen years before he had desired to enter the Order. Stephen Quenteril had warned him, "If you were my father, and might become Grand Master of the Order, I would not have you enter it. We have three vows, known only to God, the devil, and the brethren." What those vows were Stephen would not reveal.

William, Vicar of St. Clement in Sandwich, had heard fifteen years before, from a groom in his service, that the said groom had heard from another servant, that the said servant at Dinelee had hid himself under a seat in the great hall where the Templars held their midnight chapters. The President preached to the brethren how they might get richer. All the brethren deposited their girdles in a certain place: one of these girdles the servant found and carried to his master. The master struck him with his sword in the presence of the said groom. William was asked if the groom was living: he did not know.

Thomas Tulyet had heard from the Vicar of Sutton that he had heard a certain priest, who officiated among the Templars, had been inhibited from using the words of consecration in the mass.

John de Gertia, a Frenchman, had heard fourteen years before from a woman named Cacocaca, who lived near some elms in a street in a suburb of London, leading to St. Giles, that Exvalet, Preceptor of London, had told this woman that a servant of certain Templars had concealed himself in their chapter-house at Dine-

lee.[1] The Knights present had retired to a house adjacent (how the witness saw them, appears not); there they opened a coffer, produced a black idol with shining eyes, performing certain disgusting ceremonies. One of them refused to do more (the conversation is given word for word), they threw him into a well, and then proceeded to commit all kinds of abominable excesses. He said that one Walter Savage, who belonged to Earl Warenne, had entered the Order, and after two years disappeared. Agnes Lovekote deposed to the same.

Brother John Wolby de Bust had heard from Brother John of Dingeston that he believed that the charges against the Templars were not without foundation; that he had heard say that the Court of Rome was not dealing in a straightforward manner, and wished to save the Grand Master. The said Brother averred that he knew the place in London where a gilded head was kept. There were two more in England, he knew not where.

Richard de Koefield had heard from John of Barne that William Bachelor[2] had said that he had lost his soul by entering into the Order; that there was one article in their profession which might not be revealed.

Gaspar (or Godfrey) de Nafferton, chaplain of Ryde, was in the service of the Templars, at the admission of William de Pocklington. The morning after his admission William looked very sad. A certain Brother Roger had promised Godfrey for two shillings to obtain his admission to see the ceremony. Roger broke his word, and, being reproached by Godfrey, said "he

[1] See above.

[2] The knight whose mysterious disappearance had been noticed before.

would not have done it for his tabard full of money." "If I had known that," said Godfrey, "I would have seen it through a hole in the wall." "You would inevitably have been put to death, or forced to take the habit of the Order." He also deposed to having seen a Brother copying the secret statutes.

John of Donyngton, a Franciscan, had conversed with a certain veteran who had left the Order. At the Court of Rome he had confessed to the great Penitentiary why he left the Order; that there were four principal idols in England; that William de la More, now Grand Preceptor, had introduced all these into England. De la More had a great roll in which were inscribed all these wicked observances. The same John of Donyngton had heard dark sayings from others, intimating that there were profound and terrible secrets in the Order.[1]

Such was the mass of strange, loose, hearsay, antiquated evidence,[2] much of which had passed through many mouths. This was all which as yet appeared against an Order, arrested and imprisoned by the King, acting under the Pope's Bull, an Order odious from jealousy of its wealth and power, and from its arrogance to the clergy and to the monastic communities;

[1] Wilcke asserts that Bishop Munter had discovered at Rome the report of the Confessions of the English Templars, which was transmitted to the Pope. It is more full, he says, than that in the Concilia. I cannot see that Wilcke produces much new matter from this report. His summary is very inaccurate, leaving out everything which throws suspicion on almost every testimony.

[2] Two Confessions made in France were put in, in which Robert de St. Just and Godfrey de Gonaville had deposed to their reception in England, with all the more appalling and loathsome ceremonies. These confessions do not appear in the Procès (by Michelet). Their names occur more than once. Gonaville was chosen by some as a defender of the Order. He was present at many of the receptions, sworn to by the witnesses.

especially to the clergy as claiming exemption from their jurisdiction, and assuming some of their powers: an order which possessed estates in every county (the instructions of the King to the sheriffs of the counties imply that they had property everywhere), at all events vast estates, of which there are ample descriptions. Against the Order torture was, if not generally and commonly applied, authorized at least by the distinct injunctions of the King and of the Pope.[1]

At length, towards the end of May, three witnesses were found, men who had fled, and had been excommunicated as contumacious on account of their disobedience to the citation of the Court, men apparently of doubtful character. Stephen Staplebridge is described as a runaway apostate.[2] He had been apprehended by the King's officers at Salisbury, committed to Newgate, and thence brought up for examination before the Bishops of London and Chichester. Stephen, being sworn, declared that there were

Three witnesses.

[1] Was the torture employed against the Templars in England? It is asserted by Raynouard, p. 132. Haveman (p. 305, quotes these instructions, as in Dugdale (they are in the Concilia, ii. p. 314). "Et si per hujusmodi aretationes et separationes nihil aliud quam prius vellent confiteri, quod exhinc quæstionarentur, ita quod quæstiones illæ fiant absque mutilatione et debilitatione alicujus membri et sine violentâ sanguinis effusione." See also in Rymer, iii. p 228, the royal order to those who had the Templars in custody. "Quod iidem Prælati et Inquisitores de ipsis Templariis et eorum comparibus, in QUÆSTIONIBUS et aliis ad hoc convenientibus ordinent et faciant, quotiens voluerint, id quod eis, secundum Legem Ecclesiasticam, videbitur faciendum." Orders to the Mayor and Sheriffs of London, "Et corpora dictorum Templariorum in QUÆSTIONIBUS et ad hoc convenientibus ponere." — p. 232. Still there is not the heart-breaking evidence or bitter complaint of its actual application, as in France. The Pope gave positive orders to employ torture in Spain. "Ad habendam ab eis veritatis plenitudinem promptiorem tormentis et quæstionibus, si sponte confiteri noluerint, experiri procuratis." — Raynald. A. D. 1311, c. 54.

[2] "Apostata fugitivus."

two forms of reception, one good and lawful, one contrary to the faith: at his admission at Dinelee by Brian le Jay, late Grand Preceptor of England, he had been compelled to deny Christ, which he did with his lips, not his heart; to spit on the Cross — this he escaped by spitting on his own hands. Brian le Jay had afterwards intimated to him that Christ was not very God and very Man. He also averred that those who refused to deny Christ were made away with beyond sea: that William Bachelor had died in prison and in torment, but not for that cause. He made other important admissions: after his confession he threw himself on the ground, with tears, groans, and shrieks, imploring mercy.[1]

Thomas Thoroldeby (called Tocci) was said to have been present at the reception of Staplebridge.[2] On this point he somewhat prevaricated: all the rest he resolutely denied, except that there was a suspicion against the Order on account of their secret chapter. He was asked why he had fled.[3] "The Abbot of Lagny had threatened him that he would force him to confess before he was out of their hands." Thoroldeby had been present when the confessions were made before the Pope; he had seen, therefore, the treatment of his Brethren in France. Four days after Thoroldeby was brought up again; what had taken place in the interval may be conjectured;[4] he now made the most

[1] This sounds as if he had been tortured, or feared to be.

[2] They were examined first at St. Martin's in the Vintry; Thoroldeby, the second time, in St. Mary Overy, Southwark.

[3] Walter Clifton examined in Scotland, was asked whether any of the victims had fled, "propter scandalum," "ob timorem hujusmodi," — he named Thomas Tocci as one who had fled. — p. 384.

[4] Haveman says, "unstreitig gefültert." It looks most suspicious. — p. 315.

full and ample confession. He had been received fourteen or fifteen years before by Guy Forest. Adam Champmesle and three others had stood over him with drawn swords, and compelled him to deny Christ. Guy taught him to believe only in the Great God. He had heard Brian le Jay say a hundred times that Christ was not very God and very Man. Brian le Jay had said to him that the least hair in a Saracen's beard was worth more than his whole body.[1] He told many other irreverent sayings of Le Jay: there seems to have been much ill-blood between them. He related some adventures in the Holy Land, from which he would imply treachery in the Order to the Christian cause. After his admission into the Order, John de Man had said to him, "Are you a Brother of the Order? If so, were you seated in the belfry of St. Paul's, you would not see more misery than will happen to you before you die."

John de Stoke, Chaplain of the Order, deposed to having been compelled to deny Christ.[2]

On June 27th these three witnesses, Staplebridge, Thoroldeby, and Stoke, received public absolution, on the performance of certain penances, from Robert Winchelsea, Archbishop of Canterbury, and some of his suffragans. Many other Knights were in like manner

[1] "Quod minimus pilus barbæ unius Saraceni, fuit majoris valoris quam totum corpus istius qui loquitur." — p. 386.

[2] These are the only three witnesses against the Order who belonged to it, according to the Concilia. Wilcke asserts that in the Vatican Acts, seen by Bishop Munter, there were 17 witnesses to the denial of Christ, 16 to the spitting on the Cross, 8 on disrespect to the Sacraments, 2 on the omission of the words of consecration. But he does not say whether these witnesses were of the Order, and his whole representation of the Confessions from the Concilia is that of a man who has made up his mind. — Wilcke, i. p. 328.

absolved on their humble confession that they had been under evil report,[1] and under suspicion of heresy. It was hoped that the Great Preceptor of England, William de la More, would make his submission, and accept absolution on the same easy terms. But the high spirit of De la More revolted at the humiliation. To their earnest exhortation that he would own at least the usurpation of the power of absolution, and seek pardon of the Church, he replied that he had never been guilty of the imputed heresies, and would not abjure crimes which he had never committed. He was remanded to the prison. The general sentence against the English Templars was perpetual imprisonment in monasteries.[2] They seem to have been followed by general respect.

In Scotland the Inquisition was conducted by the Bishop of St. Andrews and John de Solerco, one of the Pope's clerks. The interrogatories of only two Knights appear: but many monks and clergy were examined, who seem to have been extremely jealous of what they branded as the lawless avarice and boundless wealth of the Templars.[3]

Scotland. Dec. 15, 1309.

In Ireland thirty Brothers of the Order were interrogated in the church of St. Patrick; one only, a chaplain, admitted even suspicions against the Order. Other witnesses were then examined, chiefly Franciscans, who in Ireland seem to have been actuated by a bitter hatred of the Templars. All of them swore

Ireland.

[1] "Diffamati."

[2] "Quod singuli in singulis monasteriis possessionatis detruderentur, pro perpetuâ pœnitentiâ peragendâ, qui postea in hujusmodi monasteriis bene per omnia se gerebant." — Thos. Walsingham.

[3] A monk of Newbottle complains of their "conquestus injustos. Indifferenter sibi appropriare cupiunt per fas et nefas, bona et prædia suorum vicinorum." Compare Addison, p. 486.

that they suspected and believed the guilt of the Order, but no one deposed to any fact, except that in the celebration of the Mass, certain Templars would not look up, but kept their eyes fixed on the ground. Some two or three discharged servants told all sorts of rumors against the Order, "that refractory Brethren were sewed up in sacks and cast into the sea." It was often said that whenever a Chapter was held, one of the number was always missing. Everything that the Grand Master ordered was obeyed throughout the world.[1]

In Italy, wherever the influence of France and the authority of the Pope strongly predominated, Italy. confessions were obtained. In Naples, Charles of Anjou, Philip's cousin, had already arrested the whole Order, as in his dominions in Provence, Forcalquier, and Piedmont.[2] The house of Anjou had to wreak their long-hoarded vengeance on the Templars for the aid they had afforded to the Arragonese, Frederick of Sicily. The servitor Frank Ranyaris described an idol kept in a coffer, and shown to him by the Preceptor of Bari. Andrew, a servitor, had been compelled to deny Christ, and to other enormities; had seen an idol with three heads, which was worshipped as their God and their Redeemer: he it was who bestowed on them their boundless wealth. The Archbishop of Brindisi heard from two confessions of the denial of Christ. Six were heard in Arragonese Sicily, who made some

[1] The report is in Wilkins, Concilia.

[2] The proceedings in Beaucaire, Alais, and Nismes, are, according to Wilcke, in the Vatican (see above). At Lucerne (?), a brother admitted in Spain boldly averred that the Pope himself had avowed his belief that Jesus was not God, that he suffered not for the redemption of man, but from hatred of the Jews. — Wilcke, from MS., p. 337.

admissions. Thirty-two in Messina resolutely denied all.[1]

In the Papal States the examinations lasted from December, 1309, to July, 1310, at Viterbo, before the Bishop of Sutri. The worship of idols was acknowledged by several witnesses.[2] At Florence, and before a Provincial Council held by the Archbishop of Pisa and the Bishop of Florence, some Knights admitted the guilt of the Order. But Reginald, Archbishop of Ravenna, had a commission of inquiry over Lombardy, the March of Ancona, Tuscany, and Dalmatia. At Ravenna the Dominicans proposed to apply torture: the majority of the Council rejected the proposition. Seven Templars[3] maintained the innocence of the Order; they were absolved; and in the Council the Churchmen declared that those who retracted confessions made under torture were to be held guiltless.[4] The Archbishop of Ravenna and the Bishop of Rimini held an inquest at Cesena. Andrew of Sienna declared that he had heard that many Brothers had confessed from fear of torture. He knew nothing, had heard nothing of such things; had he known them, he would have left the Order, and denounced it to the Bishops and Inquisitors. "I had rather have been a beggar for my bread than remain with such men. I had rather died, for above all things is to be preferred the salvation of the soul."

[1] Wilcke, Haveman. ?

[2] The particulars in Raynouard, p. 271.

[3] The names in Raynouard, p. 277.

[4] "Communi sententiâ decretum est innocentes absolvi. . . . Intelligi innocentes debere qui, metu tormentorum, confessi fuissent, si deinde eam confessionem revocassent; aut revocare, hujusmodi tormentorum metu, ne inferrentur nova, non fuissent ausi, dum tamen id constaret." — Harduin, Concil. 7, p. 1317. All this implies the general use of torture in Italy.

From Lombardy there are no reports.[1] In the island of Cyprus an inquest was held:[2] one hundred and ten witnesses were heard, seventy-five of the Order. They had at one time taken up arms to defend themselves, but laid them down in obedience to the law. All maintained the blamelessness of the Order with courage and dignity.

In Spain the acquittal of the Order in each of the kingdoms was solemn, general, complete.[3] In Spain. Arragon, on the first alarm of an arrest of the Order, the Knights took to their mountain-fortresses, manned them, and seemed determined to stand on their defence. They soon submitted to the King and the laws. The Grand Inquisitor, D. Juan Lotger, a Dominican, conducted the interrogatories with stern severity; the torture was used. A Council was assembled at Tarragona, on which sat the Archbishop, Guillen da Roccaberti, with his suffragans. The Templars were declared innocent; above all suspicion.[4] "No one was to dare from that time to defame them." Other interrogatories took place in Medina del Campo, Medina Celi, and in Lisbon. The Council of Salamanca, presided over by the Archbishop of Santiago, the Bishop of Lisbon, and some other prelates, having made diligent investigation of the truth, declared the Templars of Castile, Leon, and Portugal free from all the charges imputed against

[1] There were one or two unimportant inquiries at Bologna, Fano, &c. — Raynouard.

[2] May and June, 1311.

[3] See Zurita Anales, Campomanes.

[4] "Neque enim tam culpabiles inventi fuerunt, ac fama ferebat, quamvis ormentis adacti fuissent ad confessionem criminum." — Mansi, Concil. sub ann.

them,[1] reserving the final judgment for the Supreme Pontiff.

In Germany Peter Ashpalter, Archbishop of Mentz, A.D. 1310. summoned a Synod in obedience to the Pope's Bull issued to the Archbishops of Mentz, Cologne, Treves, and Magdeburg. The Council was seated, the Primate and his brother prelates. Suddenly Hugh, Wild and Rheingraf, the Preceptor of the Order at Grumbach near Meissenheim, entered the hall with his Knights in full armor and in the habit of the Order. The Archbishop calmly demanded their business. In a loud clear voice Hugh replied, that he and his Brethren understood that the Council was assembled, under a commission from the Roman Pontiff, for the abolition of the Order; that enormous crimes and more than heathen wickednesses were charged against them; they had been condemned without legal hearing or conviction. "Wherefore before the Holy Fathers present he appealed to a future Pope and to his whole clergy; and entered his public protest that those who had been delivered up and burned had constantly denied those crimes, and on that denial had suffered tortures and death: that God had avouched their innocence by a wonderful miracle, their white mantles marked with the red-cross had been exposed to fire and would not burn.[2] The Archbishop, fearing lest a tumult should arise, accepted the protest, and dismissed them with courtesy. A year afterwards a Council at Mentz, having heard thirty-eight witnesses, declared the Order

[1] "Y si mandò, que nadie se atraviasse a infamarlos por quanto en la averiguacion hecha por el concilio fueron hallados libros di toda mala suspuesta."—Campomanes, Dissert. vii.

[2] Serrarius, Res Moguntiacæ. — Mansi, vol. xxv. p. 297.

guiltless. A Council held by the Archbishop of Treves came to the same determination. Burchard, Archbishop of Magdeburg, a violent and unjust man, attempted to arrest the Templars of the North of Germany. He was compelled to release them. They defended the fortress of Beyer Naumbourg against the Archbishop. Public favor appears to have been on their side: no condemnation took place.

Christian history has few problems more perplexing, yet more characteristic of the age, than the guilt or innocence of the Templars. Two powerful interests have conspired in later times against them. The great legists of monarchical France, during a period of vast learning, thought it treason against the monarchy to suppose that, even in times so remote, an ancestor of Louis XIV. could have been guilty of such atrocious iniquity as the unjust condemnation of the Templars. The whole archives were entirely in the power of these legists. The documents were published with laborious erudition; but throughout, both in the affair of the Templars and in the strife with Boniface VIII. and in the prosecution of his memory, with a manifest, almost an avowed, bias towards the King of France. The honor, too, of the legal profession seemed involved in these questions. The distinguished ancestors of the great modern lawyers, the De Flottes, De Plasians, and the Nogarets, who raised the profession to be the predominant power in the state, and set it on equal terms with the hierarchy — the founders almost of the parliaments of France — must not suffer attainder, or be degraded into the servile counsellors of proceedings which violated every principle of law and of justice.

The problem

The lawyers.

On the other hand the ecclesiastical writers, who es

teem every reproach against the Pope as an insult to, or a weakening of their religion, would rescue Clement V. from the guilt of the unjust persecution, spoliation, abolition of an Order to which Christendom owed so deep a debt of honor and of gratitude. Papal infallibility, to those who hold it in its highest sense, or Papal impeccability, in which they would fondly array, as far as possible, each hallowed successor of St. Peter, is endangered by the weakness, if not worse than weakness, of the Holy Father. But the calmer survey of the whole reign of Philip the Fair, of his character and that of his counsellors — of his measures and his necessities — of his unscrupulous ambition, avarice, fraud, violence — of the other precedents of his oppression — at least throws no improbability on the most discreditable version of this affair. Clement V., inextricably fettered by the compact through which he bought the tiara, still in the realm or within the power of Philip, with no religious, no moral strength in his personal character, had, as Pope, at least one, if not more than one object — the eluding or avoiding the condemnation of Pope Boniface, to which must be sacrificed every other right or claim to justice. The Papal authority was absolutely on the hazard; the condemnation of Boniface would crumble away its very base. A great Italian Pope might have beheld in the military Orders, now almost discharged from their functions in the East, a power which might immeasurably strengthen the See of Rome. They might become a feudal militia, of vast wealth and possessions, holding directly of himself, if skilfully managed, at his command, in every kingdom in Christendom. With this armed aristocracy, with the Friar

The ecclesiastics.

Preachers to rule the middle or more intellectual classes, the Friar Minors to keep alive and govern the fanaticism of the lowest, what could limit or control his puissance? But a French Pope, a Pope in the position of Clement, had no such splendid visions of supremacy; what he held, he held almost on sufferance; he could maintain himself by dexterity and address alone, not by intrepid assertion of authority. Nor was it difficult to abuse himself into a belief or a supposed belief in the guilt of the Templars. He had but to accept without too severe examination the evidence heaped before him; to authorize as he did — and in so doing he introduced nothing new, startling, or contrary to the usage of the Church — the terrible means, of which few doubted the justice, used to extort that evidence. The iniquity, the cruelty was all the King's; his only responsible act at last was in the mildest form the abolition of an Order which had ceased to fulfil the aim for which it was founded; and by taking this upon himself, he retained the power of quietly thwarting the avarice of the King, and preventing the escheat of all the possessions of the Order to the Crown.

Our history has shown the full value of the evidence against the Order. Beyond the confessions of the Templars themselves there was absolutely nothing but the wildest, most vague, most incredible tales of superstition and hatred. In France alone, and where French influence prevailed, were confessions obtained. Elsewhere, in Spain, in Germany, parts of Italy, there was an absolute acquittal; in England, Scotland, and Ireland there appears no evidence which in the present day would commit a thief, or condemn him to transportation. In France these confessions

Evidence.

were invariably, without exception, crushed out of men imprisoned, starved, disgraced, under the most relentless tortures, or under well-grounded apprehensions of torture, degradation, and misery, with, on the other hand, promises of absolution, freedom, pardon, royal favor. Yet on the instant that they struggle again into the light of day; on the first impulse of freedom and hope; no sooner do they see themselves for a moment out of the grasp of the remorseless King; under the judgment, it might be, of the less remorseless Church, than all these confessions are for the most part retracted, retracted fully, unequivocally. This retractation was held so fatal to the cause of their enemies that all the bravest were burned and submitted to be burned rather than again admit their guilt. The only points on which there was any great extent or unanimity of confession were the ceremonies at the reception, the abnegation of Christ, the insult to the Cross, with the other profane or obscene circumstances. These were the points on which it was the manifest object of the prosecutors to extort confessions which were suggested by the hard, stern questions, the admission of which mostly satisfied the Court.

Admit to the utmost that the devout and passionate enthusiasm of the Templars had died away, that familiarity with other forms of belief in the East had deadened the fanatic zeal for Christ and his Sepulchre; that Oriental superstitions, the belief in magic, talismans, amulets, had crept into many minds; that in not a few the austere morals had yielded to the wild life, the fiery sun, the vices of the East; that the corporate spirit of the Order, its power, its wealth, its pride, had absorbed the religious spirit of the first Knights: yet there is

something utterly inconceivable in the general, almost universal, requisition of a naked, ostentatious, offensive, insulting renunciation of the Christian faith, a renunciation following immediately on the most solemn vow; not after a long, slow initiation into the Order, not as the secret, esoteric doctrine of the chosen few, but on the threshold of the Order, on the very day of reception. It must be supposed, too, that this should not have transpired; that it should not have been indignantly rejected by many of noble birth and brave minds; or that all who did dare to reject it should have been secretly made away with, or overawed by the terror of death, or the solemnity of their vow of obedience; that there should have been hardly any prudential attempts at concealment, full liberty of confession, actual confession, it should seem, to bishops, priests, and friars; and yet that it should not have got abroad, except perhaps in loose rumors, in suspicions, which may have been adroitly instilled into the popular mind: that nothing should have been made known till denounced by the two or three renegades produced by William of Nogaret.

The early confession of Du Molay, his retractation of his retractation, are facts no doubt embarrassing, yet at the same time very obscure. But the genuine chivalrous tone of the language in which he asserted that the confession had been tampered with, or worse; the care manifestly taken that his confession should not be made in the presence of the Pope, the means no doubt used, the terror of torture, or actual degrading, agonizing torture, to incapacitate him from appearing at Poitiers: — these and many other considerations greatly lighten or remove this difficulty. His death, hereafter

o be told, which can hardly be attributed but to vengeance for his having arraigned, or fear lest he should with too great authority arraign the whole proceedings, with all the horrible circumstances of that death, confirms this view.

Du Molay was a man of brave and generous impulses, but not of firm and resolute character; he was unsuited for his post in such perilous times. That post required not only the most intrepid mind, but a mind which could calculate with sagacious discrimination the most prudent as well as the boldest course. On him rested the fame, the fate, of his Order; the freedom, the exemption from torture or from shame, of each single brother, his companions in arms, his familiar friends. And this man was environed by the subtlest of foes. When he unexpectedly breaks out into a bold and appalling disclosure, De Plasian is at hand to soften by persuasion, to perplex with argument, to bow by cruel force. His generous nature may neither have comprehended the arts of his enemies, nor the full significance, the sense which might be drawn from his words. He may have been tempted to some admissions, in the hope not of saving himself but his Order; he may have thought by some sacrifice to appease the King or to propitiate the Pope. The secrets of his prison-house were never known. All he said was noted down and published, and reported to the Pope; all he refused to say (except that one speech before the Papal Commissioners) suppressed. He may have had a vague trust in the tardy justice of the Pope, when out of the King's power, and lulled himself with this precarious hope. Nor can we quite assume that he was not the victim of absolute and groundless forgery.

All contemporary history, and that history which is nearest the times, except for the most part the French biographers of Pope Clement, denounce in plain unequivocal terms the avarice of Philip the Fair as the sole cause of the unrighteous condemnation of the Templars. Villani emphatically pronounces that the charges of heresy were advanced in order to seize their treasures, and from secret jealousy of the Grand Master. "The Pope abandoned the Order to the King of France, that he might avert, if possible, the condemnation of Boniface."[1] Zantfliet, Canon of Liege, describes the noble martyrdom of the Templars, that of Du Molay from the report of an eye-witness: "had not their death tended to gratify his insatiate appetite for their wealth, their noble demeanor had triumphed over the perfidy of the avaricious King."[2] The Cardinal Antonino of Florence, a Saint, though he adopts in fact almost the words of Villani, is even more plain and positive: — "The whole was forged by the avarice of the King, that he might despoil the Templars of their wealth."[3] Contemporary history.

[1] "Mosso da avarizia si fece promettere dal Papa secretamente di disfare ladetta Ordine de Templari . . . ma più si dice che fu per trarre di loro molta moneta, e per isdegno preso col maestro del tempio, e colla magione. Il Papa per levarsi da dosso il Re di Francia, per contentarlo per la richiesta di condennare Papa Bonifazio." — l. viii. c. 92.

[2] "Dicens eos tam perversâ animi fortitudine regis avari vicisse perfidiam, nisi moriendo illue tedendissent, quo ejus appetitus inexplebilis cupiebat: quamquam non minor ideirco gloria fuerit, si recto præligentes judicio, inter tormenta maluerint deficere, quam adversus veritatem dixisse aut famam justè quæsitam turpissimi sceleris confessione maculare." He describes Du Molay's death (see further on), "rege spectante," and adds, "qui hæc vidit scriptori testimonium præbuit." — Zantfliet. Chronic. apud Martene. Zantfliet's Chronicle was confined to 1460. — Collect. Nov. v. 5.

[3] "Totum tamen falsè conficturi ex avaritiâ, ut illi religiosi Templarii

Yet the avarice of Philip was baffled, at least as to the full harvest it hoped to reap. The absolute confiscation of all the estates of a religious Order bordered too nearly on invasion of the property of the Church; the lands and treasures were dedicated inalienably to pious uses, specially to the conquest of the Holy Land. The King had early been forced to consent to make over the custody of the lands to the Bishops of the diocese; careful inventories too were to be made of all their goods, for which the King's officers were responsible. But of the movables of which the King had taken possession, it may be doubted if much, or any part, was allowed to escape his iron grasp, or whether any account was ever given of the vast treasures accumulated in the vaults, in the chapels, in the armories, in the storehouses of the Temple castles. The lands indeed, both in England and in France, were at length made over to the Hospitallers; yet, according to Villani,[1] they were so burdened by the demands, dilapidations, and exactions of the King's officers, they had to purchase the surrender from the King and other princes at such vast cost of money, raised at such exorbitant interest, that the Order of St. John was poorer rather than richer from what seemed so splendid a grant. The Crown claimed enormous sums as due on the sequestration. Some years later Pope John XXII. complains that the King's officers seized

exspoliarentur bonis suis." — St. Antonin. Archiep. Florent. Hist. He wrote about A.D. 1450.

[1] "Ma convenneli loro ricogliere e ricomperare dal Re di Francia e dalli altri principi è Signori con tanta quantità di moneta, che con gli interessi corsi poi, la magione dello Spedale fu e è in più povertà, che prima avendo solo il suo proprio." Villani is good authority in money matters.

the estates of the Hospitallers as an indemnity for claims which had arisen during the confiscation.[1]

The dissolution of the Order was finally determined. "If," said the Pope, "it cannot be destroyed by the way of justice, let it be destroyed by the way of expediency, lest we offend our dear son the King of France."[2] The Council of Vienne was to pronounce the solemn act of dissolution. Of the Templars the few who had been absolved, and had not retracted their confession, were permitted to enter into other orders, or to retire into monasteries. Many had thrown off the habit of the Order, and in remote parts fell back to secular employments: many remained in prison. Du Molay and the three other heads of the Order were reserved in close custody for a terrible fate, hereafter to be told.[3] [4]

[1] Dupuy, Condemnation.

[2] "Et sicut audivi ab uno, qui fuit *examinator causæ et testium*, destructus fuit contra justitiam, et mihi dixit, quod ipse Clemens protulit hoc, 'Et si non per viam justitiæ potest destrui, destruatur tamen per viam expedientiæ, ne scandalizetur charus filius noster Rex Franciæ.'" — Alberici de Rosate Bergomensis. Dictionarium Juris: Venetiis, 1579, folio; sub voce Templarii, quoted by Haveman, p. 381.

[3] Wilcke asserts (p. 342) that Mohlenhauer's publication of the Proceedings against the Templars (now more accurately and fully edited by M. Michelet) was bought up by the Freemasons as injurious to the fame of the Templars. If this was so, the Freemasons committed an error: my doubts of their guilt are strongly confirmed by the Proceès. Wilcke makes three regular gradations of initiation: I. The denial of Christ; II. The kisses; III. The worship of the Idol. This is contrary to all the evidence: the two first are always described as simultaneous. Wilcke has supposed that so long as the Order consisted only of knights, it was orthodox. The clerks introduced into the Order, chiefly Friar Minorites, brought in learning and the wild speculative opinions. But for this he alleges not the least proof.

[4] A modern school of history, somewhat too prone to make or to imagine discoveries, has condemned the Templars upon other grounds. These fierce unlettered warriors have risen into Oriental mystics. Not merely has their intercourse with the East softened off their abhorrence of Mohammedanism, induced a more liberal tone of thought, or overlaid their West-

ern superstitions with a layer of Oriental imagery — they have become Gnostic Theists, have adopted many of the old Gnostic charms, amulets, and allegorical idols. Under these influences they had framed a secret body of statutes, communicated only to the initiate, who were slowly and after long probation admitted into the abstruser and more awful mysteries. Not only this, the very branch of the Gnostics has been indicated, that of the Ophitæ, of whom they are declared to be the legitimate Western descendants. If they have thus had precursors, neither have they wanted successors. The Templars are the ancestors (as Wilcke thought, the acknowledged ancestors) of the secret societies, which have subsisted by regular tradition down to modern times — the Freemasons, Illuminati, and many others. It is surprising on what loose, vague evidence rests the whole of this theory: on amulets, rings, images, of which there is no proof whatever that they belonged to the Templars, or if they did, that they were not accidentally picked up by individuals in the East; on casual expressions of worthless witnesses, *e. g.*, Staplebridge the English renegade; on certain vessels, or bowls converted into vessels, used in an imaginary Fire-Baptism, deduced, without any regard to gaps of centuries in the tradition, from ancient heretics, and strangely mingled up with the Sangreal of mediæval romance. M. von Hammer has brought great Oriental erudition, but, I must say, not much Western logic, to bear on the question; he has been thoroughly refuted, as I think, by M. Raynouard and others. Another cognate ground is the discovery of certain symbols, and those symbols interpreted into obscene significations, on the churches of the Templars. But the same authorities show that these symbols were by no means peculiar to the Temple churches. No doubt among the monks there were foul imaginations, and in a coarse age architects — many of them monks — gratified those foul imaginations by such unseemly ornaments. But the argument assumes the connection or identification of the architects with the secret guild of Freemasonry (in which guild I do not believe), and also of the Freemasons with the Templars, which is totally destitute of proof. It appears to me absolutely monstrous to conclude that when all the edifices, the churches, the mansions, the castles, the farms, the granaries of the Templars in France and England, in every country of Europe, came into the possession of their sworn enemies; when these symbols, in a state far more perfect, must have stared them in the face; when the lawyers were on the track for evidence; when vague rumors had set all their persecutors on the scent: when Philip and the Pope would have paid any price for a single idol, and not one could be produced: because in our own days, among the thousand misshapen and grotesque sculptures, gargoyles, and corbels, here and there may be discerned or made out something like a black cat, or some other shape, said to have been those of Templar idols, — therefore the guilt of the Order, and their lineal descent from ancient heretics, should be assumed as history. Yet on such grounds the Orientalization of the whole Order, not here and there of a single renegade, has been drawn with complacent satisfaction. The great stress of all, however

is laid on the worship of Baphomet. The talismans, bowls, symbols, are even called Baphometic. Now, with M. Raynouard, I have not the least doubt that Baphomet is no more than a transformation of the name of Mahomet. Here is only one passage from the Provençal poetry. It is from a Poem by the Chevalier du Temple, quoted Hist. Littér. de la France, xix. p. 345:

"Quar Dieux dorm, qui veillar solea,
E *Bafomet* obra de son poder,
E fai obra di Melicadeser."

"God, who used to watch (during the Crusades), now slumbers, and Bafomet (Mahomet) works as he wills to complete the triumph of the Sultan." I am not surprised to find fanciful writers like M. Michelet, who write for effect, and whose positiveness seems to me not seldom in the inverse ratio to the strength of his authorities, adopting such wild notions; but even the clear intellect of Mr. Hallam appears to me to attribute more weight than I should have expected to this theory. — Note to Middle Ages, vol. iii. p. 50. It appears to me, I confess, that so much learning was never wasted on a fantastic hypothesis as by M. von Hammer in his Mysterium Baphometis Revelatum. The statutes of the Order were published in 1840 by M. Maillard de Chambure. They contain nothing but what is pious and austere. This, as Mr. Hallam observes, is of course, and proves nothing. M. de Chambure says that it is acknowledged in Germany that M. von Hammer's theory is an idle chimera.

## CHAPTER III.

### ARRAIGNMENT OF BONIFACE. COUNCIL OF VIENNE.

Prosecution of the memory of Pope Boniface

If, however, Pope Clement hoped to appease or to divert the immitigable hatred of Philip and his ministers from the persecution of the memory of Pope Boniface by the sacrifice of the Templars, or at least to gain precious time which might be pregnant with new events, he was doomed to disappointment. The hounds were not thrown off their track, not even arrested in their course, by that alluring quarry. That dispute was still going on simultaneously with the affair of the Templars. Philip, at every fresh hesitation of the Pope, broke out into more threatening indignation. Nogaret and the lawyers presented memorial on memorial, specifying with still greater distinctness and particularity the offences which they declared themselves ready to prove. They complained, not without justice, that the most material witnesses might be cut off by death; that every year of delay weakened their power of producing attestations to the validity of their charges.[1]

The hopes indeed held out to the King's avarice and revenge by the abandonment of the Templars; hopes,

[1] All the documents are in Dupuy, Preuves, p. 367 *et seq.*, with Baillet's smaller volume.

if not baffled, eluded, were more than counterbalanced by his failure in obtaining the Empire for Charles of Valois. An act of enmity sank deeper into the proud heart of Philip than an act of favor: the favor had been granted grudgingly, reluctantly, with difficulty, with reservation; the enmity had been subtle, perfidious, under the guise of friendship.

Pope Clement had now secured, as he might fondly suppose, his retreat in Avignon, in some degree beyond the King's power. In France he dared not stay; to Italy he could not and would not go. The King's messengers were in Avignon to remind him that he had pledged himself to hear and examine the witnesses against the memory of Boniface. Not the King's messengers alone. Reginald di Supino had been most deeply implicated in the affair of Anagni. He had assembled a great body of witnesses, as he averred, to undergo the expected examination before the Pope. Either the Pope himself, or the friends of Boniface, who had still greater power, and seemed determined, from attachment to their kinsman or from reverence for the Popedom, to hazard all in his defence, dreaded this formidable levy of witnesses, whom Reginald di Supino would hardly have headed unless in arms. Supino had arrived within three leagues of Avignon when he received intelligence from the King's emissaries of an ambuscade of the partisans of Boniface, stronger than his own troop: he would not risk the attack, but retired to Nismes, and there, in the presence of the municipal authorities, entered a public protest against those who prevented him and his witnesses, by the fear of death, from approaching the presence of the Pope. The Pope himself was not distinctly

Reginald di Supino.

charged with, but not acquitted of complicity in this deliberate plot to arrest the course of justice.[1]

Difficulties of the Pope.

Clement was in a strait: he was not in the dominions, but yet not absolutely safe from the power of Philip. Charles, King of Naples, Philip's kinsman, as Count of Provence, held the adjacent country. The King of France had demanded a Council to decide this grave question. The Council had been summoned and adjourned by Clement. But a Pope, though a dead Pope, arraigned before a Council, all the witnesses examined publicly, in open Court, to proclaim to Christendom the crimes imputed to Boniface! Where, if the Council should assume the power of condemning a dead Pope, would be the security of a living one? Clement wrote, not to Philip, but to Charles of Valois, representing the toils and anxieties which he was enduring, the laborious days and sleepless nights, in the investigation of the affair of Boniface. He entreated that the judgment might be left altogether to himself and the Church. He implored the intercession of Charles with the King, of Charles whom he had just thwarted in his aspiring views on the Empire.[2]

But the King was not to be deterred by soft words. He wrote more peremptorily, more imperiously. "Some witnesses, men of the highest weight and above all exception, had already died in the Court of Rome and elsewhere: the Pope retarded the safe conduct necessary for the appearance of other witnesses, who had been seized, tortured, put to death, by the partisans of

[1] "Recesserunt propterea predicti, qui cum dicto domino Raynaldo venerant, ad propria redeuntes, mortis meritò periculum formidantes." — Preuves, p. 289.

[2] Preuves, p. 290. May 23, 1309.

Boniface." The Pope replied in a humble tone: — "Never was so weighty a process so far advanced in so short a time. Only one witness had died, and his deposition had been received on his death-bed. He denied the seizure, torture, death, of any witnesses. One of these very witnesses, a monk, it was confidently reported, was in France with William de Nogaret." He complained of certain letters forged in his name — a new proof of the daring extent to which at this time such forgeries were carried. In those letters the names of Cardinals, both of the King's party and on that of Boniface, had been audaciously inserted. These letters had been condemned and burned in the public consistory. The Pope turns to another affair. Philip, presuming on the servility of the Pope, had introduced a clause into the treaty with the Flemings, that if they broke the treaty they should be excommunicated, and not receive absolution without the consent of the King or his successors. The Pope replies, "that he cannot abdicate for himself or future Popes the full and sole power of granting absolution. If the King, as he asserts, can adduce any precedent for such clause, he would consent to that, or even a stronger one; but he has taken care that the Flemings are not apprised of his objection to the clause."[1]

Clement was determined, as far as a mind like his was capable of determination, to reserve the inevitable judgment on the memory of Boniface to himself and his own Court, and not to recognize the dangerous tribunal of a Council, fatal to living as to dead pontiffs. He issued a Bull,[2] summoning Philip

Determination of Clement.

[1] Preuves, p. 292. August 23, 1309.

[2] Sept. 1309. Raynaldus sub ann. c. 4.

King of France, his three sons, with the Counts of Evreux, St. Pol, and Dreux, and William de Plasian, according to their own petition, to prove their charges against Pope Boniface; to appear before him in Avig-
Feb. 2, 1310. non on the first court-day after the Feast of the Purification of the Virgin. The Bishop of Paris was ordered to serve this citation on the three Counts and on William de Plasian.[1]

Philip seemed to be embarrassed by this measure. He shrunk or thought it beneath his dignity for himself or his sons to stand as public prosecutors before the Papal Court. Instead of the King appeared a haughty letter. "He had been compelled reluctantly to take cognizance of the usurpation and wicked life of Pope Boniface. Public fame, the representations of men of high esteem in the realm, nobles, prelates, doctors, had arraigned Boniface as a heretic, and an intruder into the fold of the Lord. A Parliament of his whole kingdom had demanded that, as the champion and defender of the faith, he should summon a General Council, before which men of the highest character declared themselves ready to prove these most appalling charges. William de Nogaret had been sent to summon Pope Boniface to appear before that Council. The Pope's frantic resistance had led to acts of violence, not on the part of Nogaret, but of the Pope's subjects, by whom he was universally hated. These charges had been renewed after the death of Boniface, before Benedict XI. and before the present Pope. The Pope, in other affairs, especially that of the Templars, had shown his regard for justice. All these things were to be finally determined

The King will not appear as prosecutor.

[1] Raynaldus ut supra. Oct. 18.

at the approaching Council. But if the Pope, solicitous to avoid before the Council the odious intricacies of charges, examinations, investigations, in the affair of Boniface, desired to determine it by the plenitude of the Apostolic authority, he left it entirely to the judgment of the Pope, whether in the Council or elsewhere. He was prepared to submit the whole to the disposition and ordinance of the Holy See." The King's sons, summoned in like manner to undertake the office of prosecutors, declined to appear in that somewhat humiliating character.[1] Feb. 14.

William de Nogaret and William de Plasian remained the sole prosecutors in this great cause, and they entered upon it with a profound and accumulated hatred to Boniface and to his memory: De Plasian with the desperate resolution of a man so far committed in the strife that either Boniface must be condemned, or himself held an impious, false accuser; Nogaret with the conviction that Boniface must be pronounced a monster of iniquity, or himself hardly less than a sacrilegious assassin. With both, the dignity and honor of their profession were engaged in a bold collision with the hierarchical power which had ruled the human mind for centuries; both had high, it might be conscientious, notions of the monarchical authority, its independence, its superiority to the sacerdotal; both were bound by an avowed and resolute servility, which almost rose to noble attachment, to their King and to France. The King of France, if any Sovereign, was to be exempt from Papal tyranny, and hatred to France was one of the worst crimes of Boniface. Both, unless Boniface was really the infidel, De Plasian and De Nogaret.

[1] Preuves, p. 301

heretic, abandoned profligate, which they represented him, were guilty of using unscrupulously, of forging, suborning, a mass of evidence and a host of witnesses, of which they could not but know the larger part to be audaciously and absolutely false.

*Italians.* On the other side appeared the two nephews of Boniface and from six to ten Italian doctors of law, chosen no doubt for their consummate science and ability; as canon lawyers confronting civil lawyers with professional rivalry, and prepared to maintain the most extravagant pretensions of the Decretals as the Statute Law of the Church. They could not but be fully aware how much the awe, the reverence, and the power of the Papacy depended on the decision; they were men, it might be, full of devout admiration even of the overweening haughtiness of Boniface; churchmen, in whom the intrepid maintenance of what were held to be Church principles more than compensated for all the lowlier and gentler virtues of the Gospel.[1] It was a strange trial, the arraignment of a dead Pope, a Rhadamanthine judgment on him who was now before a higher tribunal.

The Consistory opened. On the 16th of March the Pope solemnly opened the Consistory at Avignon, in the palace belonging to the Dominicans, surrounded by his Cardinals and a great multitude of the clergy and laity. The Pope's Bull was read, in which, after great commendation of the faith and zeal of the King of France, and high testimony to the fame of Boni-

[1] "Gotius de Arimino utriusque juris, Baldredus Beyeth *Decretorum* Doctores" Baldred, who took the lead in the defence, is described as Glascuensis.

face, he declared that heresy was so execrable, so horrible an offence, that he could not permit such a charge to rest unexamined. The French lawyers were admitted as prosecutors.[1] The Italians protested against their admission.[2] On Friday (March 20th) the Court opened the session. The prosecutors put in a protest of immeasurable length, declaring that they did not appear in consequence of the Pope's citation of the King of France and his sons. That citation was informal, illegal, based on false grounds. They demanded that the witnesses who were old and sick should be first heard. They challenged certain Cardinals, the greater number (they would not name them publicly), as having a direct interest in the judgment, as attached by kindred or favor to Boniface, as notoriously hostile, as having entered into plots against William de Nogaret, as having prejudiced the mind of Benedict XI. against him. Nogaret, who always reverted to the affair of Anagni, asserted that act to have been the act of a true Catholic, one of devout, filial love, not of hatred, the charity of one who would bind a maniac or rouse a man in a lethargy.[3] He had made common cause with the nobles of Anagni, all but those who plundered the Papal treasures.

On the 27th De Nogaret appeared again, and en-

[1] Adam de Lombal, Clerk, and Peter de Galahaud, and Peter de Bleonasio, the King's nuncios (nuntii), appeared with De Plasian and De Nogaret.

[2] James of Modena offered himself "to prove "quod prædicti opponentes ad opponendum contra dictum dominum Bonifacium admitti non debebant."

[3] "Non fuit igitur odium sed caritas, non fuit injuria sed pietas, non proditio sed fidelitas, non sacrilegium sed sacri defensio, non parricidium sed filialis devotio ut (et?) fraterna, cum qui furiosum ligat vel lethargicum excitat." — p. 386.

tered a protest against Baldred and the rest, as defenders of Pope Boniface, against eight Cardinals, by name, as promoted by Boniface: these men might not bear any part in the cause. Protest was met by protest: a long, wearisome, and subtile altercation ensued. Each tried to repel the other party from the Court. Nothing could be more captious than the arguments of the prosecutors, who took exception against any defence of Boniface. The Italians answered that no one could be brought into Court but by a lawful prosecutor, which Nogaret and De Plasian were not, being notorious enemies, assassins, defamers of the Pope. There was absolutely no cause before the Court. The crimination and recrimination dragged on their weary length. It was the object of De Nogaret to obtain absolution, at least under certain restrictions.[1] This personal affair began to occupy almost as prominent a part as the guilt of Boniface. Months passed in the gladiatorial strife of the lawyers.[2] Every question was reopened — the legality of Cœlestine's abdication, the election of Boniface, the absolute power of the King of France. Vast erudition was displayed on both sides. Mean-
Witnesses. time the examination of the witnesses had gone on in secret before the Pope or his Commissioners. Of these examinations appear only the re-

[1] In the midst of these disputes arose a curious question, whether William de Nogaret was still under excommunication. It was argued that an excommunicated person, if merely saluted by the Pope, or if the Pope knowingly entered into conversation with him, was thereby absolved. The Pope disclaimed this doctrine, and declared that he had never by such salutation or intercourse with De Nogaret intended to confer that precious privilege. This was to be the rule during his pontificate. He would not, however, issue a Decretal on the subject. — p. 409.

[2] There is a leap from May 13 to Aug. 3.

ports of twenty-three persons examined in April, of eleven examined before the two Cardinals, Berengario, Bishop of Tusculum, and Nicolas, of St. Eusebio, with Bernard Guido, the Grand Inquisitor of Toulouse. Some of the eleven were reëxaminations of those who had made their depositions in April. In the latter case the witnesses were submitted to what was intended to be severe, but does not seem very skilful, cross-examination. On these attestations, if these were all, posterity is reduced to this perplexing alternative of belief: — Either there was a vast systematic subornation of perjury, which brought together before the Pope and the Cardinals, monks, abbots, canons, men of dignified station, from various parts of Italy: and all these were possessed with a depth of hatred, ingrained into the hearts of men by the acts and demeanor of Boniface, and perhaps a religious horror of his treatment of Pope Celestine, which seems to be rankling in the hearts of some; or with a furiousness of Ghibelline hostility, which would recoil from no mendacity, which would not only accept every rumor, but invent words, acts, circumstances, with the most minute particularity and with perpetual appeal to other witnesses present at the same transaction. Nor were these depositions wrung out, like those of the Templars, by torture; they were spontaneous, or, if not absolutely spontaneous, only summoned forth by secret suggestion, by undetected bribery, by untraceable influence: they had all the outward semblance of honest and conscientious zeal for justice.

On the other hand, not only must the Pope's guilt be assumed, but the Pope's utter, absolute, ostentatious

defiance of all prudence, caution, dissimulation, decency. Not only was he a secret, hypocritical unbeliever, and that not in the mysteries of the faith, but in the first principles of all religion; he was a contemptuous, boastful scoffer, and this on the most public occasions, and on occasions where some respectful concealment would not only have been expedient, but of paramount necessity to his interest or his ambition. The aspirant to the Papacy, the most Papal Pope who ever lived, laughed openly to scorn the groundwork of that Christianity on which rested his title to honor, obedience, power, worship.

The most remarkable of all these depositions is that of seven witnesses in succession, an abbot, three canons, two monks, and others, to a discussion concerning the law of Mohammed. This was in the year of the pontificate of Cœlestine, when, if his enemies are to be believed, Benedetto Gaetani was deeply involved in intrigues to procure the abdication of Cœlestine, and his own elevation to the Papacy. At this time, even if these intrigues were untrue, a man so sagacious and ambitious could not but have been looking forward to his own advancement. Yet at this very instant, it is asseverated, Gaetani, in the presence of at least ten or twelve persons, abbots, canons, monks, declared as his doctrine,[1] that no law was divine, that all were the inventions of men, merely to keep the vulgar in awe by the terrors of eternal punishment. Every law, Christianity among the rest, contained truth and falsehood; falsehood, because it asserted that God was one and three, which it was fatuous to believe; falsehood, for it said that a virgin had brought forth, which was impos

[1] "Quasi per modum doctrinæ."

sible; falsehood, because it avouched that the Son of God had taken the nature of man, which was ridiculous; falsehood, because it averred that bread was transubstantiated into the body of Christ, which was untrue. "It is false, because it asserts a future life." "Let God do his worst with me in another life, from which no one has returned but to fantastic people, who say that they have seen and heard all kinds of strange things, even have heard angels singing. So I believe and so I hold, as doth every educated man. The vulgar hold otherwise. We must speak as the vulgar do; think and believe with the few." Another added to all this, that when the bell rang for the passing of the Host, the future Pope smiled and said, "You had better go and see after your own business, than after such folly."[1] Three of these witnesses were reheard at the second examination, minutely questioned as to the place of this discussion, the dress, attitude, words of Gaetani: they adhered, with but slight deviation from each other, to their deposition; whatever its worth, it was unshaken.[2] These blasphemies, if we are to credit another witness, had been his notorious habit from his youth. The Prior of St. Giles at San Gemino, near Narni, had been at school with him at Todi: he was a dissolute youth, indulged in all carnal vices, in drink and play, blaspheming God and the Virgin. He had heard Boniface, when a Cardinal, disputing with certain masters from Paris about the Resurrection. Cardinal Gaetani maintained that neither soul nor body rose again.[3] To this dispute a notary, Oddarelli of Acqua Sparta, gave the same testimony. The two witnesses declared that they had not come to Avignon for the purpose of giv-

[1] Truffas. [2] Witnesses vii. xiii. [3] Witnesses xvii. xviii.

ing this evidence; they had been required to appear before the Court by Bertrand de Roccanegata: they bore testimony neither from persuasion, nor for reward, neither from favor, fear, or hatred.

Two monks of St. Gregory at Rome had complained to the Pope of their Abbot, that he held the same loose and infidel doctrines, neither believed in the Resurrection, nor in the Sacraments of the Church; and denied that carnal sins were sins. They were dismissed contemptuously from the presence of Boniface. "Look at this froward race, that will not believe as their Abbot believes."[1] A monk of St. Paul fared no better with similar denunciations of his Abbot.[2]

Nicolo Pagano of Sermona, Primicerio of St. John Maggiore at Naples, deposed that Cœlestine, proposing to go from Sermona to Naples, sent Pagano's father Berard (the witness went with him) to invite the Cardinal Gaetani to accompany him. Gaetani contemptuously refused. "Go ye with your Saint, I will be fooled no more." "If any man," said Berard, "ought to be canonized after death, it is Cœlestine." Gaetani replied, "Let God give me the good things of this life: for that which is to come I care not a bean; men have no more souls than beasts." Berard looked aghast. "How many have you ever seen rise again?" Gaetani seemed to delight in mocking (such, at least, was the testimony, intended, no doubt, to revolt to the utmost the public feeling against him) the Blessed Virgin. She is no more a virgin than my mother. I believe not in your "Mariola," "Mariola." He denied the presence of Christ in the Host. "It is mere paste."[3]

[1] Witnesses i. ii. [2] Witness xv.
[3] Witnesses xvi. xx. xxii.

Yet even this most appalling improbability was surpassed by the report of another conversation attested by three witnesses, sons of knights of Lucca. The scene took place at the Jubilee, when millions of persons, in devout faith in the religion of Christ, in fear of Hell, or in hope of Paradise, were crowding from all parts of Europe, and offering incense to the majesty, the riches of the world to the avarice, of the Pope. Even then, without provocation, in mere wantonness of unbelief, he had derided all the truths of the Gospel. The ambassadors of two of the great cities of Italy — Lucca and Bologna — were standing before him. The death of a Campanian knight was announced. "He was a bad man," said the pious chaplain, "yet may Jesus Christ receive his soul!" "Fool! to commend him to Christ; he could not help himself, how can he help others? he was no Son of God, but a wise man and a great hypocrite. The knight has had in this life all he will have. Paradise is a joyous life in this world; Hell a sad one." "Have we, then, nothing to do but to enjoy ourselves in this world? Is it no sin to lie with women?" — "No greater sin than to wash one's hands." "And this was said that all present might hear; not in jocoseness, but in serious mood." To this monstrous scene, in these words, three witnesses deposed on oath, and gave the names of the ambassadors — men, no doubt, of rank, and well known, to whom they might thus seem to appeal.[1]

The account of a conversation with the famous Roger de Loria was hardly less extraordinary. Of the two witnesses, one was a knight of Palermo, William, son of Peter de Calatagerona. Roger de Loria, hav-

[1] Witnesses xii. xiii.

ing revolted from the house of Arragon, came to Rome to be reconciled to the Pope. Yet at that very time the Pope wantonly mocked and insulted the devout seamen, by laughing to scorn that faith which bowed him at his own feet. De Loria had sent the Pope an offering of rich Sicilian fruits and honey. "See," he said, "what a beautiful land I must have left, abounding in such fruits, and have exposed myself to so great dangers to visit you. Had I died on this holy journey, surely I had been saved." "It might be so, or it might not." "Father, I trust that, if at such a moment I had died, Christ would have had mercy on me." The Pope said, "Christ! he was not the Son of God: he was a man eating and drinking like ourselves: by his preaching he drew many towards him, and died, but rose not again; neither will men rise again." "I," pursued the Pope, "am far mightier than Christ. I can raise up and enrich the lowly and poor; I can bestow kingdoms, and humble and beggar rich and powerful kings." In all the material parts of this conversation the two witnesses agreed: they were rigidly cross-examined as to the place, time, circumstances, persons present, the dress, attitude, gestures of the Pope: they were asked whether the Pope spoke in jest or earnest.[1]

The same or other witnesses deposed to as unblushing shamelessness regarding the foulest vices as regarding these awful blasphemies — "What harm is there in simony? what harm in adultery, more than in rubbing one's hands together?" This was his favorite phrase. Then were brought forward men formerly belonging to his household, to swear that they had brought women —

[1] Witness x.

one, first his wife, then his daughter -- to his bed. Another bore witness that from his youth Boniface had been addicted to worse, to nameless vices — that he was notoriously so; one or two loathsome facts were avouched.

Besides all this, there were what in those days would perhaps be heard with still deeper horror — magical rites and dealings with the powers of darkness. Many witnesses had heard that Benedetto Gaetani, that Pope Boniface, had a ring in which he kept an evil spirit. Brother Berard of Soriano had seen from a window the Cardinal Gaetani, in a garden below, draw a magic circle, and immolate a cock over a fire in an earthen pot. The blood and the flame mingled; a thick smoke arose. The Cardinal sat reading spells from a book, and conjuring up the devils. He then heard a terrible noise and wild voices, "Give us our share." Gaetani took up the cask, and threw it over the wall — "Take your share." The Cardinal then left the garden, and shut himself up alone in his most secret chamber, where throughout the night he was heard in deep and earnest conversation, and a voice, the same voice, was heard to answer. This witness deposed likewise to having seen Gaetani worshipping an idol, in which dwelt an evil spirit. This idol was given to him by the famous magician, Theodore of Bologna, and was worshipped as his God.[1] Charges of magic.

Such was the evidence, the whole evidence which appears (there may have been more) so revolting to the faith, so polluting to the morals, so repulsive to decency, that it cannot be plainly repeated, yet adduced against the successor of St. Peter, the Vicar of Christ. What crimes, even for defama- Summary of evidence.

[1] Witness xvi.

tion, to charge against a Pope! To all this the Pope and the Consistory were compelled to listen in sullen patience. If true — if with a shadow of truth — how monstrous the state of religion and morals! If absolutely and utterly untrue — if foul, false libels, bought by the gold of the King of France, suborned by the unrelenting hatred, and got up by the legal subtlety of De Nogaret and the rest — what humiliation to the Court of Rome to have heard, received, recorded such wicked aspersions, and to have left them unresented, unpunished! The glaring contradiction in the evidence, that Boniface was at once an atheist and a worshipper of idols, an open scoffer in public and a superstitious dealer in magic in private, is by no means the greatest improbability. Such things have been. The direct and total repugnance of such dauntless, wanton, unprovoked blasphemies, even with the vices charged against Boniface, his unmeasured ambition, consummate craft, indomitable pride, is still more astounding, more utterly bewildering to the belief. But whatever the secret disgust and indignation of Clement, it must be suppressed; however the Cardinals the most attached to the memory of Boniface might murmur and burn with wrath in their hearts, they must content themselves with just eluding, with narrowly averting, his condemnation.

Situation of Clement.

Philip himself, either from weariness, dissatisfaction with his own cause, caprice, or the diversion of his mind to other objects, consented to abandon the persecution of the memory of Boniface, and to leave the judgment to the Pope. On this the gratitude of Clement knows no bounds; the adulation of his Bull on the occasion surpasses

Philip abandons the prosecution.

The Pope's Bull.

belief. Every act of Philip is justified; he is altogether acquitted of all hatred and injustice; his whole conduct is attributed to pious zeal. "The worthy head of that royal house, which had been ever devoted, had ever offered themselves and the realm for the maintenance of the Holy Mother Church of Rome, had been compelled by the reiterated representations of men of character and esteem," to investigate the reports unfavorable to the legitimate election, to the orthodox doctrine, and the life of Pope Boniface. The King's full Parliament had urged him with irresistible unanimity to persist in this course. "We therefore, with our brethren the Cardinals, pronounce and decree that the aforesaid King, having acted, and still acting, at the frequent and repeated instance of these high and grave persons, has been and is exempt from all blame, has been incited by a true, sincere, and just zeal and fervor for the Catholic faith." It was thus acknowledged that there was a strong primary case against Boniface; the appeal to the Council was admitted; every act of violence justified, except the last assault at Anagni, as to which the Pope solemnly acquitted the King of all complicity. The condescension of the King, "the son of benediction and grace,"[1] in at length thus tardily and ungraciously remitting the judgment to the Pope, is ascribed to divine inspiration.[2] Nor were wanting more substantial marks of the Pope's gratitude. Every Bull prejudicial to the King, to the nobles, and the realm of France (not contained in the sixth book of Decretals), is absolutely cancelled and annulled, ex-

[1] "Tanquam benedictionis et gratiæ filius."

[2] "Nos itaque mansuetudinem regiam ac expertam in iis devotionis et reverentiæ filialis gratitudinem quas . . . dicto Regi *divinitùs credimus inspiratas.*"

cept the two called "Unam Sanctam" and "Rem non novam," and these are to be understood in the moderated sense assigned by the present Pontiff. All proceedings for forfeiture of privileges, suspension, excommunication, interdict, all deprivations or deposals against the King, his brothers, subjects, or kingdom; all proceedings against the accusers, prosecutors, arraigned in the cause; against the prelates, barons, and commons, on account of any accusation, denunciation, appeal, or petition for the convocation of a General Council; or for blasphemy, insult, injury by deed or word, against the said Boniface, even for his seizure, the assault on his house and person, the plunder of the treasure, or other acts at Anagni; for anything done in behalf of the King during his contest with Boniface: all such proceedings against the living or the dead, against persons of all ranks — cardinals, archbishops, bishops, emperors, or kings, whether instituted by Pope Boniface, or by his successor Benedict, are provisionally[1] annulled, revoked, cancelled. "And if any aspersion, shame, or blame, shall have occurred to any one out of these denunciations, and charges against Boniface, whether during his life or after his death, or any prosecution be hereafter instituted on that account, these we absolutely abolish and declare null and void."[2]

In order that the memory of these things be utterly extinguished, the proceedings of every kind against France are, under pain of excommunication, to be erased within four months from the capitular books and registers of the Holy See.[3] The archives of the Pa-

[1] "Ex cautelâ."

[2] The Bull dated May, 1311. — Dupuy, Preuves.

[3] In Raynaldus (sub ann.) is a full account of the Bulls and passages of Bulls entirely erased for the gratification of King Philip from the Papal

pacy are to retain no single procedure injurious to the King of France, or to those, whoever they may be, who are thus amply justified for all their most virulent persecution, for all their contumacious resistance, for the foulest charges, for charges of atheism, simony, whoredom, sodomy, witchcraft, heresy, against the deceased Pope.

Fifteen persons only are exempted from this sweeping amnesty, or more than amnesty; among them William de Nogaret, Reginald Supino and his son, the other insurgents of Anagni, and Sciarra Colonna. These Philip, no doubt by a secret understanding with the Pope, surrendered to the mockery of punishment, punishment which might or might not be enforced. The penance appointed to the rest does not appear: but even William de Nogaret obtained provisional absolution.[1] The Pope, solicitous for the welfare of his soul, and in regard to the pressing supplications of the King, imposed this penance. At the next general Crusade Nogaret should in person set out with arms and horses to the Holy Land, there to serve for life, unless his term of service should be shortened by the mercy of the Pope or his successor. In the mean time, till this general Crusade (never to come to pass), he was to make a pilgrimage to certain shrines and holy places, one at Boulogne-sur-Mer, one at St. James of Compostella.[2] Such was the sentence on the assailant, almost the assassin, of a Pope; on the persecutor of his memory by the most odious accusations; if those accusations were false, the suborner of the most

Punishment of William de Nogaret, &c.

records; of course they were preserved by the pious care of the partisans of Boniface. See also Preuves, p. 606.

[1] "Absolvimus ad cautelam."

[2] Ptolemy of Lucca calls this "penitentia dura."

monstrous system of falsehood, calumny, and perjury. The Pope received one hundred thousand florins from the King's ambassador as a reward for his labors in this cause.[1] This Bull of Clement V.[2] broke forever the spell of the Pontifical autocracy. A King might appeal to a Council against a Pope, violate his personal sanctity, constitute himself the public prosecutor by himself or by his agents for heresy, for immorality, invent or accredit the most hateful and loathsome charges, all with impunity, all even without substantial censure.

Oct. 15 to Nov. 1, 1311. Council of Vienne.

The Council of Vienne met at length; the number of prelates is variously stated from three hundred to one hundred and forty.[3] It is said that Bishops were present from Spain, Germany, Denmark, England, Scotland, Ireland, Italy. It assumed the dignity of an Œcumenic Council. The Pope proposed three questions: I. The dissolution of the Order of the Temple; II. The recovery of the Holy Land (the formal object of every later Council, but which had sunk into a form); III. The reformation of manners and of ecclesiastical discipline. The affair of the Templars was the first. It might seem that this whole inquiry had been sifted to the bottom. Yet had the Pope made further preparation for the strong measure determined upon. The orders to the King of Spain to apply tortures for the extortion of confession had been renewed.[4] The Templars were to

[1] Ptolem. Luc. apud Baluzium, p. 40. "Tunc ambasiatores Regis obtulerunt cameræ Domini Papæ centum millia florinorum quasi pro quadam recompensatione laborum circa dictam causam."

[2] Dated May, 1311.

[3] Villani gives the larger number, the continuator of Nangis the smaller. Has the French writer given only the French prelates?

[4] "Ad eliciendam veritatem religioso fore tortori tradendos." — Letter of Clement to King of Spain, quoted by Raynouard, p. 166.

be secure in no part of Christendom. The same terrible instructions had been sent to the Latin Patriarch of Constantinople, to the Bishops of Negropont, Famagusta, and Nicosia.[1] Two thousand depositions had been accumulated, perhaps now slumber in the Vatican. But unexpected difficulties arose. On a sudden nine Templars, who had lurked in safe concealment, perhaps in the valleys of the Jura or the Alps, appeared before the Council, and demanded to be heard in defence of the Order. The Pope was not present. No sooner had he heard of this daring act than he commanded the nine intrepid defenders of their Order to be seized and cast into prison. He wrote in all haste to the King to acquaint him with this untoward interruption.[2] But embarrassments increased: the acts were read before the Fathers of the Council; all the foreign prelates except one Italian, all the French prelates except three, concurred in the justice of admitting the Order to a hearing and defence before the Council. These three were Peter of Courtenay, Archbishop of Rheims, who had burned the Templars at Senlis; Philip de Marigny of Sens, who had committed the fifty-four Knights to the flames in Paris; the Archbishop of Rouen, the successor of Bertrand de Troyes, who had presided at Pont de l'Arche.[3] The Pope

[1] "Ad habendam ab eis veritatis plenitudinem promptiorem tormentis et quæstionibus, si sponte confiteri noluerint, experiri procuretis." — Apud Raynald. 1311, c. liii.

[2] The letter in Raynouard, p. 177. Raynouard is unfortunately seized with a fit of eloquence, and inserts a long speech which one of the Fathers of the council *ought* to have spoken. The letter is dated Dec. 11.

[3] "In hâc sententiâ concordant omnes prælati Italiæ præter unum, Hispaniæ, Theutoniæ, Daniæ, Angliæ, Scotiæ, et Hiberniæ. Item Gallici, præter tres Metropolitanos, videlicet Remensem, Senonensem et Rothomagensem." — Ptolem. Luc. Vit. II. p. 43. Compare Walsingham. This was in the beginning of December

was obliged to prorogue the Council for a time. The winter wore away in private discussions.[1] The awe of the King's presence was necessary to strengthen the Pope, and to intimidate the Council. The King had summoned an assembly of the realm at Lyons, now annexed to his kingdom. The avowed object was to secure the triumph of Jesus Christ in the Council.[2] The Pope took courage; he summoned the prelates on whom he could depend to a secret consistory with the Cardinals. He announced that he had determined, by way of prudent provision,[3] not of condemnation, to abolish the Order of Templars: he reserved to himself and to the Church the disposal of their persons and of their estates. On April 3 this act of dissolution was published in the full Council on the absolute and sole authority of the Pope. This famous Order was declared to be extinct; the proclamation was made in the presence of the King[4] and his brother. We have already described the award of the estates to the Knights of St. John, the impoverishment of that Order[5] by this splendid boon, or traffic,[6] as it was called by the enemies of Clement.

A.D. 1312.

Clement, perhaps, had rejoiced in secret at the opposition of the Council to the condemnation of the Templars. It aided him in extorting the price of the important concession from King Philip, the reservation to his own judgment of the sacred and perilous treasure of his predecessor's memory.

[1] Bernard Guido. Vit. III. Clement. Compare IV. et VI.

[2] Hist. de Languedoc, xxix. c. 33, p. 152.

[3] "Per provisiones."

[4] "Cui negotium erat cordi."

[5] "Unde depauperata est mansio hospitalis, quæ se existimabat inde opulenta fieri." — S. Antoninus; see above, p. 480.

[6] "Papa vero statim bona Templi infinito thesauro Fratribus *vendidit* hospitalis S. Joannis." — Hocsemius, Gest. Pontific. Leoden.

The Council, which had now resumed its sittings, was, not in this point alone, manifestly disinclined to submit to the absolute control of French influence. It asserted its independent dignity in the addresses to which it had listened on the reform of ecclesiastical abuses: it had shown a strong hierarchical spirit. No doubt beyond the sphere of Philip's power, beyond the pale of Ghibelline animosity, beyond that of the lower Franciscans, whose fanatical admiration of Cœlestine had become implacable hatred to Boniface, the prosecution of the Pope's memory was odious. If it rested on any just grounds, it was an irreverent exposure of the nakedness of their common father; if groundless, a wanton and wicked sacrilege. When, therefore, three Cardinals, Richard of Sienna, master of the civil law, John of Namur, as eminent in theology, and Gentili, the most consummate decretalist, appeared in the Council to defend the orthodoxy and holy life of Pope Boniface; when two Catalan Knights threw down their gauntlets, and declared themselves ready to maintain his innocence by wager of battle: Clement interposed not, as in the case of the Templars, any adjournment. He regarded not the confusion of the King and his partisans. The King was therefore obliged to submit to this absolute acquittal, either by positive decree; or, in default of the appearance of any accuser, of any opponent against the theologians or the knights, to accept an edict that no harm or prejudice should accrue to himself or his successors for the part which they had been compelled by duty and by zeal to take against Pope Boniface.[1]

Defenders of Boniface before the Council.

[1] The vindication of the fame of Boniface by the Council of Vienne is disputed, F. Pagi, arguing from the fact that the affair was not included in

Acts of the Council of Vienne.

The Council of Vienne had thus acquiesced in the determination of the first object for which it had been summoned, the suppression of the Templars. The assembly listened with decent outward sympathy to the old wearisome account of the captivity of the Holy Land, and the progress of the Mohammedan arms in the East. But the crusading fire was burnt out; there was hardly a flash or gleam of enthusiasm. It seemed, however, disposed to enter with greater earnestness on the reformation of manners and discipline, and the suppression of certain dangerous dissidents from that discipline. On the former subject the Fathers heard with respectful favor two remarkable addresses. The first was from the Bishop of Mende, one of the assessors at the examination of the Templars; and this address raises the character of that prelate so highly, that his testimony on their condemnation is perhaps the most unfavorable evidence on record against them. The other came from a prelate of great gravity, learning, and piety, whose name has not survived. These addresses, however, which led to no immediate result, may come before us in a general view of the Christianity of this great epoch, the culmination of the Papal power under Boniface VIII., its rapid

the summons, or among the three subjects proposed for the consideration of the Council, that it was not brought before them. Raynaldus relies on the passage of Villani, on which he accumulates much irrelevant matter, without strengthening his cause. The statement in the text appears to me to reconcile all difficulties. It was, throughout, the policy of the Pope to keep this dangerous business entirely in his own hands; this he had extorted with great dexterity and at great sacrifice from the King. Till he knew that he could trust the Council, he had no thought of permitting the Council to interfere (it was an unsafe precedent); but when sure of its temper, he was glad to take the Prelates' judgment in confirmation of his own: he thus at the same time maintained his own sole and superior right of judgment, and backed it, against the King, with the authority of the Council.

decline under the Popes at Avignon. So, too, the condemnation of that singular sect or offset of the Franciscans, the Fraticelli, will form part of the history of that body, which perhaps did more than any other sects in preparation of the Lollards, of Wycliffe, perhaps of the great Reformation, in the minds of the people throughout Christendom, as the disseminators of doctrines essentially, vitally, anti-Papal.

## CHAPTER IV.

### HENRY OF LUXEMBURG. ITALY.

Pope Clement — at the cost of much of the Papal dignity; at the cost of Christian mercy, even if the Templars, tortured and burned at the stake, were guilty; at the cost of truth and justice if they were innocent — had baffled the King of France, and had averted the fatal blow, the condemnation of Pope Boniface. Even of the spoils of the Templars he had rescued a large part, the whole landed property, out of the hands of the rapacious King; he had enriched himself, his death will hereafter show to what enormous amount. But the subtle Gascon had done greater service to Christendom by thwarting the views of the French monarch upon a predominance in the Western world dangerous to her liberties and welfare. Never was Europe in greater peril of falling, if not under one sovereignty, under the dominion, and that the most tyrannical dominion, of one house. Philip was king indeed in France: in many of his worst acts of oppression the nation, the commonalty itself, had backed the King. Even the Church, so long as he plundered and trampled on others, was on his side. The greater Metropolitan Sees were filled with his creatures. Princes of the house of France sat on the thrones of Naples and Hungary.

The feeble Edward II. of England was his son-in-law. The Empire, if obtained by Charles of Valois, had involved not merely the supreme rule in Germany, but the mastery in Italy. Clement would not have dared to refuse the imperial crown, and under such an Emperor where was the independence of the Italian cities? The Papal territory would have been held at his mercy.

The election of Henry of Luxemburg had redeemed Christendom from this danger. This election had been managed with unrivalled skill by Peter Aslpalter, Archbishop of Mentz.[1] This remarkable man (an unusual case) was not of noble birth; he had been bred a physician; it was said that he had rendered the Pope great service by advice concerning his health, and had thus acquired a strong influence over his mind. Archbishop Peter first contrived the elevation of Henry's brother to the Electoral See of Treves. Two of the lay electors, out of jealousy towards the other competitors for the crown, were won over. Henry of Luxemburg was proclaimed at Frankfort. The new King of the Romans was at once a just, a religious, and a popular sovereign.[2] He had put down the robbers, and exercised rigid but impartial justice in his own small territory. At the same time he was the most distinguished in arms. At the tournament no knight in Europe could unhorse Henry of Luxemburg. Soon after his elevation his indi-

Henry of Luxemburg.

Nov. 27, 1308.

[1] This is well told by Schmidt — Geschichte der Deutschen, vii. c. 4.

[2] Justus et religiosus et in armis strenuus fuit. Hocsemius, apud Chapeauville, Hist. Pontif. Leoden. See the description of his person in Albert. Mussat. i. 13.

gent house was enriched and strengthened by the marriage of his son with the heiress of Bohemia.

The Pope had taken no ostensible part in the election. When Henry of Luxemburg sent an embassage of nobles and great prelates to demand the imperial crown, Clement had no pretext, he had indeed no disposition, to refuse that which was in the common order of things. Philip might brood in secret over this politic attempt of the Pope after emancipation, yet had no right to take umbrage.

Diet at Spires. Aug. 21, 1309.

In a solemn diet at Spires Henry, King of the Romans, declared, amid universal acclamation, his resolution to descend into Italy to assert the imperial rights, and to receive the Cæsarean crown at Rome. Clement had never lost sight of the affairs of Italy: he was still Lord of Romagna, and drew his revenues from the Papal territory. But he had no Italian prepossessions. The Bishop of Rome had probably determined never to set his foot in that unruly city. His court was a court of French Cardinals, increased at each successive promotion. He had indeed interfered to save Pistoia from the cruel hands of Guelfic Florence; but Florence had treated his threatened anathema with scorn. Bologna, struck with interdict by the angry Legate for aiding Florence, had made indeed submission, but not till she had forced the Legate to an ignominious flight to save his life. Clement had maintained a violent contest with Venice for Ferrara. Venice had struck a vigorous blow by the seizure of Ferrara, and the contemptuous refusal to acknowledge the asserted rights of the Pope in that city. The Venetians scorned the interdict thundered

The Pope's policy.

against their whole territory by the Pope. Clement found a foe against whom he dared put forth all the terrors of his spiritual power. He prohibited all religious rites in Venice, declared the Doge and magistrates infamous, commanded all ecclesiastics to quit the territory except a few to baptize infants, and to administer extreme unction to the dying. If they persisted in their contumacy, he declared the Doge Gradenigo degraded from his high office, and all estates of Venetians confiscate; kings were summoned to take up arms against them till they should restore the rights of the Church. The Venetians condescended to send an ambassador; but as to the restoration of Ferrara, they made no sign of concession. But Venice was vulnerable through her wealth; the Pope struck a blow at her vital part. She had factories, vast stores of rich merchandise in every great haven, in every distant land. The Pope issued a brief, summoning all Kings, all rulers, all cities to plunder the forfeited merchandise of Venice, and to reduce the Venetians to slavery. The Pope's admonitions to peace, his warnings to kings and nations to abstain from unchristian injury to each other, had long lost their power. But a Papal license or rather exhortation to plunder, to plunder peaceful and defenceless factories, was too tempting an act of obedience. Everywhere their merchandise was seized, their factories pillaged, their traders outraged.[1] Venice quailed; yet it needed the utmost activity in the warlike Legate, the Cardinal Pelagru, at the head of troops from

[1] "Quâ de re data pluribus provinciis ac Regibus imperia." — Raynaldus sub ann., with authorities.

all quarters, to reconquer Ferrara. He slew six thousand men.

On a sudden Clement totally changed the immemorial policy of the Popes. He did not throw off, but he quietly let fall, the French alliance: he was in close league with the Emperor:[1] the Pope became a Ghibelline. If the Papal and Imperial banners were not unfolded together, the Papal Legate was by the side of the Emperor. The refractory cities were menaced with the concurrent ban of the Empire and the excommunication of the Church.

Henry, rather more than a year after the Diet at Spires, descended upon Italy, but with no considerable German force,[2] to achieve that in which had been discomfited the Othos, Henrys, and Fredericks. Guelfs and Ghibellines watched his movements with unquiet jealousy. He assumed a lofty superiority to all factious views.[3] The cities Turin, Asti, Vercelli, Novara, opened their gates.[4] Henry reinstated the exiled Guelfs in Ghibelline, the Ghibellines in Guelfic, cities. He approached Milan. Guido della Torre, the head of the ruling Guelfic faction, had sent a message to the King at Spires, "he would lead him with a falcon on his wrist, as on a pleasure-party,

Henry in Italy. Oct. 23, 1310.

Milan.

[1] See Clement's letter to Henry of Luxemburg, July 26, 1309. Also the Treaty dated at Lausanne September 11, 1310. — Monumenta Germaniæ, iv. 501.

[2] Ferretus Vicentinus gives 5000 Germans.

[3] "Cujusquam cum subjectis pactionis impatiens, Gibolenge Guelfeve partium mentionem abhorrens, cuncta absoluto amplectens imperio." — Alb. Mussat. i. 13.

[4] See Iter Italicum by Henry's favorite counsellor. The Bishop of Buthronto gives a lively account of all his march, especially of the Bishop's own personal adventures. It has been reprinted (after Reuber and Muratori) oy Boehmer. — Fontes Rer. German. i. 69.

through all Lombardy." Guido was now irresolute. The Archbishop of Milan, the nephew of Guido, but his mortal enemy, entreated the King's good offices for the release of three of his kindred, imprisoned by Della Torre. King Henry issued his orders; Guido refused to obey. Yet Milan did not close her gates on the King. Guido occupied the palace of the commonalty; he would not dismiss his armed guard of one thousand men. Besides this, he had at his command in one street ten thousand men, not, he averred, against the King, but against his enemy, the Archbishop. Henry lodged in the Archbishop's palace, and there kept his Christmas. On the day after, peace was sworn between Guido della Torre, his nephew the Archbishop, and Matteo Visconti: they exchanged the kiss of peace.[1] On the Epiphany Henry was crowned with the Iron Crown of Italy, not at Monza, but in the Ambrosian Church at Milan; the people wept tears of joy. Guido gave up the palace of the commonalty to the King. All the cities of Lombardy were present by their Syndics; all took the oath of allegiance except Genoa and Venice, who nevertheless acknowledged the supremacy of the King.[2] Henry calmly pursued his work of pacification. He placed Vicars in the cities from the Alps to Bologna, and forced them to admit the exiles. Como received the Guelfs, the Ghibellines entered Brescia. Mantua admitted the Ghibellines, Piacenza the Guelfs. Verona alone obstinately refused to receive Count Boniface and the Guelfs: her strong

Dec. 23, 1310.

Jan. 6, 1311.

1 "Amicabiliter, utinam fideliter osculati." — Iter Ital.

2 "They said many things to excuse themselve from swearing (writes the Bishop of Buthronto), which I do not recollect, excepting that they (the Venetians) are a quintessence, and will belong neither to the Church nor to the Emperor, nor to the sea nor to the land." — Iter Italicum, p. 493.

walls defied the Emperor. In Milan the leaders of the factions vied in their offerings to Henry. William di Posterla proposed a vote of fifty thousand florins, but added a donative to the Empress. Guido della Torre outbid his rival: "We are a great and wealthy city; one hundred thousand is not too much for so noble a sovereign." The Germans were alienated from the parsimonious Viscontis; Guido, they averred, was the Emperor's friend; but it was shrewdly suspected that the crafty leader foresaw that Milan, when the tax came to be levied, would rise to shake off the burden. The Emperor, to secure the city in his absence, demanded that fifty of the great nobles and leaders, chosen half from the Guelfs, half from the Ghibellines, should accompany him to Rome to do honor to his coronation. The Guelfs were to name twenty-five Ghibellines, the Ghibellines twenty-five Guelfs. But this mode of election failed; neither Guido nor Visconti would quit the city. Guido alleged ill health; Feb. 12. the King's physician declared the excuse false. But the assessment of this vast sum, though the Germans were astonished at the ease with which much had been paid, inflamed the people. Frays broke out between the Germans and the Milanese; proclamations were issued, forbidding the Italians to bear arms. On a sudden a cry was heard, "Death to the Germans! Peace between the Lord Guido and the Lord Matteo!" Visconti was seized, carried before the King, and dismissed unharmed. The Germans rushed to arms; they were joined by Visconti's faction; much slaughter, much plunder ensued.[1]

Insurrection in Milan.

[1] "Multi mortui et vulnerati, si justè Deus scit." So writes the pious Bishop, who had apprehended and, as he says, saved the life of, Visconti.

Guido della Torre fled; his palace fortress was surprised and ransacked: great stores of military weapons were found, arrows tipped with Greek fire, and balists.

No sooner was Milan heard to be in insurrection, than Crema, Cremona, Lodi, Brescia, rose. May 19. 1311 The first were speedily subdued; Cremona severely punished. Brescia alone stood an obstinate siege. The Emperor's brother Waleran fell in the trenches: many Germans were hanged upon the walls. The new alliance between the Emperor and the Pope was here ostentatiously proclaimed. Two of the cardinals appointed to crown the Emperor, the Bishops of St. Sabina and of Ostia, appeared under the walls of Brescia. The gates flew open: they passed the streets amid acclamations — "Long live our Mother the Church; long live the Pope and the Holy Cardinals." The Cardinal of Ostia addressed the commonalty in a lofty harangue. He sternly reproved them for not having received that blessed son of the Church, Henry King of the Romans, who came in the name of the Lord: "They were in insurrection against the ordinance of Almighty God, against the monitions of the Pope: they must look for no better fate than befell Sodom and Gomorrah." The Captain of the people answered in their name — "They were ready to obey the Pope and a lawful Emperor. Henry was no emperor, but a spoiler, who expelled the Guelfs from the cities, and gave them up to the tyranny of the Ghibellines; he was reviving the schism of the Emperor Frederick." The Cardinals withdrew for a time in ignominious silence. Brescia still held out: Henry urged the Cardinals to issue a sentence of excommunication. "For excommunication," was the reply, "the

Siege of Brescia.

Italians care nothing. How have the Florentines treated that of the Cardinal of Ostia, the Bolognese that of Cardinal Napoleon, those of Milan that of the Lord Pelagius?"[1] Famine at length reduced the obstinate town. They consented to the mediation of the Cardinals, and Henry entered Brescia. The want of money led him to compound for the treason by a mulct of 70,000 florins. Henry's poverty compelled him to other acts, ignominious, even treacherous, as it seemed to his most loyal counsellors.[2]

Henry advanced to Genoa: the city submitted in Sept. 18-21. the amplest manner. But no sooner had the Emperor left Lombardy than a new Guelfic league sprung up behind him. Throughout Italy, the Guelfs, more Papalist than the Pope, disclaimed the Emperor, though under the escort of cardinal legates. At Genoa, died his Queen, Margarita. To Genoa came ambassadors from the head of the Guelfs, Robert King of Naples. Negotiations were commenced for a marriage between the houses of Luxemburg and Naples; but Robert demanded the office of Senator of Rome, and before terms could be concluded, news arrived that John, brother of King Robert, was in Rome with an armed force. Henry moved to Ghibelline Pisa; he was welcomed with joy. In the mean

March 6, 1312.

[1] Albert Mussato apud Muratori, R. I. S. I have endeavored to reconcile this account with the Iter Italicum. I understand the same fact to be alluded to, page 900: "Domini Cardinales de pace laboraverunt."

[2] "I protested, but protested in vain" (writes the Bishop of Buthrontо), "against five acts of my master. To the doubtful Philip of Savoy he granted, for a loan of 25,000 florins, the lordship over Pavia, Vercelli, Novara: to Matteo Visconti, for 50,000, that of Milan: to Guilberto di Corregio, the Guelfic tyrant of Parma, for an unknown sum, that of Reggio: to Can di Verona, who obstinately refused to admit a single Guelf, that of Verona: to Passerino, that of Mantua." — Iter Italicum, p. 93.

time Guelfic Florence not merely would not admit Pandulph Savelli, the Pope's Notary, and the Bishop of Buthronto, Henry's ambassadors; they threatened to seize them, as loaded with gold to bribe the Ghibellines to insurrection. The ambassadors had many wild adventures in the Apennines, were plundered, in peril of captivity. Some Tuscan cities, more Tuscan lords, swore allegiance to the Emperor, whether from loyalty or hatred of Florence. The ambassadors arrived before Rome.[1] The city was occupied by John of Naples. He was strong enough to maintain himself in the city, not strong enough to keep down the Imperialists. There was parley, delay, exchange of demands. John insisted on fortifying the Ponte Molle. To the demand, among others, of coöperation in reconciling the rival houses of Orsini and Colonna, he sternly answered, "The Colonnas are my enemies; with them I will have neither truce nor treaty." He at length hurled defiance against the Emperor.

Henry himself set out from Pisa, and advanced towards Rome at the head of two thousand horse. With King Robert of Naples it was neither peace nor war. Prince John still held the Ponte Molle. On the appearance of King Henry he was summoned to withdraw his troops. He withdrew, he said, "for his own ends — not at the Emperor's command." The Germans charged over the bridge; a tower still manned by Neapolitans hurled down missiles; it was with difficulty stormed. The Pope's Emperor, with the Cardinals commissioned by the Pope to crown him, entered Rome: he occupied, with the Ghibellines, the city on one side of the Tiber; the

Henry advances on Rome.

[1] This is the most curious part of the Iter Italicum.

Capitol was forced to submit. Beyond the Tiber were John of Naples and the Guelfic Orsini. Neither had strength to dispossess the other. But St. Peter's was in the power of the enemy. The magnificent ceremonial, which Pope Clement had drawn out at great length for the coronation of Henry, could not take place. He must submit to receive the crown with humbler pomp in the Church of St. John Lateran. The inglorious coronation took place on the festival of St. Peter and St. Paul.

June 29, 1312.

The heats of Rome compelled the Emperor to retire to Tivoli. A year of war ensued: Florence placed herself at the head of the anti-Imperialist League. Henry, having made a vain attempt to surprise Florence, retired to Pisa. There he pronounced the ban of the Empire against Florence and the contumacious cities; and against Robert of Naples, whom he declared, as a rebellious vassal, deposed from his throne. The ban of the Empire had no more terror than the excommunication of the Pope. Henry awaited forces from Germany to open again the campaign: his magnanimous character struck even his adversaries. "He was a man," writes the Guelf Villani, "never depressed by adversity, never in prosperity elated with pride, or intoxicated with joy."

July 20.

Feb. 12, 1313.

But the end of his career drew on. He had now advanced at the head of an army which his enemies dared not meet in the field, towards Sienna. He rode still, seemingly in full vigor and activity. But the fatal air of Rome had smitten his strength. A carbuncle had formed under his knee; injudicious remedies inflamed his vitiated blood. He died at Buonconvento in the midst of his awe-struck army, on the Festival

of St. Bartholomew. Rumors of foul practice, of course, spread abroad: a Dominican monk was said to have administered poison in the Sacrament, which he received with profound devotion. Aug. 24, 1313. His body was carried in sad state, and splendidly interred at Pisa.

So closed that empire, in which, if the more factious and vulgar Ghibellines beheld their restoration to their native city, their triumph, their revenge, their sole administration of public affairs, the nobler Ghibellinism of Dante[1] foresaw the establishment of a great universal monarchy necessary to the peace and civilization of mankind. The ideal sovereign of Dante's famous treatise on Monarchy was Henry of Luxemburg. Neither Dante nor his time can be understood but through this treatise. The attempt of the Pope to raise himself to a great Pontifical monarchy had manifestly, ignominiously failed: the Ghibelline is neither amazed nor distressed at this event. It is now the turn of the Imperialist to unfold his noble vision "An universal monarchy is absolutely necessary for the welfare of the world;" and this is part of his singular reasoning — "Peace" (says the weary exile, the man worn out in cruel strife, the wanderer from city to city, each of those cities more fiercely torn by faction than the last), "universal Peace is the first blessing of mankind. The angels sang not riches or pleasures, but Dante de Monarchia

[1] Read first Dante's rapturous letter (in Italian) to the princes and people of Italy before the descent of Henry of Luxemburg (the Latin original is lost), Fraticelli's edition, Oper. Min. iii. p. 2, 23. "Non riluca in maravigliose effette Iddio avere predestinato il Romano principe?" The Pope is now on the Imperial side, and Dante is conciliatory even to an Avignonese Pope. Nor omit, secondly, the furious letter to Henry himself, almost reproaching him with leaving wicked Florence unchastised. — Ibid p. 230.

peace on earth: peace the Lord bequeathed to his disciples. For peace One must rule. Mankind is most like God when at unity, for God is One; therefore under a monarchy. Where there is parity there must be strife; where strife, judgment; the judge must be a third party intervening with supreme authority." Without monarchy can be no justice, nor even liberty; for Dante's[1] monarch is no arbitrary despot, but a constitutional sovereign; he is the Roman law impersonated in the Emperor; a monarch who should leave all the nations, all the free Italian cities, in possession of their rights and old municipal institutions.

But to this monarchy of the world the Roman people has an inherent, indefeasible right. The Saviour was born when the world was at peace under the Roman sway.[2] Dante seizes and applies the texts, which foreshow the peaceful dominion of Christianity, to the Empire of old Rome. Rome assumed that empire of right, not of usurpation. The Romans were the noblest of people by their descent from Æneas, the noblest of men. The rise of the Republic was one continual miracle: the Ancile, the repulse of the Gauls, Clelia, all were miracles in the highest sense.[3] That holy, pious, and glorious people sacrificed its own advantage to the common good. It ruled the world by its beneficence. All that the most ardent Christian could assert of the best of the Saints, Dante attributes to the older Romans. The great examples of human virtue are

[1] "Et humanum genus, potissimum liberum, optime se habet."

[2] "Quare fremuerunt gentes, reges adversantur Domino suo et uncto sub Romano Principe."

[3] "Quod etiam pro Romano Imperio perficiendo, miranda Deus pertenderet illustrium authorum testimonio comprobatur." The authors are Livy and Lucan.

Cincinnatus, Fabricius, Camillus, Decius, Cato. The Roman people are by nature predestined to rule: he cites the irrefragable authority of Virgil.[1] There are two arguments which strangely mingle with these. Rome had won the empire of the world by wager of battle. God, in the great ordeal, had adjudged the triumph to Rome: he had awarded to her the prize, universal, indefeasible monarchy.[2] Still further, "Our Lord condescended to be put to death under Pilate, the vicegerent of Tiberius Cæsar; by that he acknowledged the lawfulness of the jurisdiction, therefore the jurisdiction is of God."[3] But while all this argument of Dante shows the irresistible magic power still possessed over the imagination by the mere name of Rome, how strongly does it illustrate not only the coming days of Rienzi, but the strength, too, which the Papal power had derived from this indelible awe, this unquestioning admission that the world owed allegiance to Rome! Dante proceeds to prove that the monarchy, the Roman monarchy, is held directly of God, not of any Vicar or minister of God. He sweeps away with contemptuous hand all the later Decretals. He admits the Holy Scripture, the first Councils, the early Doctors, and St. Augustine. He spurns the favorite texts of the sun and moon as typifying the Papacy and the Empire, the worship of the Magi, the two swords, the donation of Constantine. He asserts Christ to be the only Rock of the Church. The examples of authority assumed

[1] "Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento."

[2] "Nullum dubium est quin prævalentia in athletis pro imperio mundi certantibus, Dei judicium est sequuta. Romanus populus cunctis athletigantibus pro imperio mundi prævaluit." — p. 100. "Quod per duellum acquiritur jure acquiritur."

[3] We find even the startling sentence, "Si Romanum Imperium de jure non fuit, peccatum adeo in Christo non fuit punitum."

by Popes over Emperors, he confronts with precedents of authority used by Emperors over Popes. Dante denies not, he believes with the fervor of a devout Catholic, the coördinate supremacy of the Church and the Empire, of the Pope and the temporal monarch, but like all the Ghibellines, like the Fraticelli among the lower orders, like many other true believers, almost worshippers of the successor of St. Peter, he would absolutely, rigidly, entirely confine him to his spiritual functions; with this life the Pontiff had no concern, eternal life was in his power and arbitration alone.[1]

Italy, at the death of Henry of Luxemburg, fell back into her old anarchy. Clement, it is true, laid claim to the Empire during the vacancy, but it was an idle and despised boast.[2] The Transalpine Clement was succeeded by other Transalpine Popes; but the confederacy between the Pope and the Emperor broke up forever at the death of Henry.

[1] This is the key to Dante's Imperialism and Papalism. Hence in the lowest pit of hell, the two traitors to Cæsar are on either side of the traitor to Christ. "Bruto, Iscariote, e Cassio." Hence both his fierce Ghibelline denunciations of the avarice and pride of Boniface, and his indignation at the violation of the sanctity of Christ's Vicar at Anagni. Throughout, the imperial authority is the first necessity of Italy —

> "Ahi gentè, chè dovresti esser devota,
> E lasciar seder Cæsar nella sella,
> Se bene intendi ciò chè Dio ti nota."

This is followed by the magnificent apostrophe to Albert of Austria, whose guilt in neglecting Italy is not only avenged on his own posterity, but on his successor, Henry of Luxemburg, —

> "Vieni a veder *la tua* Roma, che piagni
> Vedova è sola, e di è notte chiama,
> Cesare mio, perchè non m' accompagni."

— Compare Foscolo, Discorso, p. 223.

[2] "Nos tam ex superioritate quam ad Imperium non est dubium nos habere, quam ex potestate, in quâ, vacante Imperio, Imperatori succedimus." — Clement. Pastoral. Muratori, Ann. sub ann. 1314.

## CHAPTER V.

### THE END OF DU MOLAY, OF POPE CLEMENT, OF KING PHILIP.

THE end of Clement himself and of Clement's master, the King of France, drew near. The Pope had been compelled to make still larger concessions to the King. Philip's annexation of the Imperial city, Lyons, and the extinction of the rights or claims of the Archbishop to an independent jurisdiction, were vainly encountered by remonstrance. From this time Lyons became a city of the kingdom of France.

But the Pope and the King must be preceded into the realm of darkness and to the judgment-seat of heaven by other victims. The tragedy of the Templars had not yet drawn to its close. The four great dignitaries of the Order, the Grand Master Du Molay, Guy the Commander of Normandy, son of the Dauphin of Auvergne, the Commander of Aquitaine Godfrey de Gonaville, the great Visitor of France Hugues de Peraud, were still pining in the royal dungeons. It was necessary to determine on their fate. The King and the Pope were now equally interested in burying the affair forever in silence and oblivion. So long as these men lived, uncondemned, undoomed, the Order was not extinct. A commission was named; the Cardinal Archbishop of Albi, with two other Cardinals, two monks, the Cistercian Arnold Novelli, and Arnold

de Fargis, nephew of Pope Clement, the Dominican Nicolas de Freveauville, akin to the house of Marigny, formerly the King's confessor. With these the Archbishop of Sens sat in judgment, on the Knights' own former confessions. The Grand Master and the rest were found guilty, and were to be sentenced to perpetual imprisonment.[1]

Prisoners brought up for sentence.

A scaffold was erected before the porch of Notre Dame. On one side appeared the two Cardinals; on the other the four noble prisoners, in chains, under the custody of the Provost of Paris. Six years of dreary imprisonment had passed over their heads; of their valiant brethren the most valiant had been burned alive; the recreants had purchased their lives by confession: the Pope in a full Council had condemned and dissolved the Order. If a human mind, a mind, like that of Du Molay, not the most stubborn, could be broken by suffering and humiliation, it must have yielded to this long and crushing imprisonment. The Cardinal-Archbishop of Albi ascended a raised platform: he read the confessions of the Knights, the proceedings of the Court; he enlarged on the criminality of the Order, on the holy justice of the Pope, and the devout, self-sacrificing zeal of the King; he was proceeding to the final, the fatal sentence. At that instant the Grand Master advanced; his gesture implored silence: judges and people gazed in awe-struck apprehension.

Speech of Du Molay.

In a calm, clear voice Du Molay spake: "Before heaven and earth, on the verge of death, where the least falsehood bears like an intolerable weight upon the soul, I protest that we have richly deserved death, not on account of any

[1] "Muro et carceri perpetuo retrudendi." — Continuat. Nangis.

heresy or sin of which ourselves or our Order have been guilty, but because we have yielded, to save our lives, to the seductive words of the Pope and of the King: and so by our confessions brought shame and ruin on our blameless, holy, and orthodox brotherhood."

The Cardinals stood confounded; the people could not suppress their profound sympathy. The assembly was hastily broken up; the Provost was commanded to conduct the prisoners back to their dungeons. "To-morrow we will hold further counsel."

But on the moment that the King heard these things, without a day's delay, without the least consultation with the ecclesiastical authorities, he ordered them to death as relapsed heretics. In the island on the Seine, where now stands the statue of Henry IV., between the King's garden on one side and the convent of the Augustinian monks on the other, the two pyres were raised (two out of the four had shrunk back into their ignoble confessions). It was the hour of vespers when these two aged and noble men were led out to be burned: they were tied each to the stake. The flames kindled dully and heavily; the wood, hastily piled up, was green or wet; or, in cruel mercy, the tardiness was designed that the victims might have time, while the fire was still curling round their extremities, to recant their bold recantation. But there was no sign, no word of weakness. Du Molay implored that the image of the Mother of God might be held up before him,[1] and his hands unchained,

Death of Du Molay.

[1] "Et je vous prie
Que de vers la visage Marie,
Dont notre Seignor Christ fust nez,
Mon visage vous me tornez."
*Godfrey de Paris.*

that he might clasp them in prayer. Both, as the smoke rose to their lips, as the fire crept up to their vital parts, continued solemnly to aver the innocence, the Catholic faith of the Order. The King himself sat and beheld,[1] it might seem without remorse, this hideous spectacle; the words of Du Molay might have reached his ears. But the people looked on with far other feelings. Stupor kindled into admiration; the execution was a martyrdom; friars gathered up their ashes and bones and carried them away, hardly by stealth, to consecrated ground; they became holy relics.[2] The two who wanted courage to die pined away their miserable life in prison.

Du Molay a prophet.

The wonder and the pity of the times which immediately followed, arrayed Du Molay not only in the robes of the martyr, but gave him the terrible language of a prophet. "Clement, iniquitous and cruel judge, I summon thee within forty days to meet me before the throne of the Most High."[3] According to some accounts this fearful sentence included the King, by whom, if uttered, it might have been heard. The earliest allusion to this awful speech does not contain that striking particularity, which, if part of it, would be fatal to its credibility, the precise date

[1] "Ambo rege spectante," Zantifliet. He adds that he had this from an eye-witness — "qui hæc vidit scriptori testimonium præbuit." The Canon of Liege is said to have been born towards the end of the fourteenth century. Could he have conversed with an eye-witness of this scene on March 11, 1313? But many of these chronicles are those of the convent rather than of the individual monks. This was continued to 1462. See above.

[2] "Villani (St. Antoninus as usual copies Villani), E nota che la notte appresso chel' detto maestro e 'l compagnon furono marterizzati, per frati religiosi le loro corpora ed ossa come reliquie sante furono recolte e portate via in sacri luogi."

[3] Ferretus Vicentinus.

of Clement's death. It was not till the year after that Clement and King Philip passed to their account. The poetic relation of Godfrey of Paris[1] simply states that Du Molay declared that God would revenge their death on their unrighteous judges. The rapid fate of these two men during the next year might naturally so appall the popular imagination, as to approximate more closely the prophecy and its accomplishment. At all events it betrayed the deep and general feeling of the cruel wrong inflicted on the Order; while the unlamented death of the Pope, the disastrous close of Philip's reign, and the disgraceful crimes which attainted the honor of his family seemed as declarations of Heaven as to the innocence of their noble victims.[2]

The health of Clement V. had been failing for some time. From his Court, which he held at Carpentras, he set out in hopes to gain strength from his native air at Bordeaux. He had hardly crossed the Rhone when he was seized with mortal sickness at Roquemaure. The Papal treasure was seized by his followers, especially his nephew; his re-

Death of Clement. April 20. 1314.

[1] "S'en vendra en brief temps meschie,
Sur celz qui nous dampnent a tort
Dieu en vengera nostre mort,
Seignors, dit il, sachiez sans tère,
Que tous celz qui nous sont contrère
Por nous en uront a soupir."
*Godfrey de Paris.*

[2] Besides other evidence, a singular document but recently brought to light establishes the date of the execution of Du Molay, March 11, 1313. The Abbot and Convent of St. Germain aux Près claimed jurisdiction over the island where the execution took place. They complained of the execution as an infringement on their rights. The Parliament of Paris decided in their favor. — Les Olim, published by M. Beugnot, Documents Inédits, t. ii. p. 599.

mains were treated with such utter neglect that the torches set fire to the catafalque under which he lay, not in state. His body, covered only with a single sheet, all that his rapacious retinue had left to shroud their forgotten master, was half burned (not, like those of the Templars, his living body) before alarm was raised. His ashes were borne back to Carpentras and solemnly interred.[1]

Character.

Clement left behind him evil fame. He died shamefully rich. To his nephew (nepotism had begun to prevail in its baneful influence) he bequeathed not less than 300,000 golden florins, under the pretext of succor to the Holy Land. He had died still more wealthy, but that his wealth was drained by more disgraceful prodigality. It was generally believed that the beautiful Brunisand de Foix, Countess of Talleyrand Perigord, was the Pope's mistress: to her he was boundlessly lavish, and her influence was irresistible even in ecclesiastical matters. Rumor ran that her petitions to the lustful Pontiff were placed upon her otherwise unveiled bosom. Italian hatred of a Transalpine Pope, Guelfic hatred of a Ghibelline Pope, may have lent too greedy ear to these disreputable reports: but the large mass of authorities is against the Pope; in his favor hardly more than suspicious silence.[2]

Yet was it the ambition of Clement to be one of the ecclesiastical legislators of Christendom. He had hoped that his new book of Decretals would have been enrolled during his life with those of his predecessors. It was published on the 12th of March, but the death of

[1] Franciscus Pepinus in Chronico.

[2] Villani, ix. 58. The Guelfic Villani. "Contra cujus pudicitiam fama laboravit." — Albert. Mussat. p. 606. Hist. Languedoc, xxix. 35, 138.

Clement took place before it had assumed its authority.

From Boniface VIII. to Clement V. was indeed a precipitous fall. After this time subtle policy rather than conscious power became the ruling influence of the Popedom. The Popes had ceased absolutely to command, but they had not ceased to a great extent to govern. Nor in these new arts of government was Clement without considerable skill and address. Notwithstanding his abandonment of Rome, his dangerous neighborhood to the King of France, his general subserviency to his hard master, his doubtful, at least, if not utterly disreputable personal character, his looseness and his rapacity, he had succeeded in saving the fame of his predecessor, in averting the fatal blow to the Popedom of which it had been impossible to conceive the consequences — he had prevented the condemnation of a Pope as a notorious heretic and a man of criminal life — his disinterment, on which Philip at one time insisted, and the public burning of his body. Clement succeeded by calm, stubborn determination, by watching his time, and wisely calculating the amount of sacrifice which would content the resentful and vengeful King. His other great service to Christendom was the preservation of Europe from the absolute domination of France. If indeed Henry of Luxemburg had established the imperial dominion in Italy in the absence of the Pope, it is difficult to speculate on the results. Clement himself took alarm: he yielded promptly to the demands of the King of France, and inhibited the war waged against Philip's kinsman, King Robert of Naples, as against a vassal of the Church. He looked with distrust on Henry's

league with the anti-papal House of Arragon, with Frederick of Sicily. The Pope might have been constrained erelong to become again a Guelf.

Philip the Fair survived Pope Clement only a few months.[1] Philip, at forty-six, was an old and worn-out man. Though he had raised the royal power to such unprecedented height; though he had laid the foundation of free institutions, not to be developed to maturity; though successful in most of his wars; though he had curbed, at least, the rebellious Flemings, added provinces to his realm, above all the great city of Lyons; though in close alliance, by marriage, with England; though he had crushed the Templars, and obtained much wealth from his share of the spoil; though the Church of France was filled in its highest sees by his creatures; though the Pope was under his tutelage, most of the Cardinals his subjects: yet the last years of his reign were years of difficulty, disaster, and ignominy. His financial embarrassments, notwithstanding his financial iniquities, grew worse and worse. The spoils of the Templars were soon dissipated. His tampering with the coin of the kingdom became more reckless, more directly opposed to all true economy, more burdensome and hateful to his subjects, less lucrative to the Crown.[2] The Lombards, the Jews, had been again admitted into the realm, again to be plundered, again expelled. The magnificent festival at Paris, where he received the King of England with unexampled splendor, consummated his bankruptcy.

Poverty of Philip.

But upon his house there had fallen what wounded

[1] Clement died April 20, Philip Nov. 29, 1314.
[2] Compare Sismondi.

the haughty, chivalrous, and feudal feelings of the times more than did the violation of high Christian morals. The wives of his three sons, the handsomest men of their day, were at the same time accused of adultery, and with men of low birth. The paramours of Marguerite and of Blanche, daughters of Otho IV. and the wives of Louis and Charles, the elder and younger sons of Philip, were two Norman gentlemen, Philip and Walter de Launoi. Confession, true or false, was wrung from these men by torture; but confession only made their doom more dreadful. They were mutilated, flayed alive, hung up by the most sensitive parts to die a lingering death.[1] Many persons, men and women, of high and low rank, were tortured to admit criminal connivance in the crimes of the princesses: some were sewed up in sacks and cast into the river, some burned alive, some hanged. The atrocity of the punishments shows how deeply the disgrace sank into the heart of the King, himself too cold and severe to indulge such weaknesses. Marguerite and Blanche were shaven and shut up in Château-Gaillard. Marguerite was afterwards strangled, that her husband might marry again: Blanche divorced on the plea of parentage. Her splendid dowry alone saved the life, if not the honor, of Jane of Burgundy, the wife of the second son, Philip of Poictiers. She had brought him the sovereignty of Franche Comté, which he would forfeit by her death or divorce. Jane was shut up; no paramour was produced: the Parliament of Paris declared her guiltless, and Philip received her again to all the dignity of her station.

Disgrace of Philip's family.

In this attainder to the honor of the royal house of

[1] Contin. Nangis, p. 68. Chroniq. de St. Denys, p. 146.

France some beheld the vengeance of Heaven for the sacrilegious outrage at Anagni; others for the iniquitous persecution of the Templars.[1]

Death of Philip.

Philip had fallen into great languor, yet was able to amuse himself with hunting. A wild boar ran under the legs of his horse, and overthrew him. He was carried to Fontainebleau, and died with all outward demonstrations of piety. The persecutor of Popes, the persecutor of the great religious Order of Knighthood, had always shown the most submissive reverence for the offices of the Church; he had been most rigid in the proscription of heresy or of suspected heresy. The fires had received one more victim, Marguérite de la Porette, who had written a book of too ardent piety on the Love of God.[2] Philip died, giving the sagest advice to his sons of moderation, mercy, devotion to the Church; lessons which he seemed to lull himself to a quiet security that he had ever fulfilled to the utmost.[3]

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It is singular, even in these dark times, to see Christianity still strong at her extremities, still making conquests upon Heathenism. The Order of the Knights

[1] "Forse per lo peccato commesso per loro padre, nella presura di Papa Bonifazio, come il Vescovo d' Ansiona profettizò, e forze per quello, che adoperò ne' Templari, come e detto addietro." — G. Villani, ix. 65.

[2] Continuat. Nangis. Sismondi, Hist. des Français, ix. p. 286.

[3] After the death of Philip's Queen, unless belied, one of the most lustful of women, Guichard Bishop of Troyes was arrested on suspicion of having poisoned her. He was tried before the Archbishop of Sens and the Bishops of Orleans and Auxerre. The proofs failed, but the Bishop was kept in prison. Nor, though another man accused himself of the crime, was the Bishop reinstated in his see. — Contin. Nangis, p. 61. Compare Michelet, Hist. des Français, vol iv. c. 5.

Templars had come to a disastrous and ignominious end. The Knights of St. John or of the Hospital, now that the Holy Land was irrecoverably lost, had planted themselves in Rhodes, as a strong outpost and bulwark of Christendom, which they held for some centuries against the Turco-Mohammedan power; and, when it fell, almost buried themselves in its ruins. At the same time, less observed, less envied, less famous, the Teutonic Order was winning to itself from heathendom (more after the example of Charlemagne than of Christ's Apostles) a kingdom, of which the Order was for a time to be the Sovereign, and which hereafter, conjoined with one of the great German Principalities, was to become an important state, the kingdom of Prussia.

Teutonic Order.

The Orders of the Temple and of St. John owed, the former their foundation, the latter their power and wealth, to noble Knights. They were military and aristocratic brotherhoods, which hardly deigned to receive, at least in their higher places, any but those of gentle birth. The first founders of the Teutonic Order were honest, decent, and charitable burghers of Lubeck and Bremen. After the disasters which followed the death of Frederick Barbarossa, when the army was wasting away with disease and famine before Acre, these merchants from the remote shores of the Baltic ran up the sails of their ships into tents to receive the sick and starving. They were joined by the brethren of a German Hospital, which had been before founded in Jerusalem, and had been permitted by the contemptuous compassion of Saladin to remain for some time in the city. Duke Frederick of Swabia saw the advantage of a German Order, both to maintain the German

interests and to relieve the necessities of German pilgrims. Their first house was in Acre.[1]

But it was not till the Mastership of Herman of Salza that the Teutonic Order emerged into distinction. That remarkable man has been seen adhering in unshaken fidelity to the fortunes of the Emperor Frederick II.;[2] and Frederick no doubt more highly honored the Teutonic Order because it was commanded by Herman of Salza, and more highly esteemed Herman of Salza as Master of an Order which alone in Palestine did not thwart, oppose, insult the German Emperor. It is the noblest testimony to the wisdom, unimpeached virtue, honor, and religion of Herman of Salza, that the successive Popes, Honorius III., Gregory IX., Innocent IV., who agreed with Frederick in nothing else, with whom attachment to Frederick was enmity and treason to the Church or absolute impiety, nevertheless vied with the Emperor in the honor and respect paid to the Master Herman, and in grants and privileges to his Teutonic Knights.

The Order, now entirely withdrawn, as become useless, from the Holy Land, had found a new sphere for their crusading valor: the subjugation and conversion of the heathen nations to the south-east and the east of the Baltic.[3] Theirs was a complete Mohammedan invasion, the Gospel or the sword. The avowed object

[1] Compare Voigt, Geschichte Preussens, and authorities.

[2] See vol. v. p. 505.

[3] Pomerania had been converted in a more Christian manner in the twelfth century, chiefly by the exertions of Bishop Otho of Bamberg, whose romantic life with that of his convert, Prince Mitz'av, has been well wrought by my nephew, the Rev. R. Milman, into a Romance (I wish it had been History, or even Legend). I trust this note is pardonable nepotism. See also Mone, Nordische Heidenthum, or Schroeck, xxv. p. 221, &c., for a more historical view.

was the subjugation, the extermination if they would not be subjugated, of the Prussian, Lithuanian, Esthonian, and other kindred or conterminous tribes, because they were infidels. They had refused to listen to the pacific preachers of the Gospel, and pacific preachers had not been wanting. Martyrs to the faith had fallen on the dreary sands of Prussia, in the forests and morasses of Livonia and Esthonia.

The Pope and the Emperor concurred in this alone — in their right to grant away all lands, it might be kingdoms, won from unbelievers. The Charter of Frederick II. runs in a tone of as haughty supremacy as those of Honorius, Gregory, or Innocent IV.[1]

These tribes had each their religion, the dearer to them as the charter of their liberty. It was wild, no doubt superstitious and sanguinary.[2] They are said to have immolated human victims.[3] They burned slaves, like other valuables, on the graves of their departed great men.

For very many years the remorseless war went on. The Prussians rose and rose again in revolt; but the inexhaustible Order pursued its stern course. It became the perpetual German Crusade. Wherever there

[1] "Auctoritatem eidem magistro concedimus terram Prussiæ cum viribus domûs, et totis conatibus invadendi, concedentes et confirmantes eidem magistro, successoribus ejus, et domui suæ in perpetuum, tam prædictam terram quam a præscripto duce recipiat ut promisit, et quamcunque aliam dabit. Necnon terram, quam in partibus Prussiæ, Deo favente, conquirat, velut *vetus et* debitum jus Imperii, in montibus, planicie, fluminibus, nemoribus et in mari, ut eam liberam sine omni servitia et exactione teneant et immunem. Et nulli respondere proinde teneantur." — Grant of Frederick II., Voigt, Geschichte Preussens, iii. p. 440.

[2] Compare Mone, i. 79.

[3] A burgher of Magdeburg was burned as a sacrifice to their gods by the Nantangian Prussians. The lot had fallen on him. A Nantangian chief begged him off, as having enjoyed his hospitality. Twice again he threw still the lot was against him. He was immolated. — Voigt, iii. 206.

was a martial and restless noble, who found no adventure, or no enemy, in his immediate neighborhood; wherever the indulgences and rewards of this religious act, the fighting for the Cross, were wanted, without the toil, peril, and cost of a journey to the Holy Land, the old but now decried, now unpopular Crusade; whoever desired more promptly and easily to wash off his sins in the blood of the unbeliever, rushed into the Order, and either enrolled himself as a Knight, or served for a time under the banner. There is hardly a princely or a noble house in Germany which did not furnish some of its illustrious names to the roll of Teutonic Knights.

Sovereignty of the Order.

So at length, by their own good swords, and what they no doubt deemed a more irrefragable title, the grants of Popes and Emperors, the Order became Sovereigns; a singular sovereignty, which descended, not by hereditary succession, but by the incorporation of new Knights into the Order. The whole land became the absolute property of the Order, to be granted out but to Christians only; apostasy forfeited all title to land.

Their subjects were of two classes: I. The old Prussian, converted to Christianity after the conquest. Baptism was the only way to become a freeman, a man. The conquered unbeliever who remained an unbeliever, was the slave, the property of his master, as much as his horse or hound. The three ranks which subsisted among the Prussians, as in most of the Teutonic and kindred tribes, remained under Christianity and the sovereignty of the Order. The great landowners, the owners of castles held immediately of the Order: their estates had descended from heathen times.

These were, 1, the Withings; 2, the lower vassals; and, 3, those which answered to the Leudes and Lita of the Germans, retained their rank and place in the social scale. All were bound to obey the call to war, to watch and ward; to aid in building and fortifying the castles and strongholds of the Order.

II. The German immigrants or colonists. These were all equally under the feudal sovereignty of the Order. The cities and towns were all German. The Prussian seems to have disdained or to have had no inclination to the burgher-life. There were also German villages, each under its Schultheiss, and with its own proper government.

Thus was Christendom pushing forward its borders. These new provinces were still added to the dominion of Latin Christianity. The Pope grants, the Teutonic Order hold their realm on the conjoint authority of the successor of Cæsar and of St. Peter. As a religious Order, they are the unreluctant vassals of the Pope; as Teutons, owe some undefined subordination to the Emperor.[1]

[1] Voigt is a sufficient and trustworthy authority for this rapid sketch. The Order has its own historians, but neither is their style nor their subject attractive.

END OF VOL. VI.

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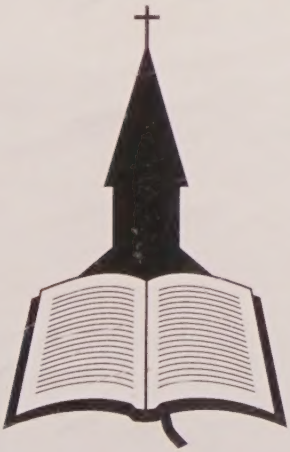

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